Poona Oriental Series No. 53

ANCIENT KARNĀṬAKA

VOL. I

HISTORY OF TULUVA

BY

BHASKER ANAND SALETORE

M.A., Ph.D., (Lond. et Giessen)

Professor of History

Sir Parashurambhau College, Poona

This work deals with one of the most ancient dynasties of western India. While almost all the other royal families of the south, in one way or the other, were subject to political vicissitudes, the ancient Ālupas of Tuḷuvanāḍu alone managed to preserve intact the culture and traditions of a people who played a very significant part in the history of the country. In this book which is based on all available historical materials, the author pays equal attention to the political as well as cultural history, religious life as well as foreign relations of a vital part of ancient Karnāṭaka which, unlike other provinces of the south, never suffered from Mahammadan invasions, and, hence, was in a peculiar position to hand down to posterity the unique and interesting history of its people. No account of southern and western India may be said to be complete without reference being made to the splendid achievements of the brave Tuḷuvas of ancient Karnāṭaka.

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To

The beloved memory of my elder Brother

Bhavani Shanker

who inspired and guided me

in this work, but was

snatched away before

its completion

PREFACE

In the following pages the history of a province which till now has remained practically unknown, has been brought to light for the first time with the help of all available historical materials. This province of Tuḷuva, now represented by the South Kanara district of the Madras Presidency and the greater part of the North Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency, has ever remained an integral part of the Karnāṭaka, with political relations with almost all the royal families that ruled over the southern and western parts of the Peninsula.

The dynasty that ruled over Tuḷuvanāḍu was never an imperial house; but imperial families alone have not always contributed either to the political or cultural greatness of the country. Royal families of minor states have in a great measure, especially in the Karnāṭaka, helped to preserve our ancient heritage and history. This is the reason why, instead of beginning the ancient history of the Karnāṭaka with the Śāṭavāhanas and the Mauryas, I have prefaced it with the annals of the Ālupas whose interesting history dates back to the second century A. D., and whose district preserved in tact the language and culture of the Karnāṭaka when they were threatened with admixture in the other parts of the province. One of the reasons why this ancient dynasty was able to hand down to posterity the culture of the Tuḷu and the Karnāṭaka people, is because of the fact that its province never suffered from the invasions of the Muhammadans, whose onrush proved so disastrous to the stability of numerous states in the western and southern parts of the country.

The history of my district has been studied from five points of view. In the first chapter, dealing with the Legendary Beginnings, I have attempted to place Tuḷuva on the background of the legends of the whole of the western part of India. The second and the third chapters deal only with the domestic and foreign relations of the Ālupa rulers, based entirely on their own stone and copper-plate inscriptions as

well as on those of their neighbours the Karnāṭaka and Tamil monarchs. Tuḷuva tradition as embodied in a work called *Grāmapaddhati*, which is introduced to scholars for the first time, is incorporated in the fourth chapter styled Village Organization. Religion forms the next topic of my study, based again on epigraphs, literature, and Tuḷuva and non-Tuḷuva tradition. And, finally, the life of the Tuḷu people gleaned exclusively from their admirable folk-songs called the Pāḍadānas, brings the work to a close. In the first appendix I have given a tentative rendering into Kannaḍa of the passages found in the Greek Farce, improved and verified since my earlier rendering of the same in 1926 when I had, at his own request, sent Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. R. Shama Sastry, then Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, these passages put into Kannaḍa. A comparative list of the many households of Tuḷuva, as found in the different versions of the *Grāmapaddhati*, is the second appendix; and the third contains a genealogical account of all the Ālupa kings discovered till now.

Notwithstanding my continual and personal investigations in the various parts of the district, I find that I have made but a beginning in the direction of writing a complete history of the Tuḷuva people. These pages, therefore, form only a preliminary study of this ancient and hitherto unexplored province. Since sending the Ms. to the press, I have secured through the kind exertion of wellwishers and friends various Mss. which, should there be an occasion in the near future, I shall amply utilize in the next edition of the work. I have deliberately omitted some phases of the history of Tuḷuva, which will be dealt with in a later dissertation. This work forms the first of a series of five volumes which propose to deal with the history of Ancient Karnāṭaka from earliest times till the downfall of the Western Cāḷukyas.

I have abstained from giving a bibliography, as I have cited almost all authorities with the necessary details in the footnotes. All the works utilized in my work are available at the Oriental Book Agency, Poona.

My obligations and gratefulness are due to quite a number of persons : Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Deputy Director-General of Archaeology, Simla, who was good enough to ask the Superintendent of Archaeology, Southern Circle, to send me the transcripts of the following unpublished stone inscriptions found in Tuḷuva–Nos. 372 and 419 of 1927–28, 485, 488, 490, 491, 509 and 526 of 1928–29 ; Paṇḍit Venkaṭadāsa Ācārya and Paṇḍit Kaṇṇārakuduru Bhaṭṭa Rāmakṛṣṇayya, both of Uḍipi, who spared no pains either to accompany me in my tours in the district, or to assist me in procuring Mss., or to supply me with all the data I wanted ; Mr. S. L. Kapadi, Librarian of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society who, with his ever-obliging Assistants, made it possible for me to recast completely an earlier version of this work, during the spring of 1934 ; Mr. V. Ganesh Sunder Rao of Uḍipi and Mr. M. Sunder Row, B.A., L. T., of Mangalore, who have lent me some of their photographs ; my brother Mr. G. N. Saletore, B. A., who copied for me a fine version of the *Grāmapaddhati* hailing from Uḍipi ; Mr. K. R. Shetty of Uḍipi, who has drawn an excellent map of Tuḷuva for me ; my wife who has prepared the index ; Vidyāsudhākara Dr. Har Dutt Sharma who has gone through some of the proofs and offered me his learned advice ; Mr. S. R. Sardesai whose careful execution of the work merits all praise ; and Dr. N. G. Sardesai whose kindness and generosity make it possible for this work to appear in print.

Vijayadaśamī, 1936.
198/11, Tilak Road,
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B. A. S.

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ANCIENT KARNĀṬAKA

VOL. I

HISTORY OF TUḶUVA

ANCIENT KARNĀṬAKA

VOL. I HISTORY OF TUḶUVA

CHAPTER I

LEGENDARY BEGINNINGS

Summary: Derivation of the word *Tuḷuva* with the aid of historical and traditional evidence. 2. Tuḷuva in the legend of Paraśurāma. Historical and traditional notices of the story of Paraśurāma. 3. Examination of the story relating to the alleged creations of Paraśurāma. 4. The veracity of that part of the above story relating to the Sapta Koṅkaṇas examined. 5. References to Tuḷuva in the epics and the Purāṇas. 6 Claims of Tuḷuva to antiquity based on epigraphs, writings of Tamil authors, and accounts of Greek geographers

1. DERIVATION OF THE WORD TUḶUVA

Ancient Tuḷuva comprised the whole of South Kanara and a part of North Kanara. The misnomer of Canara was applied to the district only in comparatively modern times.[1] Tuḷuva[2] today is nearly 150 miles in

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1. Wilks called Tuḷuva by the name Canara. *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, I., p. 8 (1810); I., p. 5 (1869). Read also Buchanan, *A Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar* III, p. 201. Caldwell explains how this name Canara was misapplied to this part of western India. *A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, p. 6, n. (1856).

2. Sturrock, *South Canara Manual* I., p. 1.

length, about twenty-five miles broad in its narrowest and fifty miles in its widest parts. But according to traditional as well as historical accounts, this province extended far beyond its modern limits in the north. The legendary origin of Malabar as embodied in the *Keralotpatti* relates that the Tuḷuva-rājya commenced from Gokarṇa in the north as far as Perumpuḻa in the south.[1] From the evidence of inscriptions to which we shall advert in the course of this treatise, it will be seen that the northern limits of Tuḷuva as given in the legendary accounts of Keraḷa, are by no means unreliable. In fact, so late as the sixteenth century A.D., the people associated the land south of Mirjān, situated on an islet south of Aṅkola, on the Gaṅgavāḍi river, with Tuḷuva.[2] But the name Tuḷuva came gradually to be restricted to a smaller area till with the annexation of the district by the British in A.D. 1799, it was confined to a stretch of land bordered on the north by the forest line of Śirūr and on the south by the town of Caravattūru.

The origin of the word Tuḷuva remains still a difficult question. According to tradition the name Tuḷuva is traced to the activities of a ruler called Bhoja Rāja, also known as Candraśekhara. It is said that in order to please the Brahmans, he gave them

1. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collections*, p. 28. Cf. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, pp. 48-9 (1924). Another version of the same work says that the southern boundary of Tuḷuva was the Kanniorottu river, south of Kavai. Buchanan, *op. cit.*, III., p. 8.

2. Barbosa, Duarte, *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*, etc. I. p. 184, n. 2. (Dames, London, 1918).

munificent gifts like the *tulā-puruṣa-dāna*, the *tulā-dāna*, etc. Since he presented to the Brahmans, who had come from different provinces, gold weighing one hundred *tolas* each, he was called Tulābhāra, Tulā Rāja, and Tulā Deśādhipati, and the people over whom he ruled, the Tuḷu people. Further, the dynasty to which he belonged came to be known as the Tolār line.[1]

Keraḷa legends ascribe the name Tuḷuva to one Tuluṁbhan Perumāḷ. This ruler, it is alleged, fixed his residence at Koṭeśvara, a prominent Śaivite seat in the northern part of Tuḷuva, just before Keraḷa was separated from Tuḷuva. The country was thenceforward called after his name.[2]

Sturrock merely echoes the opinion of others that the word Tuḷuva could be traced to the word *tulu*, meaning mild, humble, meek, etc.[3]

None of these explanations can be given any credence. We may dismiss the last one as being inadmissible both on historical and philological grounds. In the first place, the achievements of the Tuḷu people in historical times, as we shall presently narrate, bring out clearly a trait in the character of the early Tuḷuvas quite opposite to the one which is indicated by the ingenious explanation offered by Sturrock. Moreover, there is no evidence to prove that the word Tuḷu,—which is not in common use, as

1. Cf. Srinivasa Hegḍe, *Dakṣiṇa Kannaḍa Jilleya Caritre mattu Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya rāyana Aḷiya Kaṭṭu*, pp. 44–45. (Mangalore, 1913).

2. Sturrock, *S. C. Manual*, I., p. 2.

3. Sturrock, *ibid* ; Brigel, *Tuḷu-English Dictionary*, q. v.

Sturrock rightly remarked,—was ever current among the Tuḷu people themselves; and that they called the country which they inhabited by a name signifying a feature in their character which they did not possess. Turning to the other two explanations, we may note that the story of Rāma Bhoja's munificence was evidently an invention of the Brahmans; while that of Tulumbhan Perumāḷ, whose identity itself is a matter of speculation, was the result of confusion between the legends of Tuḷuva and those of Keraḷa.[1]

The word Tuḷuva may be derived from the Haḷe Kannaḍa verbal root *tūḷu*, to attack,[2] signifying thereby the nature of the ancient Tuḷuva people whose warlike activities in the early ages of history secured for them that appellation from their neighbours, the equally or perhaps more ancient Karnāṭaka people. Evidence in support of this may be secured from their folk-lore, traditions, faith, games and political history. The stirring sagas called Pāḍadānas contain their folk-lore; and these describe, as we shall prove in the later part of this treatise, the activities of gallant men and women whose memories are even now cherished with legitimate pride and affection by the Tuḷu people.

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1. The unhistoricity of the derivation of the name Tuḷu from Tolāra is seen when we note that the earliest variant of the name is Tolāha and not Tolāra. This name Tolāha appears in an Ālupa record dated A.D. 1140-41. *176 of 1901*. The Perumāḷs themselves were foreigners. Read Logan, *Malabar Gazetteer*, pp. 230, 244.

2. Cf. Kittel, *Kannaḍa-English Dicty.*, p. 738.

The traditions of the Koragars, some of whom seem to have formed a part of the Tuḷu people,[1] the Mailars, the Holeyas, the Mogers, and others, justify our assumption that they belonged to a warlike race. The traditions of the Koragars, for example, eulogize the deeds of a powerful Koragar king named Hubāśika and of his nephew. We shall refer to them later on in the course of this treatise. The legendary account of the Holeyas as recorded in a narrative called *Bahudanda*, cited by Buchanan, relates that a ruler who belonged to that tribe seized upon the country. In the same account we are told that the Mogers, who now form the bulk of the fisher-folk of Tuḷuva, assisted the Holeyas. It is believed that the Mailars (Mallars ?) were the rulers of the country. Ruined forts at Maddūr, four miles to the north-north-east of Kāsargōḍu, and at Kāvu, thirty-five miles to the north-east of the same town,[2] bear witness to the olden times when the war-like Tuḷu people had conquered the country.

Ample evidence can be gathered from their games in order to establish their claims for martial activities in the past. Sports like *ajakāyi-derpuni*, *tappaṅgāyi*, the *aṁbōḍi jātrā*, *kōrida-jūju*, *tūṭe-dāra*, *keḍḍasa* festival, *ceṇḍu*, and *bōṇṭe*—these are the survivals of the far-off times when the militant Tuḷu people wrested the ownership of the land from the hands of the aboriginal inhabitants.

1. On the Koragars, read Saletore, *The Wild Tribes in Indian History*, p. 43. (Lahore, 1935)

2. Sewell, *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency* I. pp. 238-239. (Madras, 1882)

Ajakāyi-derpuni is a favourite game among the Billavars and the Buṇṭs. It is a contest between two persons who hold cocoanuts in their palms at a distance of about twelve to fourteen inches, and bring the fruits one against the other simultaneously. In this game the broken fruit is the property of the victor. The *tappaṅgāyi* is a game which is played in the open in front of a household. A cocoanut shorn of its fibres and well smeared with oil, is thrown into the air. A scramble follows at a given signal among those present—the *javaṇere*, as the youth of the locality are called,—and the strongest retains it in his hands as a sign of victory. This game is common among all classes of people.

But the *ambōḍi jātrā* is a pastime which is seen only among the Holeyas. It is held at Ermāḷ, Udayāvara (near Uḍipi), and Baḷḷamañje. The *ambōḍi jātrā* is a mock fight with staves about three, some times six, feet in length representing swords, between two parties. The *kōrida-jūju* or cock fight is indulged in by all classes of people except the Brahmans and the Jains. We have described it elsewhere in detail.[1] An equally interesting and universal game is the *ceṇḍu* or a sort of foot ball played during the famous *jātrā* at Poḷali. It is held on the occasion of the car festival which takes place on the Mīna Śaṅkramaṇa, in the famous Rājarājeśvarī Durgā Parameśvarī temple. Popular belief con-

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1. Saletore, *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, XVII, pp. 316-327.

nects the play (*ceṇḍu*) with the heads of the *daityas* named Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa.[1]

More interesting than the above is the torch fight called *tūṭe-dāra* which is best seen in the Bappanāḍu *grāma*, a suburb of Mūlki, Mangalore tāluka. It is held at night in front of the Durgā Parameśvarī temple at Bappanāḍu. Only two rival parties take part in it: the people of Bappanāḍu and those of Kārnāḍu. The latter are led by the Guṇḍāl household (*manetana*); while those of Karnāḍu, by the Bāḷehittalu and the Nāḍi Kuduru people. Each party consists of seventy to ninety men. They are stationed at a distance of about fifty feet. Torches of cocoanut leaves about two and a half to three feet in length, are prepared by the Holeyas of the respective villages. The combatants are expected to have taken a ceremonial bath and to have abstained from drinking liquor and eating meat. Every combatant has two to three torches at his disposal. At a given signal, the men of the Kambaḷasāna light a torch and give it to the leader of the Bappanāḍu *grāma*. Likewise a man from the Māgaṅḍāḍisāna gives a lighted torch to the Kārnāḍu people. On a second signal being given, the two parties throw at each other the lighted torches. The game lasts for about fifteen minutes when the leaders of both parties end it. We are unable to determine the significance of this interesting and unique Tuḷuva game.

1. Cf. Hegde, *Caritre*, p. 258.

An equally noteworthy sport of the Tuḷu people is the hunting excursion on the *keḍḍasa* days. This game is common to all the people and is held over the whole of the district. The *keḍḍasa* festival begins, according to some, on the 24th of the Tuḷu month of Māyi (February-March), or according to others, on the 25th of Makara (*i. e.*, on or about the 5th of February), and lasts for three days. It is held, according to the popular conception, to commemorate Mother Earth's purification.' All the Tuḷu people suspend work on these days, and go a-hunting boars, rabbits and wild pigeons. Food prepared out of baked *kuḍu* or horse gram (*dolichos uniflorus*) and rice is eaten during these three days.[1]

The term *bōnṭe* (Kannaḍa *bēṭe*) is given to an ordinary hunting expedition conducted on a large scale by the chieftains of a locality. How heartily the Tuḷuva chieftains conducted the *bōnṭe* will be seen when we shall describe the life of the people.

The whole trend of events from early centuries of the Christian era down to the sixteenth century, and especially the rise of an indigenous principality which rested solely on the strength of Tuḷuva arms and which

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1. The term *keḍḍasa* is also given to the change in the direction of the wind. The north-easter which begins to blow in February-March is called the *keḍḍasa-gāḷi*. The *keḍḍasa* excursion of Tuḷuva may be compared to the annual hunting festivals of the Hos of Chota Nagpur, the Ahaira of the Rajputs, the Muṇḍa rite, and the Sitale festivals of the tribes in Bihar. Read, Hastings, *Encyl. of Religion and Ethics*, V., p. 20. B. A. S.

lasted till the fourteenth century attest to the warlike nature of the Tuḷuva people in historical times. One significant phrase used in inscriptions in connection with them, as will be given in detail when we shall deal with the political history of the province, *viz.*, that hostile rulers were like a submarine fire to the ocean the Tuḷuva army (*Tuḷuva bala-jaḷadhi-baḍavānaḷam*), adds to the testimony that is decidedly in favour of the early Tuḷuvas being considered as a people of aggressive habits.

2. TUḶUVA IN THE LEGEND OF PARAŚURĀMA

Tuḷuvanāḍu, or as it was known in early times Āḷvakheḍa,[1] was a unit by itself since the earliest ages, both according to tradition as well as history. It is entirely erroneous to assume with the compiler of the *South Canara Manual* that no definite historic record relating to South Kanara has been found of earlier date than the eighth or ninth century A. D., and that "it must certainly at one time have formed part of Keraḷa, or Chera," the westernmost of the three ancient Dravidian kingdoms mentioned in the Edicts of Emperor Aśoka.[2] An enquiry into the origin of Tuḷuva as an independent unit brings us to the description of the personality and achievements of one of the most remarkable figures known to Hindu tradition. This was

1. Only once is it called *Tuḷuva-viṣaya* in a later record. *136 of the Epigraphical Report of the S. Circle* for 1901 ; *South Indian Inscriptions*, VII, No. 327, p. 178.

2. Sturrock, *S. C. Manual*, I. p. 54.

the famous Jāmadagnya, or Paraśurāma, as he was known more popularly, to whom is ascribed the existence of Tuḷuva as a separate historic province.

The story of Jāmadagnya, or Rāma, as he is called in the *Mahābhārata*, briefly told is the following:—Once king Kārtavīrya, also known as Sahasrabāhu Arjuna, because he had been endowed with a thousand arms by Dattātreya,—ruler of the Haihaya tribes with his capital at Māhiṣmatī, came to the hermitage of Jamadagni. He was received by Rēṇukā, wife of the great Ṛṣi, with all due respect. But Kārtavīrya, filled with the pride of his valour, in return to her hospitality carried off along with him by violence the calf of the milch cow of the sacred oblations and cast down the tall trees surrounding the hermitage. Bhārgava, on being told by his father about the cow, killed the king. The sons of Kārtavīrya revenged the death of their father by attacking the hermitage of Jamadagni, and slaying the old Ṛṣi when Rāma was away.

Rāma in sorrow vowed to extirpate the whole Kṣatriya race. He killed the sons of Kārtavīrya, and thrice seven times cleared the earth of the Kṣatriya caste; and with their blood filled the five large lakes of Samantapañcaka, from which he offered oblations to the race of Bhṛgu. Here he saw his sire once again; and on being told by him what to do, Rāma offered a solemn sacrifice to the king of the gods, and presented the earth to the ministering priests. To Kaśyapa he gave the altar made of gold, ten fathoms in length and nine

in height. With the permission of Kaśyapa, the Brahmans divided it into pieces amongst themselves, and they were thenceforward called Khaṇḍavāyana Brahmans.

The story as told in the *Rājadharma* section of the *S'ānti Parva* adds that when Jāmadagnya had given the earth to Kaśyapa, the latter desired him to depart, as there was no dwelling place for him in it, and to repair to the seashore of the south. It was here that the Ocean relinquished to Rāma the maritime district of Śurpāraka. It must be remembered that the Śurpāraka region is distinctly said to be the creation of Paraśurāma. Thus in the *S'ānti Parva* :—

Tataḥ S'urpārakaṃ des'aṃ sāgaraḥ tasya nirmame ।
Sahasā Jāmadagnyasya S'opārānte mahītalaṃ ॥[1]

With the above story which is narrated in the *Mahābhārata* and repeated in the *Purāṇas*,[2] we may proceed with our narrative. Of all the versions of the story as given in the *Purāṇas*, that narrated in the *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* of the *Skānda Purāṇa* has an intimate bearing on the history of Tuḷuva.[3] The version in the *Sahyādri-*

1.-2. Cf. Saletore, *Paraśurāma in History and Legend*. Paper read at the VII, All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda, 1933. Read also the *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, Sec. CXV, pp. 355–62 ; Śānti Parva, Sec. III pp. 6, seq ; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, pp. 401–4, and 404, n. (21) ; *Matsya Purāṇa*, Chs. XLII–XLIV. pp. 110–120. See also *ibid*, pp. 112–116. (Taluqdar); *Agni Purāṇa*, III. CCCXXVI. p. 1005. (Calcutta, 1903); *ibid*, Ch. IV, vv. 12 seq. pp. 4–5; Ch. V. v. 14, p. 5 (Poona 1900); *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Bk. IX. Ch. 18, pp. 62–65 (Calcutta, 1896); *Padma Purāṇa*, Vol. IV, Ch. 268, pp. 1847, seq. (Poona, 1894).

3. *Skānda Purāṇa*, Uttarārdha, Ch. VI, v. 21, seq. p. 324, seq. (Ed. Gerson d'Cuhna, Bombay, 1877). Read also *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* Ch. I, V. 82, p. 304, on the Brahmans irritating the great hero.

kāṇḍa is substantially the same as that related above with the exception of a few details which will be examined presently.

The story of Paraśurāma dating back as it does to the times of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and before, cannot be altogether dismissed as a fascinating fabrication of the fertile Brahman brains. Even at the risk of digressing a little from the main part of our narrative, we may be permitted to make a few observations concerning this great figure, especially as gathered from the writings of Hindu writers and epigraphical records. These notices, as we shall see at once, will help us to elucidate the alleged creation of Tuḷuva by Jāmadagnya. In the *Mahābhārata* itself we have a few places associated with the name and greatness of Paraśurāma. Proceeding next to the mountain called Mahendra, we are told in that epic, inhabited (of yore) by Jāmadagnya, and bathing in Rāma's *tīrtha*, a person acquireth the merit of a horse-sacrifice.[1] In the same work we are informed that after visiting the asylum of Śarabhaṅga, one should proceed to Śurpāraka where Jamadagni's son had formerly dwelt. Bathing in that *tīrtha* of Rāma, one acquireth the merit of giving away gold in abundance.[2] Dhaumya relates to Bharata further that in that same Śurpāraka *tīrtha* are two sacrificial platforms of the illustrious Jamadagni, called Pāṣāṇa and Puṇascandra.[3]

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* informs us that along the northern half of the Sahya mountains is the region in

1-3. *Vana Parva*, LXXXV, LXXXVIII, pp. 277, 279, 291.

which the Godāvarī flows and which is delightful even when compared with the whole world. And Govardhana is the charming city of the high-souled Bhārgava race.[1]

References to Paraśurāma and his creations on the west coast are also found in the *Raghuvaṁs'a* where Kālidāsa gives clear evidence of the legend having been current in about the fifth century A.D. While describing Raghu's march through the Sahya regions and Keraḷa, and the adjoining lands on the west coast, Kālidāsa says that when Raghu's vast armies spread out in view of conquering the west, the sea though (at one time) sent back by the missiles of Paraśurāma now appeared as if touching it. Then, again, it is mentioned, continues the poet, that the ocean when entreated, gave space to Paraśurāma; (the same ocean) now paid tribute to Raghu through the kings of the west. In a later context, Kālidāsa informs us that prince Pratīpa having obtained the god of fire as an ally in battle, he considers the sharp edge of Paraśurāma's axe which is the very destructive night to the Kṣatriyas to be no more than the petal of a lotus. While narrating the story of Paraśurāma himself, Kālidāsa informs us that he destroyed the Kṣatriyas twenty-one times.[2]

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1. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 310.

2. Kālidāsa, *Raghuvaṁśa* IV. 53, 54, 58; VI. 42; XI. 66, 67. And *ibid*, 38–41 where the poet describes the activities of Kārtavīrya Sahasrabāhu. (Bombay, 1916).

Allusions to the ruler of Māhiṣmatī, Sahasrabāhu Arjuna, and Paraśurāma are made by Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī*. A portress, who approaches king Śūdraka with some news, is thus described :-like the blade of Paraśurāma's axe she held the circle of kings in submission.[1] Then, again, the parrot Vaiśampāyana relates how it saw the Śabara army coming out from the forests of the Vindhyas. It was like the stream of Narmadā tossed by Arjuna's thousand arms.[2] While describing Candrāpīḍa's deftness in the use of arms, Bāṇa writes that his shafts, like those of Paraśurāma when the latter blazed to consume the forest of earth's royal stems, cleft only the highest peaks.[3]

Even the account of a foreign writer of the sixteenth century A.D. contains echoes of the old legend. Duarte Barbosa thus remarked while writing about Tuḷuvanāḍu which he called Tulinat :—"And the Indians say that in former times all these low grounds were sea, which reached to the said range (*i.e.*, the Western Ghats), and that in process of time the sea uncovered it, and swallowed it up in other parts, and to the foot of those mountains. There are many traces of things of the sea, and the low ground is very level like the sea, and the mountain chain is very craggy, and seems to rise to the heavens..."[4]

1–3. Bāṇa, *Kādambarī*, Purv. pp. 25–26, 109, 295 (Ed. by Śrī Haridasa B. Siddhānta Vyāsa Bhaṭṭācārya, Calcutta, 1916); pp. 5–7, 21 61. (Ridding).

4. Duarte Barbosa, A Portuguese, *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*, Etc. p. 84. (Stanley, London, 1865).

We have to come to the sixteenth century, therefore, in order to meet with people who ascribed the origin of the western coast, and with it the beginnings of the province the history of which forms the subject of our narrative, not to the doings of a remarkable personage but to a subterranean agency in some palaeolithic period which the ancients masked under the guise of a legend.

Nevertheless the achievements of Paraśurāma have been recorded in epigraphs ranging from the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The Gaṅga king Durvinīta Koṅguṇivṛddha, who ascended the throne in A.D. 482, is called in the Nallāḷa plates issued by himself and dated in his fortieth regnal year (*i. e.*, A.D. 522–3), "an incarnation of Paraśurāma in the art of using *astras*, *upāstras*, and other weapons."[1] The Western Cālukya ruler Vinayāditya Satyāśraya, son of Pulikeśin II, is praised thus in a record dated A.D. 692:—That he was reckoned to be an elephant-goad to kings like Paraśurāma.[2] This is repeated in an inscription of A.D. 694.[3] Śrīpuruṣa Koṅguṇivarma II, the Gaṅga king, is said in a record dated A.D. 749 to be in valour like the son of Jamadagni.[4] This eulogy in regard to the same valiant monarch is

1. *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1924, p. 71. On the date of his accession, read Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pp. 5, 35.

2. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VIII. Sb. 571, p. 92.

3. *Ibid*, XI., Dg. 66, p. 62.

4. *Ibid*, VI. Mg. 36; p. 66.

repeated in A.D. 776 and again in A.D. 797.[1] Even in the reign of the Gaṅga king Ereyappa Nītimārga II, an inscription dated A.D. 903 describes Śrīpuruṣa Pṛthvī Koṅguṇivarma II to be in valour Jāmadagnya.[2]

Rājendra Coḷa Deva (A.D. 1016–A.D. 1064) is credited with the conquests of a great many forts and cities, and especially with the performance of a deed which is in all respects singular in the history of Paraśurāma. Inscriptions ranging from A.D. 1019 till about A.D. 1101 maintain that that great Tamil ruler conquered "many ancient islands securely guarded from time immemorial by the sea resounding with conches; and the crown of pure gold worthy of Lakṣmī, which Paraśurāma, who in anger extirpated kings twenty-one times in battle, had deposited in the inaccessible Śāndima (also called Śaṅdima, and in one record Cāṅdimat) island, having considered it a secure place."[3] Cāṅdimat is a corruption of Śaṅtimat, or Śāṅtimaṅta;[4] and it may be identified with the island Śāṅti mentioned in the Tuḷu *Grāmapaddhati* as having formed one of the seventy-seven islands which belonged to the Ghorāṣṭra on the western

1. *E.C.*, IV. Ng. 85, p. 135; *My. Archl. Rept.*, *for* 1921, p. 20; *E.C.* IX., Nl. 60, p. 40.

2. *E.C.*, X. Kl. 90, p. 26.

3. *Ibid.* X. Hl. 106 (a) p. 32; III. Nj. 134, p. 109; X. Kl. 44, p. 11; Nl. 7, p. 31; III. TN. 34, p. 74. Of these Nj. dated A. D. 1021 and TN. 34 dated A. D. 1074 relate that Paras'urāma raging with anger bound the kings twenty-one times. See also Rice, *Mysore Gaz.*, I. p. 334 (rev. ed.); *My. & Coorg.*, p. 88.

4. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar was kind enough to inform me that Cāndimat was probably the Tamil form for Śāṅtimanta: But about its location he was not certain. B. A. S.

coast of India.[1] But no further details concerning this island are available either in history or legend.

Vinayāditya Satyāśraya was not the only Western Cālukya ruler whose warlike activities are associated with Paraśurāma. The famous Vikramāditya VI, more commonly called Tribhuvanamalla II, and Vikramāṅka, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1073–4, is thus described in a record dated A.D. 1077 :—" the resoluteness of him who in order to destroy the Kṣatriyas in the earth slew the kings twenty-one times. "[2]

This remarkable achievement of Paraśurāma is also connected with the rise of one of the feudatories of the same great Western Cālukya monarch. An inscription dated only in the 38th regnal year of the king Vikramāditya VI (*i. e.*, in A.D. 1112) dealing with the origin of his feudatory Daḍiga, son of king Guṇḍa, of the Bali race and of the Bappura family, ruler over Kisukāḍ, says the following :—" When Jāmadagnya came in the

1. Srinivasa Hegde referring to a copy of the *Grāmapaddhati* said to have been in the possession of Paḷḷi Subbaṇṇācārya, enumerates the seventy-seven islands which formed a part of the Ghorāṣṭra. *Caritre.*, pp. 41–42. I cannot accept the description as valid because it is not mentioned in any other version of the *Grāmapaddhati* which I have secured from various parts of the district. Ghorāṣṭra seems to have been a form of Go-rāṣṭra, and is not met with anywhere in inscriptions. Of the seventy-seven islands only the following seem to be historical :—Vaḷalaṅka (*i.e.*, a quarter of Mūlki), Uppinakuduru, Hanuvaradvīpa, Haṭṭikuduru and Babbukuduru. Excepting Hanuvaradvīpa, which is another name for Honnāvūru, the others are still seen today in Tuḷuva. B. A. S.

2. *E. C.*, VII., Sk. 124, p. 97 ; Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Districts,* p. 49 (1st ed.). Rice places the accession of Vikramāditya VI in A.D. 1076. *My. & Coorg.*, p. 73.

course of his wanderings in which he destroyed the Kṣatriya race, there were born from the caves of mount Kiṣkiṁdhā certain heroes from whom sprang the members of the Bali race, who are the ornaments of the Bappuras."[1]

Viṣṇuvardhana Biṭṭiga Deva is thus praised in a record dated A.D. 1160:—To king Narasiṁhavarma, a Coḷa ruler, (he was) like an axe to a tree or Paraśurāma to Sahasrabāhu,-this wonderful king Viṣṇu became the destroyer a hundred times of Kṣatriyas.[2]

Rulers on the eastern coast too were associated with the name of Paraśurāma but this time it is with one of his singular characteristic features. The *Mahā-maṇḍales'vara* Koṇḍapadmaṭi Buddharājā, who belonged to the Śūdra caste, is called in A.D. 1171-2 a Paraśurāma (in keeping vows).[3]

But it is generally the monarchs of the Karnāṭaka and the western parts of India whose martial deeds reminded the people of the valour of Paraśurāma. Of the Kaḷacuriya king Rāyamurāri Soyi Deva, also called Soma, an inscription dated A.D. 1174 relates thus :— "His guru Aśvatthāma causing with affection the moustaches and beard of that Soma to grow thick, as if for ornament, when Paraśurāma with a raging fire of

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1. *Epigraphia Indica,* XV. p. 106.

2. *Inscriptions at S'ravaṇa Belgoḷa,* No. 138, p. 183 (1st ed.). Evidently this refers to the expulsion of the Coḷas from the Karnāṭaka country. See Rice, *My. & Coorg.,* p. 99.

3. *E. I.,* VI. p. 273.

fury came to swallow up the kings, with great affection preserved him, and together with a sign (or crest) the name of Kaḷacuri to that family—this Īśvarāṁśa."[1]

Vīra Narasiṁha II (A.D. 1220-1235) of the Hoysala dynasty, is described in a record date A.D. 1223, to be "stronger than Paraśurāma."[2]

The earlier story of Paraśurāma having reclaimed the land is given in an inscription dated A.D. 1368 thus :—Having turned back the ocean and conquered the earth, the acme of might and liberality, the sole repository of fame, was Jāmadagnya who, slaying the Kṣatriyas that from enjoying the earth were filled with pride, made it as far as encircled by the ocean the possession of the Brahmans.[3]

Reminiscences of the pious deeds of Paraśurāma in Karnāṭaka as well as in the regions around it may now be mentioned. A defaced inscription dated A.D. 1538 of the times of the Vijayanagara monarch Acyuta Rāya, informs us that Paraśurāma had set up the image of the goddess Kōḷāla in the *puṇyakṣetra* of Dahana Kōḷāla, and that (in the same year) the name of that holy place was changed into Kōḷāla Bhārgava.[4] The god in the Veṅkaṭaramaṇa temple at Lakkoṇḍanahaḷḷi in the Hosakoṭe tāluka, is said to have been set up by Paraśurāma, according to the *sthaḷa-māhātmya* of the locality.[5]

1. *E. C.*, VII. Sk. 236, p. 136.
2. *Mys. Inscriptions*, p. 32.
3. *E. C.*, VII. Sk. 281, p. 146.
4. *Ibid*, X. Kl. 114, p. 44.
5. *E. C.*, X., Kl. 114, p. 44 ; *My. Archl. Rept.*, for 1919, p. 7.

Hiremagaḷūr in the Kaḍur district, as the *sthaḷa-māhātmya* of that place relates, was once the residence of nine *siddhas* or saints, who performed penance near a pond in the village known as Siddhapuṣkaraṇī. It then became the residence of Paraśurāma. An image of Rāma was set up there. The town also contains a singular memorial. It is the temple of Paraśu, or the axe of the hero. The town was rechristened as Bhārgavapurī.[1]

Sorab tāluka is the Surabhī which was Jamadagni's possession. The temple of Reṇukā, mother of Paraśu-rāma, existing to this day, at Candragutti, is said to mark the spot where she burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her husband; and the temple of Kōlālammā at Kolar is said to have been erected in her honour from Kārtavīrya's having been slain there. The colloquy with Sāgara is said to have been held near Tīrthahaḷḷi.[2] It was here at Tīrthahaḷḷi that Paraśu-rāma stood and aimed his axe at Sāgara, as is also narrated in the *Grāmapaddhati* of Tuḷuva.

There is a processional image of wood representing Paraśurāma in the village called Cikkanāyakanahaḷḷi.[3] Pāḷya, a small village twelve miles west of Hassan on the Hassan-Sakalespur road, is reckoned to have been the hermitage of Jamadagni.[4]

Tuḷuva too has places which are associated with the memories and doings of Paraśurāma. Three miles

1. *My. Archl. Rept.*, for 1916, p.21; *My. Gaz.*, I. p. 276. (rev. ed.)
2. *My. Gaz.*, ibid. 3. *My. Archl. Rept.*, for 1918, p. 14.
4. *Ibid* for 1926, pp. 1-2.

north of Uḍipi lies the village of Puttūr which contains a temple of Durgā Bhagavatī said to have been established by Paraśurāma. Although the origin of this temple is according to us quite different, as we shall point out in a later context, yet popular conception connects it with Paraśurāma. It is said that he established the image of Durgā Bhagavatī in that temple. Besides this image Paraśurāma is said to have erected three Durgā images and four *Nāgālayas* around Uḍipi. The Durgālayas were those at Kuñjāru, Kaṇṇarapāḍi and Indrāṇi (Indrāḷi or Indraḷḷi). The four *Nāgālayas* were those of Aritōḍu, Tāṅgōḍu, Māṅgōḍu, and Muccalagōḍu, all of them being in the Uḍipi tāluka.[1] Uḍipi or Rajathapīṭha itself, one of the seven holy places in Tuḷuva, is said to owe its existence to Paraśurāma's piety. The other six centres were Kumārādri (modern Subrahmaṇya), Kuṁbhakāsi (modern Kōṭa), Dhvajeśvara (modern Koṭeśvara), Krōḍa (modern Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa), Mūkāṁbā (modern Kollūru), and Gokarṇa (now in North Kanara).

The temple of Rēṇukā at Kuñjāragiri, a village about eight miles to the south-east of Uḍipi, is considered very holy because of the image of Reṇukā which, according to the *Sthaḷa-māhātmya* of the locality, Paraśurāma installed in memory of his mother.[2] The *Sthaḷa-*

1. These four *Durgālayas* and the four *Nāgālayas* form the *Aṣṭabandhas* round Rajathapīṭha. B. A. S.

2. We may observe here that in this holy place at Kuñjāragiri, there are four *Tirthas* called Paraśutīrtha, Gadātīrtha, Dhanuśtīrtha, and Śaratīrtha. Legend ascribes them to the prowess of Paraśurāma. It

māhātmya of Kadirikā asserts that Paraśurāma made a sacrificial fire which the Kāṇapāṭhi Jogis of the north turned into an altar in later days.

The region immediately to the south of Tuḷuva, Keraḷa, also owed its origin to Paraśurāma. At least so it is related in the traditional accounts of that province called *Keralotpatti*. These legendary accounts of Keraḷa which will presently be cited, are, however, more confusing than those of Tuḷuva.[1]

We may briefly note here how Paraśurāma has figured in the annals of other provinces as well. Thus, for instance, it is related in the traditions of the Khatris how, when he was exterminating the Kṣatriyas, a pregnant girl escaped and took shelter with a Sarsut (Sārasvata) Brahman. When questioned by the pursuers, the Brahman said that she was his cook (khatrut?), and to prove it ate bread of her hands.[2] Paraśurāma is also mentioned in the traditions of the Nirmand Brahmans of the Sutlej and of the Pālias of Bihar.[3] It is maintained by some that a few sculptures in the Konarak temple in Orissa represent the shooting of arrows by Paraśurāma.[4] Commenting on one of the bas-

is interesting to note that the Tuḷu language has been used in connection with Paraśurāma in districts outside Tuḷuva. In the Chitaldroog district is a place called Paraśurāmapura, some inscriptions of which are partly in Tuḷu. Rice, *My. Gaz.*, I. p. 180 (1st ed.)

1. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonné of Oriental Mss.*, III. pp. 665-6; Wilson, *Mack. Coll.*, I. p. 74.

2. *Indian Antiquary*, I. pp. 289-290 ; *ibid*, II. p. 26.

3. Rose, *Castes and Tribes of the Punjab*, I., p. 345; *I. A.* I. p. 337.

4. *I. A.*, XLVII, p. 215.

reliefs at Bādāmi, Dr. Charpentier remarked that the *s'ūrpa* or winnowing basket found therein may possibly be referred to Paraśurāma.[1]

3. EXAMINATION OF THE STORY RELATING TO THE ALLEGED CREATIONS OF PARAŚURĀMA

The detailed references to Paraśurāma's character and valour given above, while they prove the extreme popularity of the great personage and of the veneration in which he was held, especially in the Karnāṭaka and Tamil regions, do not contain notices of his creations which deserve now to be examined also with the aid of literary and epigraphical evidence. That Paraśurāma cleared the earth of the Kṣatriyas twenty-one times, tradition, literary works, and inscriptions unanimously agree. In the version of his story as given in the *Mahābhārata* and repeated in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, as mentioned above, we said that Paraśurāma gave the earth to the ministering priests who, with the permission of Kaśyapa, divided it amongst themselves. It was also further observed that Jāmadagnya retired to the sea shore of the south, on being told by Kaśyapa that he had no place anywhere to reside.

These two details seem to have furnished later writers with matter for the construction of an ingenious story which is best described in the *sahyādri-kāṇḍa* of the *Skānda-Purāṇa*. Narrated in the briefest words, it is the following :—That Paraśurāma stood on a parti-

1. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for* 1929, p. 152.

cular spot, threw his battle axe into (or, as some say, shot his arrows at) the Ocean, and with the land thus relinquished to him by Sāgara, formed seven divisions known as the Sapta Koṅkaṇas. Of these seven divisions, Tuḷuva was one. (A minuter division was made of the land into *grāmas* or villages which were distributed amongst the Brahmans.) After a series of events which need not be described here, he retired to the Mahendra mountain.

The *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* asserts that he stood on the top of the Sahya–*Sahyācalasya s'ikhare sthitaḥ*.[1] This.spot may be identified with Tīrthahaḷḷi mentioned both in the *sthaḷa-māhātmyas* of the Karnāṭaka as well as those of Tuḷuva, and not with Mount Dilly, as remarked by Wilson long ago.[2] As to the place where Paraśurāma finally retired, we are told that it was the Mahendra mountain on the southern seashore. This was no other than the most southerly spurs of the Travancore hills

1. *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* Uttarārdha, Ch. VI. v. 37, p. 325.

2. Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* p. 404, n. 21. It is not mentioned anywhere, as Wilson seems to think, that Paraśurāma shot his arrows over the site of modern Keraḷa. Wilson writes further in the same connection :—" It seems likely that we have proof of the local legend being at least as old as the beginning of the Christian era, as the Mons Pyrrhus of Ptolemy is probably the mountain of Paraśu or Paraśu Rāma." *Ibid.* See also Wilson, *Mack. Coll.*, I. p. xciv. Rice repeats this in his *My. Gaz.*, I. p. 276, n. (3) (1st ed.) Mount Paraśu mentioned by Wilson cannot be traced anywhere in the topographical lists known to history. On Mount Dilly or Delly, read *J. R. A. S.* for 1922, p. 166, seq ; *ibid,* for 1923, pp. 83–4 ; *ibid* for 1924, pp. 257–8. Ptolemy mentions Purrhus or the Red Hills. *Ptolemy,* p. 53. (Mc-Crindle, Calcutta, 1885).

still called by that name from where Hanumān is said to have leaped on to Laṅkā.[1]

Now we come to the main part of the story of Paraśurāma with which we are concerned, *viz.*, the acquisition of a large stretch of country from the ocean by him, his alleged division of the land into seven districts one of which was called Tuḷuva, and the distribution of these seven provinces among the Brahmans, as given in the *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* and in the traditional accounts of Tuḷuva called the *Grāmapaddhati*. Thus in the *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* :—

Brāhmaṇānāṃ tataḥ pṛthvī dānaṃ dattvā-yathā-vidhiḥ ।
Navīnaṃ nirmitaṃ kṣetraṃ S'urpārakaṃ anuttamaṃ ॥
Vaitaraṇyā dakṣine tu Subrāhmaṇyaḥ-tathā-uttare ।
Sahyāt-sāgara-paryantaṃ S'urpākāraṃ-vyavasthitaṃ ॥ [2]

This would make the country reclaimed from the sea one hundred *yojanas* in length and three *yojanas* in breadth from the Vaitaraṇī (near Nāsik) in the north to Subrahmaṇya in the south. The faithfulness of the authors of *Skānda Purāṇa* to one detail given in the *Mahābhārata* is apparent when we read in the above

1. *Rāmāyaṇa,* Kiskindhā-kāṇḍa, Sarga 67, vv. 37, 42, pp. 1692-3. A more exact location of Mahendra is given in the same epic where it is expressly stated to be in the south. Sarga, 41, vv. 16, 20, p. 1607 (Mudholkar, Bombay, 1915). Mahendragiri lies a few miles from Nagercoil. It was here on the Mahendragiri that on June 2, 1935, one of the three coolies who had been to that hill, was crushed by a wild elephant, as was reported in the *Times of India*, Bombay, dated June 12, 1935.

2. *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* Uttar Ch. VI. vv. 23-25.

extract that this excellent and newly created place was christened Śurpāraka district. This was the name, as we have noted above, given to the new province in the *S'ānti Parva.*

We may observe here that the *Grāmapaddhati* of Tuḷuva, based to some extent as it was on the *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa*, also confirms the detail concerning the length and breadth of the new province but adds a few more details which were obviously the outcome of indigenous intellect. Thus one version of the *Grāmapaddhati* depicts Paraśurāma as having taken his stand on the *Siṁha*-written in some versions *Saṁya*-mountain which is evidently an error for Sahya mountain; and of having secured a stretch of territory three *yojanas* in extent from the Siṁha mountain and thirty *yojanas* from Kanyākumārī to Triyaṁbaka. A more accurate version of the same work ascribed to one Bhaṭṭācārya, gives the length of the province as one hundred *yojanas* from Nāsik in the north to Kanyākumārī in the south; and three *yojanas* in breadth from the Sahya mountain to the western sea.[1]

The *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* tells us also that Jāmadagnya created the Sapta Koṭīśvara *tīrthas* with which we are not concerned here.[2] In a later passage we have the

1. In the version summarized by Wilson, we are informed that Paraśurāma threw his axe from Gokarṇa to Kumārī, and the retiring ocean yielded him the coast of Malabar below the latitude of 15 degrees. Wilson, *Mack. Coll.*, I. Inter. pp. xciv-xcv. Wilson confounds here Tuḷuva proper with Malabar. B. A. S.

2. *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* Uttar. I. vv. 51-53, p. 305.

statement that he gave twelve *grāmas* to Brāhmans :—

Nissārayitum-ambūnām-ālayam sāgaram tadā I
Grāmāṇām dvādas'ānām tu parimāṇena Bhārgavaḥ II [1]

And then we have the names of the famous seven divisions of the new land given thus:—Kerala, Tulunga (*i.e.*, Tuluva evidently), Haiva, Saurāṣṭra, Koṅkaṇa, Karahāṭa, and Karnāṭaka.[2] These were the well known Sapta Koṅkaṇas of western India.

While the fact of his having reclaimed the Śurpāraka province from the ocean and of his having established the Sapta Koṭīśvaras dividing certain tracts into twelve *grāmas* amongst Brahmans is thus narrated in the epics and the *Purāṇas*, it is not told anywhere that he formed the seven districts mentioned above. The epics and the *Purāṇas*—excluding the *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa*—do not speak of the Sapta Koṅkaṇas as having been created by him. To the absence of this important detail in the *Purāṇas*, we may add two considerations to prove that the Sapta Koṅkaṇas cannot be ascribed to Paraśurāma at all. In the elaborate description of the activities of Kārtavīrya and of his sons, and of the discomfiture which Paraśurāma suffered at the hands of Daśaratha's son Rāma, as given by Kālidāsa, whose acquaintance with the traditional origin of a part of the western coast we have already seen, no mention is made of the Sapta Koṅkaṇas at all. On the other hand, Kālidāsa merely informs us that Paraśurāma had given the whole earth bounded by the ocean to the deserving

1 & 2. *Ibid*, Ch. VI. v. 42, p. 326; v. 46-7, p. 326.

(Brahmans). Thus does Paraśurāma himself tell Rāma:— Even the opposite of victory (*i. e.*, defeat) inflicted by thee—the Primeval Being—is certainly agreeable to me who have reduced to ashes the enemies of my father and who have made over the whole earth bounded by the oceans to the deserving :—

> *Bhasmasāt-kṛtavataḥ pitṛ-dviṣaḥ pātrasāt-ca vasudhām sasāgarām* ।
> *Āhitaḥ jaya-viparyayo'pi me s'lāghya eva parameṣṭhinā tvayā* ॥ [1]

The absence of any reference to the creation of the Sapta Koṅkaṇas by Paraśurāma in the work of Kālidāsa proves that the legend of Sapta Koṅkaṇas must have originated after the poet's time, *i. e.*, after the fifth or the sixth century A.D.

Another consideration which goes to confirm the above assertion is the diversity of opinion among the writers of the story as regards the names of the districts that comprised the Sapta Koṅkaṇas. The *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* includes among the Koṅkaṇas the name Tuluṅga. Such a variant of the name Tuḷuva is not met with in any of the hitherto discovered historical records or traditional accounts of that district. Instead of Hayve mentioned in the *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa*, we have Govarāṣṭra in other accounts. Saurāṣṭra of the same *Purāṇa* is called Varaḷatta in other versions.[2] And instead of Karnāṭa, other accounts add Barbara.[3] Fur-

1. *Raghuvaṁsa*, XI. 86. See also *ibid*, vv. 64–67 for the story of Kārtavīrya.

2 & 3. Wilson, *Asiatic Researches* XV. p. 47, (n). See also *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. P. II. p. 283, n. (5).

ther, the Sapta Koṅkaṇas given in some southern accounts contain the names Virāṭa and Marāṭha instead of Karnāṭa and Saurāṣṭra mentioned in the *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa*.[1] This confusion is carried further in the *Keralotpatti* some versions of which practically deny the Sapta Koṅkaṇas altogether. They bring forward an altogether new division of the ancient units thus :— Tuḷuva, Mūṣika, and Keraḷa.[2]

The unknown writer of a work called *Prapañca-hṛdayam*, the date of which is unfortunately not determinable, confirms the existence of the above three names but also adds others to make up the Sapta Koṅkaṇas. After describing the seven mountain ranges—Ṛkṣavat, Mahendra, Vindhya, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimat, and Pāriyātra, the work continues to give a brief notice of Laṅkāpurī, and then speaks of the land called *Paras'urāma-bhūmi* thus :

Tatra Malaya-dvīpa-madhyavartino Malaya-parvatasya-madhyama-s'ikhare Laṅkāpurī । *sā prasiddhatarā Sahyapāde Paras'urāma-bhūmiḥ* । *sā Sāpta-Koṅkaṇākhyā Kūpaka-Keraḷa-Mūṣika-Āluva-Pas'ukoṅkaṇa-Parakoṅkaṇa bhedena dakṣiṇa-uttara-āyāmena ca vyavasthitā*.[3]

How *six* divisions could be termed *Sapta* Koṅkaṇas passes beyond one's comprehension.

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1. Gundert, *Malayalam-English Dicty.*, q. v.
2. Taylor, *Cat Rais.*, I. p. 667. Another Keraḷa tradition makes Paraśurāma, a Pāṇḍya ruler, and Ceruman Perumāl contemporaries ! *Ibid.* III. pp. 166–7.
3. *Prapañcahṛdayam* pp. 3–4. (Ed. by Canpat Sastri, Trivandrum Skt. Series).

Nevertheless this account given in the *Prapañca-hṛdayam* is important in two ways :—Firstly, it confirms our surmise that there was never any uniformity in the mind of early writers as regards the exact nomenclature of the Seven Koṅkaṇas; and secondly, it gives another and an equally historical name of Tuḷuva-Āluva-which, as will be seen in the following pages, was used in those times to denote not only the dynasty that ruled over Tuḷuva but the province as well.

4. VERACITY OF THAT PART OF THE ABOVE STORY RELATING TO THE SAPTA KOṄKAṆAS EXAMINED

Inscriptional evidence leads us to the conclusion that the legend of the creation of the so-called Sapta Koṅkaṇas may have become popular in the eleventh century A.D. It is true that in some inscriptions of the early times we meet with the names of the component parts that made up the Sapta Koṅkaṇas. Thus, for instance, in a copper plate grant of the Gaṅga ruler Mārasiṁha, assigned to A.D. 786, Varāṭa-deśa in the north is said to be the country from which Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa, grandfather of the famous disputant Vādighaṅghaḷa Bhaṭṭa, hailed.[1] Hayve is mentioned in a record dated about A.D. 991 as having contained a temple dedicated to the goddess Guṇḍadabbe.[2] We may also

1. *My. Archl. Rept.* for 1921, p. 23.

2. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 479 p. 81. In A.D. 1047 Hayve was under the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Cāmuṇḍa Rāyarasa. It was conquered by the Kaḷacuriya general Keśirāja in A.D. 1159. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 123, p. 93.

note here that three of the seven famous divisions are mentioned in a later record of the reign of king Harihara Rāya II. It relates that Mallapa Oḍeyar was in Śaka 1308 (A.D. 1386-7) the viceroy over the Tuḷu, Hayve, and Koṅkaṇa kingdoms with his capital at Bārakūru.[1]

But the Seven Koṅkaṇas seem to have sprung into fame in the Karnāṭaka records from the middle of the eleventh century A.D. onwards. It is said of the Western Cālukya monarch Āhavamalla Trailokyamalla in a record dated A.D. 1054 that he terrified and forced to obey the Seven Koṅkaṇas and the Seven Male which were united together.[2] The Kadamba king Kīrti Deva is said to have subdued the Seven Koṅkaṇas as if in mere sport, in a record dated A.D. 1077.[3] But in circa A.D. 1076 Bhoja Deva is said to have conquered the Koṅkaṇa. No mention is made of the Sapta Koṅkaṇas in this record.[4]

An ingenious explanation regarding the creation of the Sapta Koṅkaṇas by Paraśurāma is given in the following record dated A.D. 1112-13 which, while tracing the origin of the great feudatory family of the Pāṇḍyas, alludes thus to the achievement of Paraśurāma :—" In the Kṛta *yuga* to the accomplisher of his desires Jamadagni, the husband of Reṇukā, was born

1 154 D of the *Epigraphical Report of the Southern Circle* for 1901; *South Indian Inscriptions*, VII., No. 351, p. 209.

2. *E. C.* VII., Sk. 118, p. 85. 3. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 262, p. 42.

4. *E. I.* XI. p. 181.

the powerful bearer of the *Paras'u* (or axe), the slayer of the son of Kṛtavīrya, who murdered his *guru*. And twenty-one times slaying all the kings in the world, he bestowed the circle of the earth as far as the ocean upon the Brahmans (*dharaṇī-devar*), but considering that he should not dwell in the property of the Brahmans, he turned back the sea with the tip of his bow, the son of Reṇukī, praised by the learned. Having left not even space (*kaṇa*) in the place occupied by the western ocean, that hero obtained from the favour of Phaṇi-kaṅkaṇa (Śiva) the Seven Koṅkaṇas as his abode. To the lady Koṅkaṇa country thus created by Paraśurāma, Hayve was like her *kaṅkaṇa* (or bracelet), in which as the beautiful chief gem shone forth Sisugali"—the capital of the Pāṇḍyas of Ucchaṅgi :—

kṛta-yugadoḷ Jamadagnige kṛtakṛtiyaṅg ogedu Reṇukī-
patig aṅgī- ।
kṛta-guru-vadhanaṃ vadhiysi Kṛtavīryātmajanan ati-
baḷam Paras'udharaṃ ॥
dharaṇī-maṇḍaḷadoḷ dharābhujaran irppatt oṅdu sūḷ
koṇḍu tad- ।
dharaṇī-maṇḍaḷamaṃ samasta-dharaṇī-dēvarge vārddhi
aṅtikaṃ- ॥
baraṃ-itt-alli dharāmara-svaḍoḷ iralk āg endu pog-otti sā-।
garamaṃ cāpada korppinoḷ budha-nutaṃ s'ri-Reṇukī-
naṅdanaṃ ॥
kaṇa-mātrodakaman iralk aṇam īyade pas'cimābdhi tegcd
eḍayoḷ Koṅ- ।

kaṇa-saptakamaṃ Phaṇi-kaṅkaṇa-varade nijās'rayārthaṃ ā-vibhu paḍedaṃ ||

aṅtu Paras'urāma sṛṣṭi enisida
Koṅkaṇa dhātrī-vaniteya kaṅkaṇad eseva Hayveyoḷ Sisugali...[1]

Certain considerations may be levelled against this interesting record of the times of the great Western Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya VI. In the first place, the record speaks of Reṇukī, while the recognized form of the name, as Rice correctly remarked, is Reṇukā. Secondly, the poet who has thus invented a new name for Jāmadagnya's mother, calls the Brahmans *dharaṇī-bhūvar*, a singular epithet which, while no doubt being in conformity with the traditional high status assumed by the priestly class, suggests nevertheless that, in this particular instance, it may have been used for reasons other than those of mere Brahmanical sanctimony. Thirdly, Paraśurāma is described by the scribe as turning the ocean by the tip of his bow. Here we have a peculiar detail which is not mentioned in any account of that hero. The ingenious poet brings in a fourth point which conclusively proves that he was inventing the story with an ulterior motive. He says that Śiva gave the land to Paraśurāma. But we have seen that, both according to the *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* and the traditional accounts of

1. *E. C.*, VII. Sk. 99, p. 65, text, p. 183, ll. 14–17. See also *My. Inscr.* p. 83 where the same record is dated A.D. 1112. Read also *Bombay Gaz.*, I. P. II. p. 283 (n). Cf. *Kavicarite*, I. p. 115 (1924).

Tuḷuva, it was the Ocean (Varuṇa) who relinquished the large tract of country from Nāsik to Kanyākumārī to Paraśurāma. Finally, the play upon the words *Phaṇikaṅkaṇa* and *kaṅkaṇa* makes one suspect that the originator of the story was more prone to eulogize the greatness of Phaṇikaṅkaṇa (Śiva) and to show the ultra-Śaivite bent of his mind than to hand down to posterity a trustworthy account of the origin of Paraśurāma *kṣetra*. Indeed, the manner in which the inscription ends completely justifies our assumption that the poet who composed the above story was a confirmed Śaivite:- *Gobbūra dhāraṇa-sārvabhauma Mallikārjuna-bhaṭṭaṃ su-kavīndra-Ṣaṇmukhaṃ bhadraṃ astu-S'iva-s'āsanāya.*

If the above account of the "Universal Emperor of Mnemonics," as Mallikārjuna Bhaṭṭa is styled, were correct, we should have had it in the many epigraphs referring to the Seven Koṅkaṇas of the Karnāṭaka rulers. But, as is proved by the following inscriptions, there is not even the slightest reference to the above version or its variants in them.

Epigraphs relating to the Seven Koṅkaṇas are many. The Śāntāra king Jayakeśi, son of Vijayāditya, is said in an inscription dated A.D. 1149 to have ruled over the Seven Koṅkaṇas.[1] But in A.D. 1125-6 a stone tablet at Narendra represents him as governing the Koṅkaṇa Nine-hundred, the Hayve Five-hundred and other provinces under the Western Cālukya

1. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 103, p. 74.

monarch Vikramāditya VI.[1] Jayakeśi II, we may incidentally observe, was called *Koṅkaṇa-Cakravarti*, or the Emperor of the Koṅkaṇas.[2] Through the aid of Noḷamba, whose full name is not given in the epigraph dated about A.D. 1078, the Seven Koṅkaṇas became like bracelets (*Kaṅkaṇa*) to the same Western Cālukya Emperor Trailokyamalla Vikramāditya VI.[3] Vijaya Pāṇḍya Deva is described in records dated A.D. 1166 and A.D. 1168 to have subdued the Seven Koṅkaṇas as if in mere sport.[4]

The Seven Koṅkaṇas were conquered by the famous Hoysala ruler Viṣṇuvardhana Biṭṭiga Deva. This is related in later inscriptions ranging from A.D. 1196 to A.D. 1224, of the times of the Hoysala rulers Ballāḷa Deva II and Narasiṁha Deva II. It is said in these epigraphs that when Biṭṭiga Deva appeared as a wrestler (*jaṭṭiga*) on the battle field, the Seven Koṅkaṇas cast away their weapons and fell into the sea.[5]

Even in A.D. 1396 Bācaṇa Rāya, son of Vīra Vasanta Mādhava, under the Vijayanagara king Harihara Rāya II, is called the reducer of the Seven Koṅkaṇas.[6]

We may here observe that the fame of the Seven Koṅkaṇas went far beyond the limits of Karnāṭaka king-

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1. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. S.* IX. p. 265; Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dist.* p. 91. (1st ed.).
2. Fleet, *ibid.*
3. *E. C.* VII., Sk. 107, p. 79.
4. *Ibid*, XI. Dg. 5 & 39, pp. 25–6, 49.
5. *Ibid..* VI. Tk. 42, Tk. 45, pp. 109–110; *ibid*, XI. Dg. 25, p. 34. The Seven Koṅkaṇas are also mentioned in A.D. 1223. *My. Inscr.* p. 32.
6. *E. C.* VII. HI. 71, p. 173.

doms; and that like the rulers of the western and southern India, who were credited with the subjugation of the Sapta Koṅkaṇas, the kings of the extreme north were also reputed to have conquered them. Thus Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, while describing the *digvijaya* or world-conquest of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of the Karkoṭa dynasty, writes thus :—"Then having his triumphal cheers sounded by the music of the ocean waves, he, the first (*apas'cima*) of conquerors, proceeded to the western regions. His shining majesty, on reaching the Seven Koṅkaṇas, dark with betel-nut trees, appeared like that of the sun with his (seven) horses."[1]

Kalhaṇa gives us a clue to the explanation of the term Sapta Koṅkaṇa. The splendour of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, who was bent on conquering the Seven Koṅkaṇas, appeared like the glory of the sun with his seven horses. In other words, that ruler of Kāśmīra is described to have undertaken the conquest of seven imaginary territories of western India, in much the same manner as many a Karnāṭaka king, with no doubt substantial claims for widespread conquests both in the Karnāṭaka and Tamil lands, is supposed to have subdued the Sapta Koṅkaṇas. The truth seems to be that the term Sapta Koṅkaṇa was purely conventional. It was used in as wide and unhistorical a sense as the expression the Seven Gauḍas over which Kannara Deva is said to have ruled in A.D. 964; the Seven Malẹ over

1. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV., 158-9, pp. 136,142. (Stein's trans. Westminster, 1900).

which, as is narrated in an inscription dated A.D. 1024, Vīra Noḷamba reigned; the Seven Male and the Seven Kombu which were subdued by Viṣṇuvardhana Biṭṭiga Deva, as records dated A.D. 1134 and A.D. 1135 inform us; the Seven Islands in the middle of the ocean which are said to have trembled before Hoysala Narasiṁha I, as given in an epigraph dated A.D. 1169; and the Seven Kaliṅgas which were conquered, according to the Tamil historical narrative *Kaḷiṅgattu Paraṇi*, by the king of Vaindainagara, the Pallava feudatory of the Coḷa king.[1] We have elsewhere proved how significant the number Seven has been in the history of eastern thought.[2] The attempt made by Fleet, therefore, to include the Hayve or Payve Five Hundred (roughly modern North Kanara), the Koṅkaṇa Nine Hundred (modern Goa, which, however, he identifies with Revatī Dvīpa!) the Iriḍige country (modern Sāvantavāḍi State and the Ratnāgiri districts),

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1. *E. C.* XI. Hl. 30, p. 119; *ibid*, XII. Gb. 34, p. 24; *Śravaṇa Belgoḷa Ins.*, No. 144, p. 187 (1st ed.); *My. Archl. Rept.* for 1929, p. 137; *E. C.*, VI. Kd. 51, p. 11; *I. A.* XIX. pp. 334-6. The seven islands, the seven mountain chains, the seven days, the seven planets, and the seven horses of the sun are mentioned in a record of A.D. 1174. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 236, p. 135.

2. Cf. Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, I. pp. 123-4. See also *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI. Khaṇḍa, 1 Adhyāya, 1 Brāhmaṇa, p. 144. (SBE Vol. III) where Indra or Prājapati ia described to be composed of seven parts. See also *Raghuvaṁśa*, I. 58. 68, XIII. 51. The number Seven has also been important in Buddhist literature. Read Cowell, *The Jātaka*, V. p. 167, VI. p. 200. The following references may also be read: *QJMS*, XV, pp. 116-24; XVI, pp. 263-83, XVIII, pp. 30-45, 94-105.

the Koṅkaṇa Fourteen Hundred (of the northern Śilahāras, now represented by Kolābā and Thāṇa), and the Lāṭa country (which, according to Fleet, was the name given to Surat and Baroda) under the mythological denomination of Seven Koṅkaṇas seems to be both arbitrary as well as unhistorical.[1]

5. REFERENCES TO TUḶUVA IN THE EPICS AND THE PURĀṆAS

The above explanation of the term Sapta Koṅkaṇa does not aid us in the history of Tuḷuva. All that we may venture to suggest is that in the early days when the recollection of a huge upheaval of the ocean was within the memory of mankind, Tuḷuva must have existed as a separate geographical division; and that it must have been of sufficient importance to have been included among the alleged creations of Jāmadagnya.[2] The absence of the term Sapta Koṅkaṇa in inscriptions of the ninth century and earlier, and the silence which Kālidāsa, for instance, maintains as regards the sup-

1. Fleet, *Bombay Gaz.*, I. P. II. p. 283, (n). In the same note he says that the subject is capable of further elucidation, especially if the Koṅkaṇa is held to have extended beyond the Malabar district. The divisions, then, according to Fleet, would be :—1. Travancore and Cochin, 2. Malabar, 3. South Kanara, 4. North Kanara, 5. Goa, 6. Ratnāgiri, and 7. Kolābā, Thāṇa and Surat. As against this, we may note the following : In the first place, no inscription or tradition extends the Koṅkaṇ beyond Malabar. Secondly, the inscriptions hitherto discovered have never enlightened us on this purely hypothetical division. B. A. S.

2. On Paraśurāma's story, read, Rice, *My. Gaz.*, I. pp. 275–6 (1st ed.); *I. A.*, III. p. 191; Sturrock, *S. C. Manual*, I. pp. 9, 57.

posed seven divisions of a province the legendary origins of which, as we have narrated, he seems to have noted, prove beyond doubt that the story of the Sapta Koṅkaṇas may have originated after the times of Kālidāsa; and that it received a tangible shape when the brilliant conquests of the Karnāṭaka monarchs in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. and onwards, gave ample scope to scribes and panegyrical writers to dwell on the number Seven and to apply it to many of the provinces of southern and western India.

But it must be confessed that Tuḷuva does not figure either in the *Rāmāyaṇa* or in the *Mahābhārata* as a district of political importance; and that even in some of the *Purāṇas*, as will be seen presently, no mention is made of its individual existence at all. We may account for this by saying that in the times of the epics, the Tuḷuvas, while they had made themselves acquainted with their neighbours the Karnāṭaka people, had not acquired any political status worthy of note; and that some of the writers of the Purāṇas were evidently ignorant of the activities of the Tuḷuvas whose country, as will be shown at once, was not devoid of places of pilgrimage of considerable antiquity. One of these was Gokarṇa which, as we have already seen, was one of the seventeen *Tīrthas* established by Paraśurāma within the limits of Tuḷuva. It was at Gokarṇa that, according to tradition, the image which Rāvaṇa brought from the mountain called "Coila", with the intention of carrying it off to Laṅkā,

got transfixed at the place where it now stands.[1] Another spot is Pātāḷa-Laṅkā which, as Rice remarked, was in Kanara.[2] It is doubtful whether this is to be identified with Vaḷa-Laṅkā (Vaḷa-Laṅke), a suburb of Mūlki in Tuḷuva.[3] The hill Kuñjāragiri located in the south in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and hitherto unidentified,[4] was no other than the Kuñjāragiri spoken of above as a holy place near Uḍipi, associated with the memories of Paraśurāma. It is mentioned in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* as a *des'a* but under a slightly different name Kuñjaradari, and located in the same work after Kaccha and before Tāmraparṇa.[5] The evidence of *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* agrees with that of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* to be cited presently.

Certain names of rivers, hill-tops, and places mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* bear a strong similarity to those found in Tuḷuva. In the topographical list given in the *Bhīṣma Parva*, a people called Utūlus are mentioned after the Abhisāras and before the Saivalas. We do not know whether this name has to be referred to the Tuḷus. Neither are we

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1. Buchanan, *A Journey.*, III. p. 166 ; Burgess-Cousens, *Revised List of Antiquities*, pp. 190–191.
2. Rice, *My. Gaz.*, I. p. 183.
3. Vaḷa-Laṅke is one of the seventy-seven islands which, according to Tuḷuva tradition, formed a part of the Ghoräṣṭra mentioned above. Cf. Hegde, *Caritre*, p. 41. Was Vaḷa-Laṅke a corruption of Vuḷāyida-Laṅke which in Tuḷu means " Within Laṅke" ? B. A. S.
4. *Rāmāyaṇa* Kiṣk-kāṇḍa, XL. v. 35, p. 166. (Bombay, 1911); *Mark. Pur.* p. 367, n.
5. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, Ch. XIV. v. 16, p. 51 (Calcutta, 1880). It is also mentioned by Alberuni, *India*, I. p. 301. (rev. ed.)

in a position to assert whether the Prācyas placed after the Keraḷas and before the Mūṣikas in the same *Parva*, were in any way connected with the Tuḷus.[1] Among the *seven kula parvatas* described in the same list, we have of course Sahya, the eastern boundary of Tuḷuva. The Kumārī river mentioned after the Vṛṣasābhayā and before Ṛṣikulyā in the same context bears a strong resemblance to the Kumārī (Kumāradhārī) of Tuḷuva,[2] although it must be admitted that there are greater reasons for identifying it with its namesake in Bihar.[3] The Kumārī is mentioned in the *Agni* and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas*, too, where it is said to rise in the Śuktimān mountains.[4] The *Padma Purāṇa* likewise speaks of it but in manner to justify one's doubt that there may have been some confusion in the mind of the compilers of the *Purāṇas* between the rivers that flowed in the north and those in the south. For the *Padma Purāṇa*, following the *Bhīṣma Parva*, no doubt, locates the Kumārī after the Vṛṣasā (ka) and before Ṛṣikulyā, in the north. But the same *Purāṇa* groups the Kumārī and the Sukumārī together with the Mahānadī and the Sītā, and describes them as flowing in the S'aka-dvīpa.[5]

1-2. *Bhīṣma Parva*, Sec. IX. pp. 29-30.

3. Dey identifies the Kumārī and the Sukumārī with the Kaorhari which rises in the Śuktimat in the Bihar subdivision near Rajgir. *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 107 (2nd ed. London, 1927).

4. *Agni Purāṇa*, Ch. 118, v. 7, p. 162. (Poona, 1900); *Mark. Pur.* pp. 305-6.

5. *Padma Purāṇa*, Vol. I, Ch. VI. v. 31, p. 9; Ch. VIII. vv. 30-31, p. 12. (Poona, 1893).

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* too places the Kumārī in the same *dvīpa* but mentions another river—the Naḷinī which recalls the Naḷinī of Tuḷuva.[1] The *Vāyu Purāṇa* and the *Matsya Purāṇa* likewise mention the Kumārī but under the name Sukumārī.[2]

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* mentions Indrakīla which is the ancient name of Aḍūru, a village seventeen miles east of Kāsaragōḍu, where there is an old sculptured Śiva temple fabled to have been founded by Arjuna. It is now in ruins but is said to have been repaired about five hundred years ago.[3] According to Tuḷuva tradition, Maṇipura, an island which lies on the way from Uḍipi to Haṅgārakaṭṭa, is said to have been the Maṇipura which Arjuna visited on his way from

1. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II, pp. 127, 176. If the word *dvīpa* is to be interpreted in the sense of a *doab* as suggested by Pargiter, (*Mārk Pur.* p. 364, n.), and if the Śaka-dvīpa could be identified with Tuḷuva, which, we confess, is a question that is beset with considerable difficulties, one may venture to say that the seven rivers of the Śaka-dvīpa-the Sukumāri, the Kumārī, the Naḷinī, the Dhenukā, the Ikṣū, the Veṇukā, and the Gabhasti—bear much resemblance, as to their names, to the seven rivers of Tuḷuva—the Netrāvatī (which is joined by the Kumārī below the Ghats), the Śāmbhavī, the Malāpaḥ, the Sītā, the Naliṇī, the Nandinī, and the Śuktimatī. But this is a purely hypothetical consideration. B.A.S.

2. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Ch. XLIV. v. 108, p. 138 (Poona, 1905); *Matsya Purāṇa*, P. I , Ch. CXIV. 20–32, p. 308.

3. Wilson located Indrakīla on Rāmagiri. *Asiatic Researches*, VIII. p. 334; *Orient Magazine*, II. p. 186 seq.; Srinivasa Hegde, *Caritre*, p. 264; Sewell, *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency*, I. p. 238. But Indrakīla is also the name of the hill in Bezwada where Arjuna's fight with Śiva, disguised as a Kirāta, took place. A stone inscription ascribed to the ninth century A.D. confirms this. *Ep. Rep. of the Southern Circle* for 1916, p. 149.

Mahendra in the south, while going to Gokarṇa in the north.[1] About a mile and a half to the east of Uḍipi lies the village of Indrāṇi, also known as Indraḷḷi. The *sthaḷa māhātmya* of this locality says that Arjuna spent a few days here and was carried aloft to Amarāvatī by Indra. Hence the name Indraḷḷi (Indra-haḷḷi). The above places which are supposed to have been visited by Arjuna leave out of account numerous stones, caves, and wells alleged to have been constructed by the Pāṇḍavas in the course of their exile.[2]

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, however, speaks of three important hill tops of Tuḷuva: Puṣpagiri, Kūṭaśaila, and Kuñjāra (giri). The Puṣpagiri located in that work after Paṇḍara and before Durjayanta may be identified with Puṣpagiri (5,667 feet high), on which stands the famous temple of Subrahmaṇya in Tuḷuva.[3]

1. *Ādi Parva*, Ch. CCXIX, pp. 601–2. There is also a Maṇipura in Kalinga and another one in Mysore. Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, pp. 403–4; *E. I.*, IV. p. 340. Maṇipura was the ancient name of Bhaṭkaḷ. Burgess-Cousens, *Revised List.*, p. 194.

2. As, for instance, the Pāṇḍava caves at Kadri, near Mangalore; the collection of five *Tīrthas* in the temple of Someśvara at Ullāḷa, four miles and a half south of Mangalore; Ulūpe at the foot of the Ghats which, according to some, was so named after Ulūpi, the daughter of the Nāga king, and the wife of Arjuna.. B. A. S.

3. Pargiter, *Mark. Pur.*, pp. 284, 290; Sturruck, *S. C. Manual*, I. pp. 11–12, II. p. 271; Vogel, *Serpent Lore in India*, pp. 272–3; *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIII, p. 115; *I. A.*, VII. p. 42. There is also a Puṣpagiri in the Cuddappah district. *E. I.* III. p. 24; Bowring, *Eastern Experiences*, p. 89 (Lond. 1872). This Puṣpagiri is mentioned in the above list in the *Mark. Pur.* by its common name Śrīparvata, and hence it is very unlikely that it would have been twice named in

In the same *Purāṇa* mention is made of Kūṭaśaila after Gomanta and before Kṛtasmāra.[1] This was no other than the well known hill top Kūṭaśaila, also called as Kuḍaśādri (4,400 feet), seventeen miles from Kuṇḍāpūru.[2] The same work locates the people of Kañci, the Tilangas (Telungus? Tulungus ?), and those who dwell in Kuñjaradarī, Kaccha (Cochin ?), and Tāmraparṇi in the Tortoise's right flank.[3] The mount Kuñjara referred to here is no doubt the same hill we have mentioned above as being one of the famous hills near Uḍipi on which the temple of Reṇukā stands, and as having been mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*. We may also note here that one of the rivers described in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* may perhaps with some reservations be identified with its namesake

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the same context. Our identification of Puspagiri with the hill-top of that name in Tuḷuva is, therefore, fully justified. The Paṇḍaṛa referred to in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* was no other than the hillock on which the celebrated temple of Viṭṭhala in Paṇḍharpur stands. This justifies my identification of Paṇḍarādri mentioned in the Pāṇḍaraṅgapaḷḷi plates of king Avidheya. Read the *Antiquity of Paṇḍharpur*, *I. H. Q.* XI. pp. 771-778. B. A. S.

1. *Mark. Pur.*, p. 290.

2. Sturrock, *ibid*, I. pp. 11-12. Bowring gives 4, 111 feet as the height of Koḍaśādri. *Eastern Experiences*, p. 133. We may note here that there is another Kūṭaśaila, also known as Kōṭyamale or Kōḍyamale, in Kārañje, about eight miles east of Baṇṭwāl in Tuḷuva. How the famous group of hills in Tuḷuva—Kudremukh or Kōṭekān (6,173 feet), Midge Point (6,177 feet), and Funk Hill (6,207 feet), were known to the compilers of the Purāṇas, cannot be made out. On these read Sturrock, *ibid*, pp. 11-12. Bowring gives the height of Kudremukh as 6,100 feet. Bowring, *ibid*, p. 151.

3. *Mark. Pur.*. p. 367.

in Tuḷuva. This is the Śuktimatī.[1] It may be identified with the Śuktimatī of Tuḷuva, also known as the Gaṅgavāḍi or the Gaṅgoḷḷi or the Gurget.[2] It flows by S'aṅkaranārāyaṇa,' and is called further down Hālāḍi Hoḷe.

The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* also mentions the Kūṭas'aila after Kūṭaka and before Tuṅgaprasta, and the Pūṣpagiri after Hariparvata and before Jayanta; while the *Vāyu Purāṇa* locates the Kūṭaśaila after Kāru, and Puṣpagiri after Godhanagiri and before Ujjayanta.[3]

In all likelihood the river Payoṣnī placed after the Vitastā and before the Devikā in the *Bhīṣma Parva* was the Payasvānī or Candragiri river or Tuḷuva.[4] The *Padma Purāṇa* evidently follows the *Bhīṣma Parva* when it locates the Payoṣnī after the Vitastā and before the Devikā. But the same *Purāṇa* places the Payoṣnī after

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1. *Mārk. Pur.*, pp. 297–8. Pargiter identified the Śuktimatī with the Śuktimatī on which stood the capital of Cedi. On the Śuktimān mountain which Cunningham identified with the hill range south of Sehoa and Kānker, read, *Arch. Sur. of India*, XVII. pp. 24, 69. Here Cunningham also identifies the Śuktimatī with the Mahānadī. But in the *Bhīṣma Parva* the Śuktimatī is located after the Mahānadī and before the Anaṅgā. *Bhīṣma Parva*, IX. p. 31. Pargiter rejected the identification of the hill-top Śuktimat as given by Cunningham. *Mārk. Pur.* p. 285, n. According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar the Śuktimān mountains are the Suleman range in the Hindu Kus group. *Proceedings of the Second All-India Oriental Conference*, pp. 609–612.

2. Cf. Aygal, *Dakṣiṇa Kannaḍa Jilleya Prācīna Itihāsa*, p. 2; Sturrock, *S. C. Manual*, I. p. 12.

3. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* in *Asiatic Researches*, VIII. p. 334; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Ch. 45, v. 92, p. 137. (Poona, 1900).

4. *Bhīṣma Parva*, IX. pp. 29–30.

the S'arāvati and before the Bhīmā,[1] thus justifying our assumption that the Payoṣṇī was perhaps meant for the Payasvānī of Tuḷuva. But the *Matsya Purāṇa* describes it as flowing from the Vindhya mountain.[2] Whatever may be the difficulty in our identification of this river, we see that the name Payoṣṇī and Payasvānī bear close resemblance to each other.

The *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* has a long account to give of the origin of the longest river of Tuḷuva, the Netrāvatī. It is said that when once the powerful giant Hiraṇyākṣa carried away the earth to Pātāḷa or the nether regions, the gods in fear ran to Viṣṇu who was then living in the Śveta-dvīpa. In order to appease the gods, Viṣṇu took the shape of a boar, killed the giant and saved the world. When He was resting on the Veda Pāda Parvata, the right tusk of the boar broke and there gushed forth the river Bhadrā. From the left tusk, which was longer than the other, there sprang the sister river Tuṅgā. Simultaneously a third stream issued from the eyes of the boar, and this was the Netrāvatī. The two former taking different courses, unite in the east at Kūḍali, running thenceforth under the name of Tuṅgabhadrā. While the third one-the Netrāvatī-goes in the opposite direction below the

1. *Padma Purāṇa*, Vol. I. Ch. VI. v. 13, 16. p. 8.

2. *Matsya Purāṇa*, P. I. Ch. IV. vv. 2032, p. 308 (Taluqdar). The *Agni Purāṇa* however calls it Payoṣṇikā and places it after the Tāpī and before Godāvarī flowing from the Sahya. Ch. VII. v. 118, p. 162.

Ghats, and unites with the Kumārī river mentioned above.[1]

6. CLAIMS OF TUḶUVA TO ANTIQUITY

Not till we come to the epigraphical records of the Karnāṭaka kings of the early centuries of the Christian era, and to the accounts of foreign geographers of the same period, do we get any reliable data concerning the existence of Tuḷuva as an independent political unit. Before we deal with this part of the narrative, we may dispense with the attempts made by some to identify Tuḷuva with one of the principalities given in the Rock Edicts of Aśoka. In the II. Rock Edict at Gīrṅar, and in the II. Rock Edict at Kālsi, the name Satiyaputa is mentioned after the Pāṇḍyas and before the Ketalaputa (Keralaputa).[2]

Speculation has been rife as regards this word Satiyaputa. It has been imagined by some that the Satiyaputa mentioned in the Rock Edicts refers to Tuḷuva under the alleged name of Satyabhūmi. Some have attempted to connect the word Satiyaputa with

1. *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* cited in *I. A.*, I. pp. 212-3. It is interesting to observe in this connection that both the rivers Tuṅgā and Bhadrā take their rise in the same tract, *viz.*, in the extreme west of Mysore, about 250 miles as the crow flies from Bangalore. This place is called Gaṅgāmūla. It is held sacred by the people. Now, this Gaṅgāmūla is exactly the same spot where the Suvarṇā river of Tuḷuva—which flowing past Puttige towards the east is called the Varāhanadī—is said to originate. This locality is also known as Guruguñjemūla. B. A. S.

2. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, pp. 18, 29, seq.

the Śātvatas who are supposed to have occupied Tuḷuva.[1]

Wherever else the Satiyaputa of the Rock Edicts may be located, it cannot be identified with Tuḷuva. We shall see while dealing with the political history of the district, that the supposed identity of the Sātvatas (and of the Cuṭus) with the rulers of the district does not rest on any historical grounds.

Now, in regard to the other statement that the Satiyaputa of the Rock Edicts was the same as the Satyabhūmi of the early writers, and that it may be equated with Tuḷuva, we may observe the following:—On the strength of the Tamil classic *Ahnānūru* and the *S'ilappadikāram*,[2] which are said to be the products of the so-called Śaṅgham age, it is asserted that Tuḷunāḍu was a separate province in the early centuries of the Christian era. In the *Aham* (294) the Tuḷunāḍu is located to the west of the Erumaināḍu (Skt. Mahiṣamaṇḍala) which lay immedialy to the north of Tamilagam or the Tamil country proper. The *Aham* (24), as the anthology of erotic subjects said to have been compiled by Uruttirasamman, under the patronage of the Pāṇḍya king Ugrapperuvuludi, is called, also informs

1. Cf. Saletore, *Indian Culture*, I. pp. 667–674. The following may also be read in addition to the references given in *ibid*, p. 667, n. (1):–Bühler, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlá'ndischen Gesellschaft*, XXXVII, p. 98, seq.; Bhandarkar, *J. Bomb. R.A.S.* XX. p. 398, (N. S.); Burgess identified Satiyaputa with Telingana. *Amaravati Stupa*, p. 3.

2. I am indebted to my friend V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar for these references in the *Aham*. B. A. S.

us that the Tuḷu country was occupied by the Kośars. From the epithet given to the Kośar in the Śaṅgham works, *viz.*, that they were addicted to the habit of speaking the truth, it is supposed that they can be identified with the Satiya (Satya) putas of the Aśokan Edicts. The Kośars, who attended the installation of the goddess Pattaṇi by the Cera king Śeṅguṭṭuvan, as mentioned in the *S'ilappadikāram*, are imagined to have been the inhabitants of Tuḷuva. Since these events are assigned to the second century A. D., it is conjectured that Tuḷuva at that time was a separate political division having friendly dealings with the Tamil kingdoms.[1]

These attractive arguments deserve to be examined not only on the basis of the epigraphs and tradition concerning Tuḷuva but also with the aid of the very classical works which are assigned to the Śaṅgham age in Tamil history. To start with, it may be said that the age of the Śaṅgham poets itself is by no means a settled question.[2] Apart from this consideration, it is

1. It is also asserted that Nannan, who is mentioned in *Aham* (13) as having been invited by the Kośar, and as having lost his State elephant, ruled over South Kanara and North Kanara in the middle of the second century A.D.. S. K. Aiyangar, *I. A.*, LIV, pp. 37-8; *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, p. 323. Kanakasabhai maintains that Māmulunār, who is supposed to have lived between A.D. 100–130, visited Tuḷuva! *The Tamils 1800 years ago*, p. 198. B.A.S.

2. This point will be discussed at some length in the writer's forthcoming work on Buddhism. For the present read Dr. Barnett, *Journal of Indian History*, III. p. 137, seq. See also Fleet, *JRAS* for 1910, p. 429; *QJMS*. III. p. 60.

doubtful whether the nine poets, who are said to have made up the galaxy of the Śaṅgham age, lived at one and the same time. Moreover it is permissible to question the validity of the statement of those who assign the first or the second century A. D. to the Śaṅgham poets, on ths strength of the Tamil classic *S'ilappadikāram*. If the Cera king Śeṅguṭṭuvan mentioned in the *S'ilappadikāram* is the same Cera king of Vañji, the great Śeṅguṭṭuvan, who is represented in the other Tamil gem *Maṇimekhalai* as having reduced all the land to the same condition as that of his own hill territory, who is said to have marched at the head of his army up the banks of the Ganges, and who celebrated victories by wearing the garland of *vāhai*, then, it is doubtful whether the *S'ilappadikāram* can be assigned to the first or the second century A. D., and whether the statement made in it referring to the Kośars, and, therefore, to the supposed occupation of Tuḷuva by those people, can be given much credence. For the *S'ilappadikāram* would then have to be placed posterior to the *Maṇimekhalai*, the date of which itself is still a matter of dispute. This would bring the age of the *S'ilappadikāram* to about A. D. 756.[1] If this age is accepted, we cannot credit the Kośars with the occupation of Tuḷuva, since in the seventh century A. D., the Tuḷuvas had risen into prominence under an indigenous royal family.

1. This is the date assigned to it by the late Swamikannu Pillai. Read *Epigraphical Report of the Southern Circle* for 1919, p. 92.

Turning to the verse 294 of the *Aham* which speaks of Tuḷunāḍu as having been to the west of Erumai-nāḍu which some identify with Mysore, we may observe that there is no evidence to prove that in the early centuries of the Christian era, Mysore was ever called by that name.[1] Since the poets of the Śaṅgham age do not speak of the earlier names by which the more famous parts of the Karṇātaka country were known—*e.g.*, Kaḷabappu (mod. Candragiri hill), Punnāṭa, Kuṅtala, etc.—, we may dispense with the assertion that the Mahiṣamaṇḍala refers to Mysore in the first or second century A. D. Hence, the assertion made in verse 294 of the *Aham* is not of much value for determining the antiquity of Tuḷuva.

We now come to the third argument based on the statements of the writers of the Śaṅgham age, *viz.*, that the Kośars, who were given to the habit of speaking the truth, occupied Tuḷuva; that the land hence came to be known as Satyabhūmi or the country of truth speaking people; and that this was no other than the Satiyaputa of the Aśokan Edicts. These arguments seem to be plausible, especially when we take into consideration the explanation of the term Satiyaputa

1. Cf. Saletore, *Social and Political Life*, I. p. 40, n. (2). See also *E. I.*, IV. p. 58, n. (2). We cannot conceive of Aśoka sending two missionaries—Thera Mahādeva and Thera Rakkhita,—the former of whom was despatched to Mahiṣamaṇḍala, the latter to Vanavāsi,—as given in the *Mahāvamso* (Geiger-Bode, *Mahāvamso*, p. 84) to one and the same country. The efforts of Rice to identity Mahiṣa-maṇḍala with Mysore (*My. & Coorg*, p. 14, and *ibid*, n. (17), seem to be, therefore, futile. B. A. S.

offered by Drs. Lüders and Przyluski, *viz.*, that the Pāli *putta* (Skt. *putra*) at the end of compounds frequently means "belonging to a tribe", and that the Śātvatas were the Śātakarṇis.[1] This would mean that Tuḷuva was the land inhabited by the Śātvatas (Śātakarṇis). It may also be argued that the Satiyaputa of the Rock Edicts is precisely the word Satyaputra occurring in the code of the legendary Tuḷuva lawgiver Bhutāḷa Pāṇḍya, who is supposed to have lived in the first or second century of the Christian era, and to whom the law of inheritance through the female is ascribed. Further, it may also be suggested that one of the earliest inhabitants of Tuḷuva were the Koragars who are well known for their truthfulness, and whose word has become proverbial.[2]

These arguments, if considered sound, would settle once for all the question of the antiquity of Tuḷuva as an independent political unit in the early centuries A. D. But they are untenable on the following grounds :—The Koragars, who may be credited with the ownership of the land in Tuḷuva in some remote period of her history, were no doubt a tribe noted for their honesty and straight dealing. But, as we have shown elsewhere, the Koragars of Tuḷuva formed a branch of a wild tribe spread over the whole of

1. Lüders, *ZDMG* LVIII, p. 693, seq.; Przyluski, *JRAS* for 1929, p. 273, seq.; *IHQ*, IX, pp. 88–91; *J. Andhra H. R. Society*, IV, p. 49, seq.

2. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, III. p. 424.

India.[1] The habit of speaking the truth is shared no doubt by the Koragars along with other aboriginal people who do not figure in this treatise. Moreover, the Koragars do not seem ever to have been called Kośars at all in their folk-songs. Further, there is no agreement among scholars as to where the Kośars settled. According to some, the Kośars lived in the Koṅgunāḍu which corresponds roughly to the modern Coimbatore and Salem districts. Tuḷuva was never in any period of her history part of the Koṅgudeśa. And it cannot be that the Kośars inhabited both the Koṅgudeśa and Tuḷuva at the same time, since that would have given them some sort of political status which would have left its traces in history or legend. But the history of Tuḷuva is silent in regard to this point.

As regards the story of Bhutāḷa Pāṇḍya, we shall see in the course of this treatise that the story relating to him cannot be assigned to such an early age at all.

Finally, it may be asserted that in none of the epigraphical records of Tuḷuva is there the slightest reference either to the name Satyabhūmi or Kośar or Śātvata or Śātakarṇi. We shall presently see that Tuḷuva was under a powerful indigenous dynasty which has left valuable records behind it.

We conclude, therefore, that much reliance cannot be placed on the occupation of Tuḷuva by the Kośars in the early centuries of Christian era. It is nevertheless evident that when the Tamil writers wrote their

1. Cf. Saletore, *The Wild Tribes.*, p. 43, op. cit..

anthologies, the name of Tuḷuva had spread far into the Tamil land.[1] Indeed, the traditions of the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam refer to the colonization of some parts of that country by the Tuḷuva Veḷḷāḷers in the days of Kulottuṅga Coḷa Deva and of his son Ādoṇḍai Cakravarti.[2] But these activities of the Tuḷu people refer to the tenth and the eleventh centuries A.D., when they had already become conspicuous in the annals of both the Tamil and the Karnāṭaka lands.

Foreign geographers are more informative than the Śaṅgham authors concerning the important kingdom and ports in Tuḷuva in the early centuries A. D. We may venture to suggest here that if the evidence of the Greek-Kannaḍa Farce discovered so far back as 1899 at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, and given at the end of this narrative, could be accepted, we should have a further proof of the importance of Tuḷuva in the history of India. It has been rightly maintained that the Barace of Pliny (A. D. 23–A. D. 79) was no other than Basarūru, the Barcelore of mediaeval days.[3] Ptolemy (middle

1. On the history of the Koṅgudeśa, read *Epigraphical Report of the Southern Circle* for 1906, pp. 59–61; *ibid*, for 1911, p. 77. Read also Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils*., p. 51,

2. Wilson, *Mack. Coll.*, I. pp. LXXXIII–LXXXIV; Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar*, p. 36 (1875).

3. Bostock-Riley, *Pliny*, I. Intr. p. vii; II. pp. 38, seq., 46 seq.; Newbold, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, X. V. p. 226; Sewell; *Lists*. I. p. 230; Sturrock, *S. C. Manual*, II. p. 242. But in Vol. I. p. 56, Sturrock doubts it. This town, we may incidentally observe, is said to derive its name from a ruler called Vibudhavasu. But he lived in A.D. 1244, as will be shown hereafter. On Basarūru, see *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 45 where it is said that town received its name from a fig tree.

of the 2nd century A. D.) speaks of a town called Maganur in the midst of the false mouth and the Barios.[1] What the latter word Barios stands for, it is difficult to say. But the false mouth (of the river) evidently refers to the dangerous place where the Netrāvatī meets the sea, and Maganur was no doubt Maṅgaḷūru.

This was the same Mangarouth which Kosmos Indikopleustes,a merchant who adhered "strictly to truth", and who was the author of *Christian Topography* (middle of the sixth century A. D.), mentions as having been one of the five ports of what he calls "Male".[2] Elliot writes of Casiri as quoting a Ms. in which Mangalore is mentioned at the beginning of the seventh century A. D.[3]

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1. Ptolemy, cited in *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 552. Nitrias, a port mentioned by Pliny, was thought to have been the same as the Netrāvatī. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 111 (Lond. 1901). But Nitrias has also been identified with Bangkok, in North Kanara. Fleet, *Bombay Gaz.*, I. P. II. p. 2.

2. McCrindle, *ibid*, p. 161. Mangalore, we may observe, had risen to prominence by this time. It is mentioned in a grant assigned to A.D. 444. Rice, *Mys. Insc.*, p. 297. The statement that a queen named Maṅgalā Devī built the town in the 4th century A.D. (Kavali Venkaṭarāmasvāmi, *Descriptive Sketches of the Cities of the Dekkan* p. 31, [1831]), is wrong. No such name is known to history. We shall see that the town of Mangalore owed its origin to Buddhist influence. It is spoken of in A.D. 968 and again in A.D. 1151. *E. C.* VIII, Sb. 464, Sb. 465, p. 78. B. A. S.

3. Elliot-Dawson, *History of India as told by her own Historians*, I. p. 68, n. (4).

One of the most well known ports in Tuḷuva was Bārakūru, called Fakanūr and Bārakanūru.[1] This, it must be confessed, is not mentioned by the Greek geographers. It may be due to the fact that, as we shall see later on when we shall trace its history, Bārakūru came into prominence both as a commercial centre and as a provincial seat of the local rulers only from the eleventh century A. D. onwards.

While dealing with the inland towns of a people whom he calls pirates, Ptolemy speaks of Oloikhora.[2] This has been rightly identified with Ālvakheḍa, the annals of which now deserve to be described in detail.

1. *Ibid*, p. 68. See also Elliot, *JRAS* for 1870, pp. 342–45.

2. McCrindle, *I. A.*, XIII. p. 367 ; Rice, *My. & Coorg.* p. 137. Ptolemy mentions a town called Byzantion. McCrindle, *I. A.*, XIII. p. 327. Fleet identified it with Vijayadurga in the Ratnāgiri district. *Dyn. Kan. Dist.* p. 8. n. (3). We may note that, according to Tuḷuva tradition, Kundāpūru in northern Tuḷuva is also called Jayantipura or Jayantikā. Taylor, *Oriental Hist. Mss.* II. p. 59. Jayanti-dvīpa was one of the creations of Paraśurāma in Tuḷuva. Hegde, *Caritre*, p. 42. Alberuni speaks of a Banavāsi on the sea coast. *India.*, I. p. 202 (Sachau, London, 1888). Banavāsi is called Jayantipura and Vaijayanti in inscriptions. Rice, *My. & Coorg.*, pp. 14, 21–3.

CHAPTER II

THE ĀLUPA DYNASTY

Summary :—1. Antiquity of the Ālupa dynasty. 2. Derivation of the name Ālupa and rejection of the fallacious theories concerning the Dravidian origin of the name and of their alleged trans-Ghat habitation. 3. Early Ālupas : Māramma Āḷvarasar; Kuṅdavarmarasa I; Āluva Guṇasāgara; Citravāhana I. 4. Civil war in Udayāvara: Citravāhana I *vs*. Raṇasāgara ; the latter *vs*. Svetavāhana; the latter *vs*. Pṛthvīsāgara; Vijayāditya Ālupendra. 5. Citravāhana II; Āḷva Raṇañjaya; Dattāḷpendra Śrīmāra; Kundavarmarasa II; Bankideva Ālupendra I. 6. Mediaeval Ālupas: Height of the Ālupa power-Udayādityarasa; Pāṇḍya Paṭṭiga Deva; Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra; (Sevyagellara); Ālupa Jagadeva; Kulaśekhara Deva I; Nūrmmaḍi Cakravarti; Vibudhavasu; Vīra Pāṇḍya Deva Ālupendra; Nāga Devarasa; Baṅkideva Ālupendra Deva II. 7. The later Ālupas and the Beginning of the Decline of the Ālupa Power: Soyideva Ālupendra; Vīra Kulaśekhara Deva II; Vīra Pāṇḍya Deva II; Kulaśekhara Deva III; Vīra Pāṇḍya Deva III; Kulaśekhara Deva IV. 8. Some chieftains: Kāntaṇa Māra Āḷuva; Dēvaṇnarasa; Mañjaṇa Komṇa. 9. Unidentified Ālupa monarchs: Kavi Vimalāditya; Kumāra Jayasiṅgarasa; Kulaśekhara. 10. Features of Administration under the Ālupas: the King and his officials; Capitals; Municipal Corporations; Rural administration; Social solidarity; Army; and Taxation.

1. ANTIQUITY OF THE ĀLUPA DYNASTY

The Ālupa dynasty controlled the destiny of Tuḷuvanāḍu from the early centuries of the Christian era till the middle ages. There cannot be any doubt that it was a family of considerable antiquity. It was a premature and partially correct statement which

Hultzsch made when he wrote that Ālupa kings existed as a ruling family from the seventh to the eleventh century of the Christian era.[1] In stating thus he took into consideration the references to the Ālupa kings only from the times of the Western Cālukya monarch Pulikeśin II.[2] But their kingdom is mentioned, as will be presently stated, in a record of Pulikeśin II's uncle and predecessor king Maṅgaleśa. This reference to the Ālupas when taken in conjunction with the mention of Oloikhora (Āluvakheḍa)[3] by Ptolemy and with the inclusion of the Ālupa kingdom among the Sapta Koṅkanas in the *Prapañcahṛdayam* which, as we have seen above, is no doubt a work of uncertain date, enables us nevertheless to assert that the Ālupas indeed existed as a ruling family from about the second century A.D. onwards. The Halmiḍi stone inscription, as will be narrated in the next chapter, definitely takes the history of the Ālupas to the fifth century A. D. A further statement which goes to prove their antiquity is, as we shall narrate anon, their having been coupled with another ancient family of the Karnāṭaka—

1-2. *E. I.*, IX. p. 15.

3. The term Āḷuvakheḍa or Āḷvakheda, as it is given in some inscriptions, evidently refers to the early days of Ālupa history when the Ālupa kingdom was only a *Kheḍa* or *Kheṭa*, a territorial subdivision mentioned in Karnāṭaka epigraphical records after a *Nagara* but before a *Kharvaṭa*. Read Saletore, *Social and Political Life*, I, p. 292. But the *Vāyu Purāṇa* places the *Kheṭa* before a *Nagara*. *Vāyu Purāṇa* Ch. VIII. vv. 100, seq. p. 27 (Poona, 1905). The words Ālupa is spelt variously thus—Āḷuka, Ālupa. Āḷva, Ālva and Āluva—in the inscriptions. B. A. S.

the Gaṅgas—in an inscription of the early half of the seventh century A. D. The Gaṅgas, like the Ālupas, ruled from the second century A.D., their territory being confined to the western parts of modern Mysore.[1] The claims for antiquity to which the Ālupas and the Gaṅgas are thus entitled in the above record of Pulikeśin II are further corroborated in a later record also of the seventh century which not only classes the Gaṅgas and the Ālupas together but characterizes them as ancient royal families which, as Rice correctly says, were entitled to special consideration. For this inscription also of a Western Cālukya ruler—Vinayāditya—styles the conquered royal families thus—*Āḷuva-Gaṅgādyaiḥ maulaiḥ samabhṛtyatām nītāḥ.*

2. THE DERIVATION OF THE NAME ĀLUPA

The assertion of the Madras Government Epigraphist (Mr. G. Venkoba Rao) that the cognomen (Ālupa) must be derived from the root *āḷu* (Tamil—*āḷ*) meaning thereby to govern, seems, in our opinion, to be both arbitrary and unhistorical.[2] Hultzsch, and not Fleet, as Mr. Venkoba Rao writes, was the first to give us this derivation of the word Ālupa.[3] But we cannot conceive of great rulers of the Karnātaka, as for example the Western Cālukyas, characterizing the Ālupas by

1. Rice. *My. & Coorg*, p. 29. Mr. Govind Pai dates the commencement of the Gaṅga rule in the south to A.D. 250. *Karnāṭaka Historical Review*, II, p. 29.

2. *Ep. Rept. of the Southern Circle* for 1926-7, p. 106.

3. *E. I.*, IX, pp. 15-16.

the epithet *maulāḥ* and enlisting their co-operation as allies, had the Tuḷuva kings been only of inferior stock like those who traced their origin to a word signifying nothing but dependence. The erroneous nature of the argument put forward by the defenders of the above theory is apparent when we level two other considerations against it. The Dravidian derivation does not take into account the earliest variant of the name Ālupa occuring in inscriptions and the substantial evidence which both epigraphs and tradition go to prove it. And it rests on an alleged identity between the Ālupas and minor local chieftains over the Ghats who possessed a similar name.

The earliest variant of the name Ālupa is that which is given in the Mahākūṭa inscription of king Maṅgaleśa dated A.D. 601–2. This epigraph relates that Kīrtivarma I (A.D. 566–597) conquered a great many kings among whom were the Pāṇḍya, Cōḷiya, Āḷuka, and Vaijayantī.[1] The word Āḷuka is an epithet of Śeṣa, chief of the serpent race; and, as Fleet rightly said, it may possibly denote the Nāgas, who in

1. Fleet, *I. A.*, XIX. pp. 14, 19. Mr. George Moraes gives the date of the Mahākūṭa inscription of Mangaleśa as A.D. 567. (*Kadamba-Kula*, p. 75, Bombay, 1931). This error was committed by me in my thesis (p. 298) entitled the *History of Early Tuḷuva* which secured for me the Kasinath Telang Gold Medal and Prize from the Bombay University in 1928. Mr. Moraes's remarks concerning the Western Cālukyas and the Ālupas (*Kadamba-kula*, pp. 75–78, 245) are nothing but a close following of my statements (*Thesis*, pp. 265, 298–300). The present treatise is an altogether new work, and has nothing in common with the thesis except a few facts here and there. B. A. S.

early times became included in the Cālukya dominions.[1] The Nāga origin of the Ālupas which is thus suggested here is proved by two facts—the figure of a hooded serpent which is found in an effaced Ālupa stone inscription in the Gollara Gaṇapati temple at Mangalore,[2] and the ultra-Śaivite tendencies of which the Ālupas have given abundant proof in their inscriptions. We may incidentally remark here that there are good grounds for justifying the appellation of Aiorum Regio (Ahi-deśa) given to Tuḷuva and Haiva by Ptolemy.[3]

The Dravidian derivation of the name Ālupa rests on the alleged similarity between the Ālupa rulers and others who bore a similar name. Mr. Venkoba Rao says, no doubt following Hultzsch, in the same connection that the Cāṅgaḷvas were similarly chiefs of Caṅganāḍ and Koṅgalnāḍ in the Kannaḍa country who flourished as feudatories in mediaeval times ; and

1. *Ibid.* pp. 14–5; Dalal, *A History of India from the Earliest Times*, I., p. 206 (Bombay, 1924); Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-Eng. Dict.*, p. 130.

2. Cf. Aygal, *Dak. Prācīna Itihāsa*, p. 66. A passage in the *Padma Purāṇa* may be said to refer to the Ālupas. It runs thus :—

Kokuṭṭakāḥ tathā Cōlaḥ Kokaṇā-Maṇivālavāḥ |
Samaṅgāḥ Kanakāḥ-ca-eva Kukurāṅgāra Māriṣāḥ ||

Padma Purāṇa, Vol. I, Ch. VI, v. 55. p. 9 (Poona, 1893). The name *Maṇiavālavāḥ* may be interpreted to mean *Maṇi-ālavaḥ, i.e.*, Phaṇiālavāḥ, the Āluvas of the Nāga race. This is in some measure supported by the variants of that name given in the same *Purāṇa-Maṇi-Vālakaḥ*, and *Maṇi-Vālukāḥ*, and by the fact that these people are placed immediately after the Kokaṇāḥ, *i.e.*, the Koṅkaṇas. B. A. S.

3. Wilson, *Mack. Coll.*, p. 35 (1832). *Infra*, Ch. V, Sec. 1.

that the Tamil word *nāḍ-āḷvaṉ* "has also the analogous signification of a petty chieftain ruling over a restricted tract of territory (*nāḍu*), as in Nañji-nāḍ-āḷvan, etc."[1] This statement invalidates the evidence of inscriptions relating to the Ālupas as given in Mr. Venkoba Rao's own collections and in those of his predecessors. The fact that, for instance, there were petty chieftains, like the Caṅgāḷvas, the Koṅgāḷvas, the Dattāḷvas, the Śallevāḷvas, and the Nāḍāḷvas over the Ghats is no argument to prove the Dravidian derivation of the word Ālupa. Neither is the statement that because the Ālupas were feudatories of the Western Cālukyas and of some other prominent Karnāṭaka rulers, we should trace their origin to the word signifying dependence—*āḷu*.

A few facts connected with the origin and history of Caṅgāḷvas, the Koṅgāḷvas, etc., would suffice to demolish this part of the fallacious theory. Rice pointed out the similarity in the name Ālupa, as occurring in the records found in the Koppa and the Sohrab tālukas, to the name Caṅgāḷvas, and ventured to say that the Caṅgāḷvas of the west of Mysore and east of Coorg may have been a branch of the Ālupas of Udayāvara. But he qualified his statement by saying that this was only a conjecture.[2] The Caṅgāḷvas claimed descent from a

1. *Ep. Report of the Southern Circle* for 1926, p. 106. It was Hultzsch who converted suppositions into facts, thus :—" Mr. Rice's volume contains many records of certain later families which seem to be connected with the ancient Ālupas. These are the Caṅgāḷvas, Koṅgāḷvas, Nāḍālvas, Śāntaras, and the rulers of Kalaśa and Kārkaḷa." *E. I.*, IX. p. 16. Rice never wrote such statements at all! B. A. S.

2. Rice, *E. C.*, IV, Intr., p. 16; *ibid*, VI, pp. 11-12.

king Caṅgāḷva who is supposed to have been a contemporary of Bijjalendra. The origin of the Ālupas of Udayāvara is unknown, but it certaintly cannot be traced to Caṅgālva. The territory of the Caṅgāḷvas was Caṅganāḍ (mod. Huṇsur tāluka in the Mysore State). The kingdom of the Ālupas was a Six Thousand province. The *biruda* of the Caṅgāḷvas was *Mahāmaṇḍles'vara*. But the Ālupas assumed elaborate and high sounding *birudas*, and, in some instances, imperial titles as well. The family god of the Caṅgāḷvas was the god Annadāni Mallikārjuna on the Beṭṭadapura hill in the Huṇsur tāluka ; while the family deity of the Ālupas was Śiva (Bhairava) of the Śambhukallu temple in Udayāvara in the Uḍipi tāluka. The only point of resemblance between the Caṅgāḷvas and the Ālupas is that like the latter the Caṅgāḷvas sometimes evinced a great desire to promote the cause of Jainism. This explains the inclusion of a word—*āhāradāni* (meaning *āhārebhya-bhaiṣajya-s'āstradāna*) in a record dated A.D. 1091 of the chieftain Caṅgāḷvadevaru *alias* Mariya Perggaḍe Piḷduvayya.[1] But this similarity is of no avail in establishing the alleged identity between the Caṅgāḷvas and the Ālupas.[2]

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1. *My. Archl. Report for 1925.* For a detailed account of the Caṅgāḷvas, read Rice, *E. C.*, IX. Intr. pp. 19–20; *My. & Coorg*, pp. 141–144.

2. On the history of the Koṅgāḷvas, read, *My. & Coorg.*. pp. 144–5. The Āḷvāḍi Six Hundred over which Āḷva, who ruled in *circa* A.D. 750, and who fell when Coḷika Muttarasa rose, as mentioned in *E. C.*, XII, Mi. 96, p. 113, need not be confounded with the Āḷva.

As regards the comparison made by the Madras Government Epigraphist between the Ālupas and the Tamil rulers of Madura, we shall see in a later connection that it is equally fallacious. For the present we may observe that the fact of the occasional subservience of the Ālupas to some of the most notable monarchs of the Karnāṭaka, cannot be seriously adduced in support of the alleged Dravidian origin of the word Ālupa. There are instances of famous royal families, as, for instance, the Hoysalas, who at first acknowledged the supremacy of more powerful rulers but who rose to great prominence afterwards.[1] The Ālupas, although by no means endowed with the vigour and magnificence of the Hoysalas, were nevertheless a royal family of considerable importance in the annals of both Tuḷuva and the Karnāṭaka.

The original home of these ancient rulers may now be located. Mr. Venkoba Rao writes thus:—"They originally held possession of Eḍevoḷal to the north-east of Banavāsi; and appear to have subsequently extended their dominions into the adjoining territory known as Āḷvakheḍa in the northern portion of the present

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kheḍa of the Āḷupas of Udyāvara. The Āḷvāḍi chieftains were of local origin and subordinate to the Gaṅga Pallavas. *E. C.*, *ibid*, Intr. p. 7. An equally futile attempt has been made by some to trace the word Ālupa to the Kannaḍa word *Aḷuve*, meaning an outlet into the sea, suggesting thereby that since the earliest capital of the Ālupas, Udayāvara, was near the sea, they took their name from the word *aḷuve*. M. Govinda Pai, *Karnāṭa Sāhitya Pariṣad*, XIII, p. 102, seq. This fanciful derivation does not rest on any cogent grounds. B. A S.

1. *My. & Coorg.*, p. 96.

South Kanara district. Their headquarters which were at one time Pombuccha (Humca in the present Mysore State), appear to have been later on shifted to Bārakūru, the Bārahkanyāpura of the inscriptions.... when the later Śāntara chiefs had encroached upon the territory round about Humca ".[1]

One fails to see how the above statements came to be written. Evidently some of them are to be traced to the following conjectures of Hultzsch, who, while editing the Udayāvara inscriptions of the Ālupa rulërs in the *Epigraphia Indica*, wrote thus : "That Citravāhana, whom the second Kigga inscription mentions as residing at Humcha, may or may not be identical with this Citravāhana II, but must be distinct from Citravāhana I, whose capital was probably Banavasi. If this identification is correct, Pombucchu, the modern Humcha, would have been the headquarters of the Āḷuvakheḍa Six Thousand. This Humcha seems to have been the capital of the Ālupa kings ".[2]

The original home of the Ālupas was not certainly Eḍevoḷal; they did not extend their territory from Eḍevoḷal to the coast; and Bārakūru was never their first capital in Tuḷuva. These are the statements which we shall now prove with the aid of the inscriptions of the Ālupa rulers found both in Tuḷuva and over the Ghats. Of the seventy-eight stone epigraphs and copper-plate grants hitherto discovered in con-

1. *Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle* for 1926, p. 106.
2. *E. I.*, IX, pp. 16–17.

nection with the Ālupa rulers, only seven (three of them being copper-plates) hail from the regions over the Ghats. The remaining seventy-one have been found exclusively within the boundaries of ancient Tuḷuva, Udayāvara itself claiming fourteen epigraphs. As regards the seven records found in the Mysore State, six deal with the early Ālupas, and one with a later ruler of the same dynasty. And of the six former, one merely mentions an Ālupa king in connection with a Kadaṁba ruler; another speaks of an Ālupa king ruling over the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala, and yet another one speaks of his son as ruling over Pombuccha; while of the remaining three, two deal with the grants issued by the Western Cālukya monarch Vinayāditya, and one with the action which the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Prabhūtavarṣa Govinda took to quell a revolt on the part of the ruler of Āḷvakheḍa Six Thousand. There is nothing in the above six records to suggest in the least that Eḍevoḷal was the original home of the Ālupas. The seventh record may be dismissed as pertaining to an Ālupa ruler of the first half of the fourteenth century A.D.

Another consideration may be adduced in support of the contention that neither Eḍevoḷal nor Banavāsi was the early capital of the Ālupas. We may recall here the victories of king Kīrtivarmā I as given in the Mahakūṭa pillar inscription of king Maṅgaleśa. Here Āḷuka and Vaijayantī are mentioned separately. If the Ālupas had Vaijayantī or Banavāsi as their early

capital, it would not have been mentioned apart from Āḷuka. Moreover, we cannot conceive of the Ālupas being masters of Banavāsi in the second or third century A.D., when the early Kadambas were already in possession of that city and its neighbourhood.[1] As to how the Ālupas came to be ruling over the Kadambamaṇḍala and Pombuccha, it is a point we shall try to elucidate in a subsequent connection.

Finally, we may note that had the Ālupas been in possession of Banavāsi prior to their having been lords of Udayāvara, they would never have called themselves *Caṁbukallu (S'aṁbhukallu) Bhaṭṭārakas*, especially in an inscription which both historically and palaeographically belongs to the same age to which the records referring to their alleged Banavāsi origin have been assigned by Hultzsch. The absence of the reference to the god Madhukeśvara of Banavāsi—the family god of the Kadambas—in any of the records of the Ālupas hitherto discovered proves their non-Banavāsi origin. That in one or two inscriptions mention is made of the confirmation of tolls granted to the Paśupata Lord of Paṭṭi (*i.e.*, Humccha) and to Udayāvara is no argument to affirm that the Ālupas came originally from Pombuccha. Indeed, it appears to us, as we shall presently make it clear, that the fact of one of the soldiers, who fought and fell on behalf of a Udayāvara king, having been distinctly mentioned as an adherent of the Paśupata

1. *My. & Coorg.*, pp. 21-2.

Lord of Paṭṭi, has been interpreted to mean that the Ālupa ruler himself was a devotee of the Paśupata Lord of Humccha! Such a confusion is not warranted by any of the epigraphs under review.

3. THE EARLY ĀLUPAS

We may now attempt to locate the various Ālupa rulers mostly on the basis of their own records, and in one or two instances, on those of their contemporaries over the Ghats. While the above remarks indisputably establish the antiquity of the Ālupas, it must be confessed that no direct evidence from epigraphs is forthcoming to prove their existence prior to the times of the Kadaṁba ruler of Bhaṭāri-*kula*. The antiquity of the Ālupas which is thus vouchsafed for by the Halmiḍi stone inseription is further borne out by the reference to the Ālupas in the epigraphs of the remarkable early Western Cālukya monarch Kīrtivarmā whose conquests, we may be permitted to repeat, included Āḷuka Vaijayantī[1]. The reference here is only to the dynasty and kingdom and not to the name of the Ālupa ruler. We asume that the relations between the Western Cālukyas and the Ālupas remained the same under Kīrtivarmā's brother and successor Maṅgaleśa Raṇavikrama (A.D. 597 608). The fact of the Ālupas and the Gaṅgas having drunk "the nector of close attendance" on the great Pulikeśin II Satyāśraya (A.D. 609-642), as is narrated in an inscription dated A.D.

1. *I. A.* XIX. pp. 14, 19, op. cit.

634–5,[1] only confirms our surmise concerning the submission of the Ālupas to the early Western Cālukyas. What precisely were the relations between them and the Ālupas when Pulikeśin's third son and successor Vikramāditya I reigned (A.D. 655–680),[2] we do not know. Not till we come to Vikramāditya I's son and successor Vinayāditya Satyāśraya (A.D. 680–696) do we meet with the first prominent historical figure in Ālupa history from whom we argue backward thus, in order to locate his predecessors from Kīrtivarmā I's time till that of Vinayāditya Satyāśraya.

This Ālupa contemporary of Vinayāditya Satyāśraya, on whose epigraphs we construct the history of some of the early Ālupa rulers, was Citravāhana whom we style the first of that name. Four inscriptions concerning him have been discovered. Of these two were issued under the command of his suzerain, the third deals exclusively with him, and the fourth belongs to his predecessor and father. These four inscriptions are the following :—the copper-plate grant from the Sohrab tāluka dated June 22nd A.D. 692 ; the second is another copper-plate found at Harihara in the Dāvaṇagere tāluka dated A.D. 694; the third is a stone inscription found at Kigga (Kigga hōbḷi) in the Śriṅgeśvara temple, Koppa tāluka, assigned to circa A.D. 675 ; and the fourth on the back of the same stone in the same

1. *I. A.*, V. p. 67 seq ; VIII. p. 237; *Archl. Survey of Western India*, III. p. 129; *E. I.* VI. p. 10.

2. *My. & Coorg.*, p. 63.

place but dealing with Citravāhana's father about whom we shall presently deal.

The copper-plate grant dated June 22nd A.D. 692 relates the following :—that Vinayāditya Satyāśraya commanded all the people thus—that when six hundred and fourteen Śaka years had passed, and the eleventh year of the monarch was current, his victorious camp being located at the village of Citrasedu in the Toramara *viṣaya* (details of the date being given), at the request of the Ālupa ruler Guṇasāgara's son the illustrious Mahārāja Citravāha—, to Divākaraśarmā, son of Śaṅkaraśarmā and grandson of Nāgaśarmā, of the Dēvarāta Kauśika-*gotra*, proficient in the Ṛg Veda, was given the village named Sālivoge in the Eḍevoḷal *viṣaya*, to the north-east (quarter) of Vaijayantī, with the pouring of water and presentation of coin, not to be entered (into) by soldiers and free from all molestation, etc. The concluding lines of the same record may be noted :—by the great minister for peace and war (*mahā-sandhi-vighrahika*) Raiṇapuṇya Vallabha was the *s'āsana* written[1].

For our immediate purpose we may observe the following :—that in the above record of the Western Cālukya monarch the Ālupa ruler is called the illustrious (*S'rī*) *Mahārāja* Citravāha, that his father's name was Guṇasāgara, and that the place where Vinayāditya Satyāśraya encamped and where Citravāha presented

1. *E. C.*, VIII. Sb. 571, p. 92; *I. A.*, XIX, p. 152.

him with a petition was Citrasedu in the Gooty tāluka.[1]

The same Western Cālukya ruler complied with another request of the same Ālupa king three years later at a place mentioned in the following copper plate grant hailing from Harihara in the Dāvaṇagere tāluka, and dated A. D. 694. This record affirms that Vinayāditya Satyāśraya, by whom the Pallavas, Kaḷabhras, Keraḷas, and others were brought into service equally with the Āḷuvas, Gaṅgas and others of old standing (*Āḷuva-Gaṅgādyaiḥ maulaiḥ samam bhṛtyatāṃ nītāḥ*) commanded all people thus : That six hundred and sixteen Śaka years had passed and the fourteenth year of the king's increasing victorious reign was being current, his victorious camp being situated at a village of Karañjapatra, in the neighbourhood of Hareṣapura (which may have been Harihara itself), at the full moon in Kārtika, on the application of Śrimat Āḷuva Rāja, to Śrīśarmā Somayāji's grandson, and Mārāśarmā's son Īśanaśarmā, well versed in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas, was given in village of Kiṟu-Kāgāmāsi in the Eḍevoḷal *viṣaya* of the Vanavāsi district together with the prepared and unprepared tract to the west of Per-Kāgāmāsi (with details).[2]

Since only two years elapsed after the granting of the Sālivoge village by the same monarch, and since the Harihara grant also refers to an endowment to a

1. *Ep. Rept. for 1921*, p. 87.
2. *E. C.* XI. Dg. 66, pp. 62–3, 144.

learned Brahman, we deduce that the Āḷuva Rāja mentioned in the latter grant was no other than Citravāhana himself. As regards the *biruda Mahārāja* not being found in it, we may observe that it was compensated for by an epithet of equal, or perhaps greater signification-*maulāḥ*. The donee was of course an altogher different person to the one mentioned in the Sohrab grant. Two more considerations may be made from the two records :—the Mahārāja Citravāha, or Āḷuva Rāja, was a patron of learning. He seems to have been particularly in the good grace of his suzerain. Both the villages granted by Vinayāditya Satyāśraya-Sālivoge and Kiṟu-Kāgāmāsi—were included in the Eḍevoḷal *viṣaya* of the Banavāsi district.

The third inscription found in Kigga in the Koppa tāluka relates that when Citravāhana was ruling Pombuccha, and Nāgenna was the officer of Kiḷḷa, the paddy produce, cow's milk, bullock of the god Kiḷgāṇeśvara, excepting the attendants of the gods, no one else (was permitted) to enjoy. Those who enjoyed this, and he who caused it to be enjoyed would remove the burden from the *deveḍittiyar* and the *sāer*, and take the produce, were to be held as consecrated to the thirty-three (*i. e.* gods).[1] The incription gives further interesting details which will be utilized in a later connection.

The identification of the Citravāhana mentioned in the above stone inscription with the illustrious Mahārāja Citravāha of the Sohrab plate and the Āḷuva Rāja

1. *E. C.* VI, Kp. 37, p. 82.

of the Harihara plate, and the date to which this Kigga stone inscription can be assigned, can be determined by comparing the last epigraph with what is narrated on its back. The inscription on the reverse of the Kigga stone narrates that when Āḷu-arasa, with the second name of Guṇasāgara, was ruling the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala,– Āḷu-arasa, the Mahā Devī, and Citravāhana,—on Kuṅdavarmarasa coming to his end, granted to the Kiḻgāṇa god everything free of all impos s (*svasti s'rīmatu Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgarādvitīya-nāmadheyan Kadaṁba-maṇḍalamaṃ āḷuttam Āḷu-arasaruṃ Mahā-deviycruṃ Citravāhanaruṃ Kuṅdavarm-arasaṃ muḍime-geye.*)[1]

In the above record we have the following important details : Āḷu-arasar, with his second name Guṇasāgara, mentioned with his queen who is merely called Mahā Devī and with his son Citravāhana ; the death of Kuṅdavarmarasa ; and the granting of certain imposts to the Kīḻgāṇa god. The first statement concerning Citravāhana's father being called (Āḷu-arasar with the second of) Guṇasāgara strikingly corroborates the statement in the two grants of Vinayāditya Satyāśraya cited above. As regards the Kīḻgāṇa god to whom Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara made some endowment, it was the same god mentioned above on the obverse of the stone under the name Kīḻagāṇeśvara. All these four records, therefore, refer to one and the same Citravāhana and to his father Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara.

1. *E. C. VI.*, Kp. 38, pp. 82–3.

We have next to identify one of the figures—Kundavarmarasa—mentioned in the above record from Kigga, and the date to which the epigraphs on the obverse and reverse of the stone are to be assigned. As regards Kundavarmarasa, Rice wrote thus:—"We can hardly be wrong in assuming that Kundavarmarasa (*vide* Kp. 38) was a Kadaṁba; and it would seem as if he were a representative of the family, who had retired to a life of seclusion in the retreat of a temple at Kigga, where this inscription was found."[1] This is an entirely gratuitous assertion not in keeping with the sense of the inscription under review. Instead of assuming that Kundavarma was a Kadaṁba ruler, we believe that he was Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara's father, and, therefore, Citravāhana's grandfather. It was on the death of his father that Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara together with his queen and son repaired to the god Kīḻgāṇa and gave to the temple certain endowments. We cannot imagine an Ālupa, or a non-Kadaṁba, king giving imposts to a temple on the death of a person who, as Rice imagines, belonged to the Kadaṁba stock. The name Kundavarma is not unknown to Ālupa genealogy : it was borne later on by an Ālupa ruler.

Now to fix the two Kigga inscriptions chronologically, we argue thus :—Rice has assigned both the inscriptions to circa A.D. 675, on grounds which cannot be understood.[2] Supposing we accept the date given

1. *E. C.* VI. Intr. p. 5.

2. Rice's uncertainty is apparent when he assigns the same Kp. 37 to A.D. 690 ! *Ibid.* p. 10.

to the Kigga inscription 37 (*i. e.*, the one on the obverse of the stone) as correct, we cannot conceive of Citravāhana ruling over Pombuccha and of his father Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara ruling over the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala in one and the same year. We have, therefore, to assume the contrary to be the truth, *viz.*, that Citravāhana succeeded to the mastery of the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala over which Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara had ruled for some time. We know that the earliest date for Citravāhana I is A.D. 692. It is not improbable that he may have ruled over Pombuccha a few years earlier, *viz.*, in A.D. 675. This would mean that his reign lasted from A.D. 675 till A.D. 694 or thereabouts. If we assign twenty-five years to Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara, we come to A.D. 650 when he may have been in the presence of the god Kiḻgāṇa along with his queen Mahā Devī and Citravāhana. This would mean that the reverse of the Kigga stone inscription (Kp. 38) has to be assigned to A.D.650.

If this is accepted, then, Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara's father Kuṅdavarmarasa may be assigned to the year A.D. 625. The identity of the three successive kings is as follows :—

Dg. 66 dated A..D 694	Sohrab Plates dated A.D. 692	Kigga 37 dated A.D. 675	Kigga 38 dated circa 650
			Kunda-varmarasa
	Guṇasāgara		Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara
Śrīmat Āḷuva Rāja	Śrīmat Mahā-rāja Citravāha	Citravāhana	Citravāha

There is one point in regard to the above rulers which still remains to be solved. And that is, how they, especially Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara and his son Citravāhana, come to be in possession of the Kadaṁba-maṇḍala. Rice remarked thus as regards this question:- "Why the king Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara was in the possession of the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala we do not know. No overlord is mentioned."[1] Then again he wrote, while dealing with Citravāhana, thus:—"Why Citravāhana was ruling from Pombuccha, which was the Śāntāra capital, does not appear."[2]

But the acquisition of the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala and with it of Pombuccha was not accidental. A few facts concerning the history of the Western Cālukyas will make this clear. The Aihole-Meguti inscription of Pulikeśin II dated Śaka 556 (A.D. 634-5) informs us that Kīrtivarmā I subjugated the Kadaṁbas; and that the conquests of Pulikeśin II himself also included that of the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala. The former statement relating to Kīrtivarmā I is corroborated by the undated Old-Kannaḍa inscription found at Aḍūr (the ancient

1. & 2. *E. C.* VI, Intr. pp. 5, 10. Hultzsch's conjectures regarding the two Citravāhanas are to be discarded. He makes an equally untenable statement, *viz.*, that Citravāhana, whom he calls the I of that name, granted the two villages in the Eḍevolal *viṣaya*. *E. I.* IX, p. 16. Mr. Moraes conjectures thus:—" It is possible that Pulikeśin II after reducing the Kadambas to subjection, wished to render them incapable of further mischief by completely destroying their power." To realize this he divided their territories among the Ālupas, who received the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala, and the Sendrakas, who secured the Nāgarakhaṇḍa division. *Kadaṁba-kula,* p. 76. But those are merely suppositions. B. A. S.

Pāṇḍipura) in the Dharwar district, in the heart of the Kadamba territory, and by the Vokkalēri plates dated A.D. 757,[1] both of the king Pulikeśin. The unprecedented success of the Western Cālukya arms under Pulikeśin II brought in an interesting feature in the history of the dealings of the Karnāṭaka rulers with their neighbours in the south and in the east. About this time there was the coalition among the non-Karnāṭaka rulers following the conquests of the Pallavas of Kañci, the Coḷas, the Keraḷas, and the Pāṇḍyas by that illustrious Western Cālukya monarch. The Pallavas aided by the Coḷa, Keraḷa, and Pāṇḍya kings drove the Western Cālukyas to a region below the Ghats, and even succeeded in destroying their capital Vātāpi or Bādāmi.

The temporary humiliation which the Western Cālukya family suffered at the hands of the confederacy of the Tamil, Paṇḍya and Keraḷa rulers was retrieved by Pulikeśin's third son Vikramāditya I Raṇarasika. This ruler seized Kañci, conquered all the allies of the Pallavas, and acquired for himself the regal splendour of his father. Among the confederates of the Pallavas were the Kaḷabhras.

If we provisionally accept the identification of the Kaḷabhras with the Kadambas,[2] we have a clue to the understanding of the problem concerning the possession

1. Rice, *My. & Coorg*. p. 64; *E. C.*, X, Kl. 63, pp. 15–17; **Fleet**, *Dyn. Kan. Dist*. pp. 20–1, 23–4.

2. Rice, *ibid*, p. 65, n. (1); *JRAS* for 1929, p. 138. On the relations between the Western Cālukyas and the Pallavas, read Fleet, *ibid*, pp. 26–28.

of the Kadambamaṇḍala by Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara and by his son Citravāhana I. Obviously after the repeated conquest of the Kadambas by Kīrtivarmā I and again by Pulikeśin II, they had joined hands with the Pallavas, the Coḷas, the Keraḷas, and the Pāṇḍyas. The only road along which the Keraḷas, who were the western allies of the Pallavas, could advance against the Western Cālukyas was either through Āḷvakheḍa or the Ghat region across the Koṅgu country. If Pombuccha—which later on became the capital of the Śānta-lige Thousand—and the Kadambamaṇḍala were entrusted to the charge of the Ālupas, who were the hereditary allies of the Western Cālukyas, the latter could not only safeguard their territory against an attack by the Keraḷas but direct safely their attention against the Pallavas along the eastern frontier.

This not only explains why in the reign of Vikramāditya I Raṇarasika (A.D. 655–680) we find Āḷuarasar Guṇasāgara over the Kadambamaṇḍala but justifies the date we have given for him, *viz.*, A.D. 650. Further, it also explains the marked favour which Vinayāditya, who again arrested "the extremely exalted power of the Pallavas, the lords of Kañci" and brought them under his subjection along with their old allies the Coḷas and Pāṇḍyas, showed to Citravāhana I on two occasions, as mentioned above.[1]

1. The Kigga inscription Kg. 37 mentions a Senavarasa along with the *dharma-karaṇika* under the Ālupa ruler Citravāhana. We cannot identify the Senavarasa mentioned in this record. But the following considerations, if corroborated by other sources, would not

Two new stone records have now to be examined in order to determine the predecessors of Kundavarmarasa, the grandfather of Citravāhana I. Of these the first was found in front of the Śaṁbhukallu Bhairava temple at Udayāvara. The ruler is called merely Śrī Māramma Āḷvarasar. Two towns are mentioned in this record—Kōḷalanagara and Odevura. The former is to be identified with what is now called Koḷalagiri on the other side of Suvarṇā river in the Uppūru *grāma*; and the latter is the earliest variant of

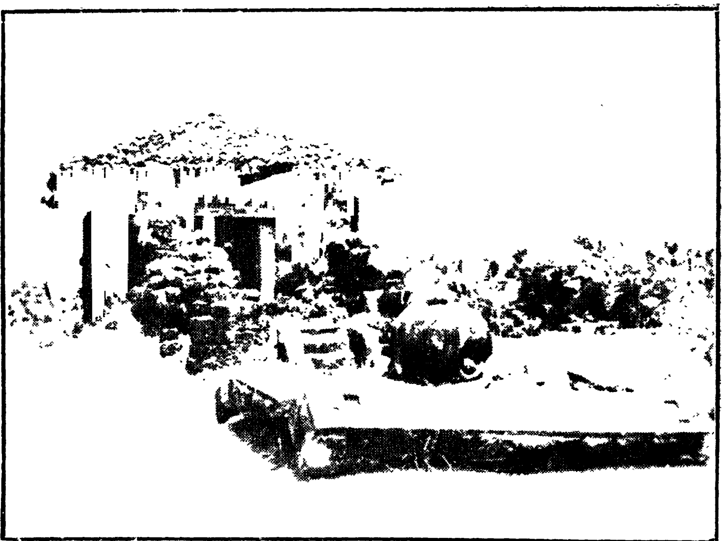
only prove the identification of Senavarasa but confirm our deduction concerning the contemporaneity of Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara with Vikramāditya I. There is a Senavarasa ruling over Banavase 12,000 under the Western Cālukya Vikramāditya Satyāśraya. (*E. C.* VIII, Sb. 381, p. 67). The inscription which gives us this detail has been, for reasons not intelligible, assigned by Rice to A.D. 1010. There are two rulers who were called Vikramāditya Satyāśraya: Pulikeśin II's third son, with whom we have been hitherto dealing, was called Vikramāditya Satyāśraya. His own and his father's conquests justified his title. His great grandson was also called Vikramāditya II Satyāśraya. Two inscriptions of this ruler found at Paṭṭaḍakal inform us that he three times conquered the Pallavas of Kañci. (Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dt.*, p. 29). Among the later Western Cālukyas is also a Vikramāditya—the most brilliant of the later rulers. Since this ruler did not assume the second name of Satyāśraya, we may reject the date *circa* A.D. 1010 given to Sb. 381 by Rice. Therefore, the Vikramāditya Satyāśraya mentioned in that record must refer either to the first or the second of that name. We believe that it refers to Vikramāditya I Satyāśraya since it explains the association of the Kadaṁbas with him and the appearance of the Ālupa ruler Āḷuarasar in the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala. It was because the Kadaṁbas had sided with the Pallavas that Vikramādaitya I Satyāśraya removed Senavarasa from Kadaṁbamaṇḍala and gave it to his Ālupa ally. Whether this Senavarasa is to be identified with king Senavāra Arkkesari, who is mentioned in a record assigned to *circa* A.D. 700 by Rice (*E. C.*. VII. Sk. 278, p, 145), we cannot make out. The name Senavara still survives among the Buṇṭs of Tuḷuva. B. A. S.

Udayāvara, the capital of the Ālupas. The Goravaru spoken of in this record are no other than the Sthānikas.[1]

The following considerations prompt us to assert that the ruler mentioned in the above Śambhukallu inscription is one of the earliest kings of Udayāvara. He is styled merely Śrī Māramma Āḷvarasar. Like most of the early rulers of Karnāṭaka royal houses, for example, those of the Hoysala, Śāntāra, and Vijayanagara families, this Ālupa king has no *birudas* prefixed to his name. He cannot be compared with the Ālupa kings who bore a similar name, *viz.*, Māramma Āḷuvarasar, since they bore elaborate *birudas*, while he had none. The record in question ends plainly without the name of the scribe. And the archaic language of the inscription, as is proved not only by its tenor but especially by the manner in which Udayāvara is written, clearly indicates that the ruler Śrī Māramma Āḷvarasar preceded Kundavarmarasa.

1. The inscription reads thus :—*Svasti Śri Māramma Āḷvarosar Koḷala-nakarakke Karasi-Nāygen-āḷd Kāyisi* (*do*) *Odevura nakara sahitta sakala—śrī āḷgal Goravaru. 99 of 1901; S. I. I., VII*, No. 283, p. 144. The suffix *giri* given to Kōḷalnagara by the people now is unintelligible. It is a small hillock and it contains the ruins of a temple which was destroyed by the Roman Catholics in 1926 or thereabouts. The images of Kṛṣṇa were thrown into the Suvarṇā river by the miscreants, but were recovered by Mr. Timmappa Hegḍe, a wealthy Bunṭ land-owner who bought the adjoining property. The people assert that the Roman Catholic priest of the Church at Koḷalagiri is in possession of one of the two images wrecked by the Roman Catholics. He however denied this when I questioned him on Dec. 12th 1932. Nothing is more regrettable than that under the aegis of the British such acts of vandalsim, if true, should have been committed ! B. A. S.

To face p. 80



The ancient S'ambhukallu temple at Udayāvara with the Nandi in front

Photo by B. A. S.]

The tendency to prefix elaborate titles is seen in an inscription also found in the same Śaṁbhukallu temple at Udayāvara. This record is likewise in Old Kannaḍa. The ruler mentioned in it is also called Śrīmat Āḷuvarasar. But he cannot be identified with Māramma Āḷvarasar spoken of above for the following reasons:—Unlike the latter, he has many *birudas*. He is styled *Daṇḍa Vibhūta-vistīrṇa Pitāmaha-avalokana Saṁvardhita Kulābhimāna Sakaḷa S'rīmat Āḷuvarasaruṃ*. The second *biruda*, we may incidentally observe, *pitāmaha-avalokana* (One who was looked upon with affection by his Grandfather), suggests that the Ālupa genealogy may be carried one generation beyond Śrī Māramma Āḷvarasar. Our surmise is strengthened by the Halmiḍi stone inscription which actually mentions an Ālupa king. But beyond this nothing can be said for the present.

There are two other considerations which compel us to place this Śrīmat Āḷuvarasar after Māramma Āḷvarasar. The record gives the name (of the capital) Udipura, speaks of the seventy *okkalu* (citizens), the god Śambhukallu, and ends more elaborately than the inscription of Māramma Āḷvarasar thus:—*mī* (ī) *dharmmam* (*a*) *n aḷivōn Bāraṇāsiyan aḷidōn-vasuvan-pārvarum-kondōn tammabbeyoḷbaṁ* (*ḷdam* ?) *pañca-mahā-pātakamam-geydon-idu cāndrādityakaḷ-uḷḷin nilpudam*. Moreover, the name of the scribe-Śri Kāḷādityan-who wrote this epigraph (*daregoḷāṇman-baredōn*),[1] suggests that this ruler

1. *96 of 1901*; *S. I. I.*, VII. No. 279, p. 143.

came after Māramma Āḷvarasar but before the Ālupa ruler to be mentioned soon, since his inscription does not contain at the end the reference to Śivahaḷḷi, and especially to the acquisition of the fruit of horse-sacrifice so characteristic of the inscriptions of the rulers who came after Citravāhana I. We have placed Kundavarmarasa I in circa A. D. 625. Judging by the same standard as that adopted for him and his son, Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara, and his grandson Citravāhana I, we arrive at the following dates for the predecessors of Kundavarmarasa. This, as we shall see, fits in very well with the genealogy of the Ālupa rulers:—

Māramma Āḷvarasar A.D. 575.
|
Sakala Śrīmat Āḷuvarasar A.D. 600.

The Ālupa rulers hitherto mentioned and their Western Cālukya overlords may, therefore, be thus arranged:—

The Ālupas	The Western Cālukyas
⋮	⋮
Māramma Āḷvarasar A.D. 575.	Kīrtivarmā I A.D. 566-A.D. 597.
|	|
Sakala Śrīmat Āḷuvarasar A.D. 600.	Mangaleśa (brother) A.D. 597-A.D. 608.
|	|
Kundavarmarasa A.D. 625.	Pulikeśin II (son of Kīrtivarma II) A.D. 609-A.D. 642.
|	|
Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara (son) A.D. 650.	Vikramāditya I (son) A.D. 655-A.D. 680.
|	|
Citravāhana I (son) A.D. 675-A.D. 700	Vinayāditya I (son A.D. 680-A.D. 696.

4. CIVIL WAR IN UDAYĀVARA

The reign of Citravāhana I witnessed a civil war in Udayāvara. Details concerning this interesting strife are gathered from stone inscriptions found near the Śaṁbhukallu temple and in a private garden in Udayāvara, in the Mahāligeśvara temple at Kōṭa, also in the Uḍipi tāluka, at Kariyaṅgaḷa and in the Durgā Parameśvarī temple—the former near, the latter in, Poḷali Ammuṇije in the Mangalore tāluka. None of these inscriptions is dated. They can be properly adjusted only by a comparative study. Palaeographically they belong to the same age.

The situation seems to be the following :—We have seen that Citravāhana I was away for a long time in the Kadaṁbamaṇḍala. The Ālupa capital Udayāvara during his absence seems to have been entrusted to the charge of Raṇasāgara who may have been either the brother or a near relative of Citravāhana I. That Raṇasāgara was actually reigning in Udayāvara is proved by epigraphs. We then see Citravāhana I attacking Raṇasāgara who, for some reasons, seems to have proved hostile to him. Raṇasāgara is beaten and he retires only to storm Udayāvara which falls into his hands. He is again attacked, this time by Śvetavāhana obviously on behalf of Citravāhana I, who may have died by this time. What happens to Raṇasāgara we do not know. Śvetavāhana in his turn is attacked by Pṛthvīsāgara who is crowned at Udayāvara. His son Vijayāditya continues the succession assuming the title of *Adhirāja*.

The above is the only reasonable deduction from the Ālupa epigraphs which otherwise are unintelligible and conflicting. We resume the narrative with Citravāhana I. It has been shown that his reign may have commenced in A.D. 675 when we find him ruling over Pombuccha. In A.D. 692 he was at Citrasedu with Vinayāditya Satyāśraya, and in A.D. 694, at Karañjapatra along with the same Western Cālukya monarch. If our surmise is correct, he seems to have been away from his capital, Udayāvara, for quite a long time, at least certainly from A.D. 692 till A.D. 694. Our assumption that he was the lord of Udayāvara is proved by a record found in front of the Śambhukallu temple at Udayāvara which not only calls him the *Lord of the Earth* (*dhareg-īs'an*) but denies royal titles to his rival Raṇasāgara. This record will be presently cited.

That Raṇasāgara was not only ruling over Udayāvara but over the other parts of Āḷvakheḍa as well is proved by two stone inscriptions, one of them found in the Śaṁbhukallu temple at Udayāvara and the other at Kariyaṅgaḷa near Poḷali Ammuṇije in the Mangalore tāluka. The Śambhukallu temple stone inscription records that in the reign of the *Caṁbukallu Bhaṭṭāraka* (*i.e.*, Śaṁbhukallu Bhaṭṭāraka) Śrī Raṇasāgara Āḷupendra, certain regulations were made pertaining to the daily regulation of eighteen towns, and (that ?) of Udayāvara.[1] If the assumption that Citravāhana I was away in A.D. 675 is admitted, then, the

1. *100 of 1901* ; *S. I. I.*, *VII*, No. 284, p. 144.

above Śaṁbhukallu record pertaining to the daily regulations in the reign of Raṇasāgara Āḷupendra may be dated also in A.D. 675. Raṇasāgara must have been placed over Udayāvara in that year by Citravāhana I.

An undated stone inscription also in Old Kannaḍa found in Kariyaṅgaḷa near Poḷali, confirms our surmise that Raṇasāgara was indeed ruling over Āḷvakheḍa. This epigraph narrates that in a fight Nāgamma of the Kayya-*vaṁs'a*, who was known as Śūdraka, destroyed the enemy; and that Raṇasāgara made a gift in appreciation of his valour.[1] Since it was only rulers who gave gifts on such occasions, we have to identify the Raṇasāgara mentioned in this Kariyaṅgaḷa record with the Raṇasāgara of the Śaṁbhukallu inscription.

If this is granted, the following record found in the Durgā Parameśvari temple also at Poḷali Ammuṇije, is to be ascribed to the same ruler. This undated stone inscription records the death of Nanda Kaṁba in a battle with Āḷvar.[2]

There was consequently trouble in the reign of Raṇasāgara. From the fact that the above records were found at Poḷali Ammuṇije, we have to surmise that it was there that he first had to meet with opposition. On whose behalf Nanda Kaṁba fought and died, cannot be made out. But judged by the following record from Udayāvara commemorating the occupation of the city by Citravāhana I, we may say that it was on this ruler's behalf that Naṅda Kaṁba fought. The un-

1. *379 of 1927-8.* 2. *370 of 1927-8.*

dated Udayāvara Śaṁbhukallu stone inscription informs us that during the trouble of Raṇasāgara (*Raṇa-sāgaraṇā s'aṁ(saṁ)kaṭaduḷ*), the Lord of the Earth (*dhareg-īs'an*), *viz.*, Citravāhana I, occupied and entered Udayapura (*Udayapuram dhareg-īs'an paḍe poguvalli*). On this occasion Vijaṇa Nāyga's son Kāltide (whose bravery is extolled) fought and died on the side of Citravāhana.[1]

The absence of any *biruda* to Raṇasāgara in this record from the Śambhukallu temple may be compared to the plain name Āḷvar given obviously to the same ruler in the Durgā Parameśvarī inscription which mentions Nanda Kaṁba's death.

Citravāhana I's success was complete. He had justified his title of *dhareg-īs'an*. But Raṇasāgara was still powerful. This accounts for his re-entry into Udayāvara, and his successful defence against Śvetvāhana. That Raṇasāgara re-entered Udayāvara is proved by an undated stone inscription found in the Mahāliṅgeśvara temple at Koṭa in the Uḍipi tāluka. This epigraph records the death of Aṅgupesāra Pōlegan, a servant of Judda (Yuddha ?) Malla, when Raṇakisara entered Udayapura after fighting with *dhareg-īs'an*.[2] Evidently the *dhareg-īs'an* of this Kòṭa inscription was none other than the *dharege-īs'an* (Citravāhana I) of the Udayāvara Śaṁbhukallu stone inscription mentioned above. It follows, therefore, that the name Raṇakisara

1. *94 of 1901 : E. I.* IX. p. 18. 2. *505 of 1928-9.*

was either a second name of, or an engraver's error for, Raṇasāgara.

An undated stone inscription found in Udayāvara confirms our surmise that the Raṇakisara mentioned above was no other than Raṇasāgara himself. This record states that when Raṇasāgara entered Udayapura, Nalimaṇi Nāga Dīkṣara Sāgara attacking, Nāpaḍe fought and died.[1]

Citravāhana I's success cannot be determined. But Raṇasāgara's success was short-lived. This is inferred from the following two undated records which describe Śvetavāhana as attacking Udayapura and the defeat of Raṇasāgara. The first stone inscription was found in the Śaṁbhukallu temple at Udayāvara. It narrates that when Śvetavāhana entered Udayapura, Pāṇḍyavillaras's son Dēvu (his praise) fought and died.[2] Another stone inscription found near Rāmacandra Bhaṭṭa's house also in Udayāvara, substantiates our assumption that Śvetavāhana fought against Raṇasāgara. This epigraph relates that when Śvetavāhana entered Udayapura, Raṇasāgara's servant Viñja Praharabhūṣaṇa's son Kāmakōḍa (his praise) fell nobly fighting for his lord.[3]

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1. *108 A of 1901 ; S. I. I. VII.*, No. 293, p. 143.

2. *105 of 1901 ; E. I. IX.* p. 15. Rangachari commits a blunder when he makes Śvetavāhana *son* of Pāṇḍyavillarasa. *A Top. List.* II. p. 875. This error is to be traced to the *Madras Govt. Epigraphist's Report for 1901*, where the same is given !

3. *108 of 1901; E. I. IX.*, pp. 18-9. Again Rangachari wrongly states that Śvetavāhana died in the reign of Raṇasāgara ! *A Top. List.* II. p. 875.

We cannot make out what happened to Raṇasāgara. Śvetavāhana who opposed and probably killed him, may have been the son or a near relative of Citravāhana I. Whatever that may be, it is evident that Śvetavāhana himself had to defend Udayāvara against a new enemy. This was Pṛthvīsāgara who now stormed the Ālupa capital. Three undated inscriptions which on palaeographical grounds may be assigned to the age of Śvetavāhana and found in the Śaṁbhukallu temple, deal with the activities of Pṛthvīsāgara. One informs us that when Polokku Priyacelva, who was the beloved servant of Pṛthvīsāgara, the glorious Āḷupendra, was entering Udayapura, that Polokku Priyacelva fell fighting.[1] This record proves that Pṛthvīsāgara Āḷupendra had to struggle before he could become lord of Udayāvara.

We corroborate our statement by another undated stone inscription also from the same place. It relates that when Pṛthvīsāgara, who is not given the *biruda* the "Glorious Āḷupendra", had himself crowned (*Pṛthvīsāgaran paṭṭam-gaṭṭisi Udyapurman poguta-palli*) was entering Udayapura, Nadavilmuḍi's son Palpaṟe died fighting.[2]

But Pṛthvīsāgara won a complete victoy. We infer this from a third undated stone inscription found also in the same locality. The high sounding *birudas* which he assumed and the granting of tolls to two cities could

1. *101 of 1901; E. I. IX.*, p. 20.
2. *103 of 1901; E. I. IX.*, pp. 19–20.

To face p. 88



The moat of the Fort at Udayāvara

Photo by V. G. S.] [Copyright

only have been after his having been declared to be the undisputed master of Udayāvara. The stone inscription under review records that during Boygavarma's headmanship of the district, Pṛthvīsāgara, the *Glorious Āḷupendra, Who sprang from the race of the Moon, the Ornament of his family, Udayāditya Uttama Pāṇḍya, the Glorious Āḷuvarasar,* confirmed the gift of one half (of) the tolls (*suṅkam*) to the two cities of Paṭṭi (*i. e.*, Paṭṭi Pombucchapura or Humccha) and Udayapura.[1]

We can only surmise that Pṛthvīsāgara Āḷupendra was the son of Raṇasāgara. This assuption rests no doubt on weak grounds. Nevertheless it may be observed that in one stone inscription already cited, he is called *Lord of the Earth*. Further, in the same record he is called the *Glorious Āḷupendra*.[2] Raṇasāgara alone bore that second name. It was to wrest Udayāvara from Śvetavāhana, who maintained the claims of Raṇasāgara's rival Citravāhana I, that Pṛthvīsāgara attacked Udayāvara and captured it.

The next ruler of Udayāvara seems to have been Pṛthvīsāgara's son. We infer this from two undated stone inscriptions found also in the Śaṁbhukallu temple. A third inscription found in the Kōṭeśvara temple at Kōṭeśvara in the Kundāpūru tāluka may also be ascribed to the same ruler. Of the two Udayāvara stone records, one informs us that Vijayāditya Āḷu-

1. *102 of 1901; E. I. IX.*, pp. 20-1.
2. *101 of 1901, op. cit.*

pendra, *Parames'vara*, *Adhirājarāja*, *Uttama Pāṇḍya*, ***Who Sprang from the race of the Moon, the Glorious Māramma Āḷuvarasar***, confirmed the tolls to the same cities of Poṁbuḷca (*i.e.*, Humccha) and Udayāvara, at a later date.[1]

1. *98 of 1901; E. I. IX* p. 22. Read Hultzsch's remarks why this inscription is dated later than the preceding one. *E. I. IX*. pp. 23-4. The Māramma Āḷuvarasar of these records (*97 & 98 of 1901*) was not the same Māramma Āḷvarasar whom we have placed in *circa* A.D. 575 as the contemporary of Kīrtivarmā I. The following reasons prove our assertion :—

(a) The Śaṁbhukallu stone record styled *99 of 1901* opens with *svasti*. The Śaṁbhukallu inscription of Vijayāditya (*97 & 98 of 1901*) opens thus—*Om svasti Śrī*.

(b) In *99 of 1901* the ruler is called merely Śrī Māramma Āḷvarasar. But in *97 & 98 of 1901* he has elaborate *birudas*, and he is said to have been of the Lunar line.

(c) In *99 of 1901* the name of the capital is given as Odevura which may have been the original name of the capital. But in *97 & 98 of 1901* the capital is called Udayapura.

(d) In *99 of 1901* the town of Paṭṭi Pombuccha-which was not in the possession of the early Ālupas,—is not mentioned. But in *97 & 98 of 1901* the tolls to this town are twice confirmed.

(e) *99 of 1901* is more archaic and is simpler than the more florid and intelligible records *97 & 98 of 1901*.

(f) *99 of 1901* mentions the Goravas (Sthānikas) evidently of Odevura. *97 & 98 of 1901* describe the eight-fold fruits of a horse-sacrifice and the sins of destroying Bāraṇāsi and Śiva-haḷḷi.

(g) Finally, no engraver is mentioned in *99 of 1901*. But *98 of 1901* mentions Raṇadhari as the scribe, while *97 of 1901* contains no name of the engraver. These considerations conclusively prove that the two rulers Śri Māramma Āḷvarasar and Vijayāditya Ālupendra Māramma Āḷuvarsar could never have belonged to one and the same age. Our assumption, therefore, that Śri Māramma Āḷvarsar of *99 of 1901* belonged to an earlier age is fully justified. B. A. S.

From the above records it will be seen that like Pṛthvīsāgara, Vijayāditya bore the names *Āḷupendra* and *Uttama Pāṇḍya*, and traced his descent from the Lunar race. Like Pṛthvīsāgara, Vijayāditya is called the *Glorious* (*Māramma*) *Āḷuvarasar*. These considerations together with the fact that Vijayāditya called himself *Parames'vara* and *Adhirājarāja*, lead us to the inevitable conclusion that he was the heir to a powerful principality from his father Pṛthvīsāgara Āḷupendra. This explains why he twice confirmed the tolls to the cities of Paṭṭi Pombuccha and Udayāvara to which his father had granted tolls during the headmanship of Boygavarma.

The third inscription which belongs to the same monarch is that which was discovered in the Kōṭeśvara temple at Kōṭeśvara in the Kundāpūru tāluka. This is an undated and damaged stone record which merely registers a gift (of land ?) for the worship and offerings of the god Subra(ma)ṇi (Subrahmaṇya). The king is named Vijaya Deva Ā(ḷpanṛ)pendra Deva.[1]

Till now we have tried to fix the Ālupas on the strength of their epigraphs. We may now assign dates to them according to the standard we have adopted above, namely, assigning twenty years to every one of the rulers. Citravāhana I's last date, based on epigraphical evidence, is, as we have seen, A.D. 694. It cannot be that he attacked Raṇasāgara while he was

1. *372 of 1927.*

busy moving about in the company of his suzerain Vinayāditya Satyāśraya. Hence we have to suppose that he entered Udayāvara after A.D. 694. It has been made clear that he captured that city. We may, therefore, give five or six years more to Citravāhana I. This would mean that his reign began in *circa* A.D. 675 and ended in A.D. 700.

Raṇasāgara being his contemporary may be assigned to A. D. 710–A. D. 720; and Śvetavāhana who attacked him, to A. D. 720–A. D. 730; Pṛthvisāgara Āḷupendra, who in turn ousted Śvetavāhana, may be placed in A. D. 730–A.D. 750; and his son Vijayāditya Āḷupendra, who ruled over a secure kingdom, in A. D. 750–A. D. 770.

5. ĀLUPA RULERS FROM CITRAVĀHANA II

If the above deductions which are based on historical and palaeographical grounds are admitted, we come to the problem of the identification of the successor of Vijayāditya Āḷupendra. He was Citravāhana whom we shall style as the second of that name. His age and name can be determined on the basis of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa record which will be discussed in connection with the foreign relations of the Ālupa rulers. Here it may be noted that the Citravāhana mentioned in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa record cannot be identified with Citravāhana I for the following reason :–The Ālupa rulers would not have stormed Udayāvara when the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had sent an army against one of them in order to punish him for a certain political offence. Hence we have to

reject the identification of the Citravāhana of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription with Citravāhana I as originally given by Hultzsch and repeated by the Madras Government Epigraphist (Mr. Venkoba Rao), and the consequent confusion in the descent of the Ālupa rulers made by the latter, who makes Citravāhana II successor to Citravāhana I, followed by Śvetavāhana and Raṇasāgara.[1]

Nothing can be determined concerning the successors of Citravāhana II for about a century. What we may venture to suggest, as will be pointed out later on, is that king Vimalāditya may have ruled over Āḷvakheḍa in the precarious times that followed the reign of Citravāhana II. It is only in about A. D. 920–30 that we come across Āḷva Raṇañjaya whose position in the Ālupa genealogy will be fixed with the aid of contemporary Śāntara records in the following chapter.

We presume that Āḷva Raṇañjaya's successor was Dattāḷpendra Śrīmāra whom we place in A. D. 959 on the strength of a solitary stone inscription found in the Someśvara temple at Mūḍukēṟi in Bārakūru. This inscription is undated but it mentions the ruler's spiritual adviser named Gagana Śiva Ācārya whose age will be discussed while delineating the religious history of Tuḷuvanāḍu. The queen of Dattāḷpendra Śrīmāra was called Oḍḍama Devī.[2]

Dattāḷpendra Śrīmāra's successor was Kundavarma Āḷupendra (II). A unique inscription in Grantha script

1. *E. I., IX* pp. 16–17 ; *Ep. Report for 1926–7* pp. 106–7.
2. *124 of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII., No. 314, p. 165.

but in the Sanskrit language engraved on the pedestal of the image of Lokeśvara in the Mañjunātha temple at Kadri, near Mangalore, is the only record concerning this ruler. The inscription opens with *svasti S'rī* (Hail! Prosperity!) in the usual Ālupa manner. The ruler is praised thus :—*That he was a sun to the lotus the Lunar race, One with an effulgent body, One with his chest rubbed with saffron from the breast of Lakṣmī the State, One who, endowed with great physical strength, protected the corners of the world shining in the moonlight of pure fame, One by whom the evil of drinking was made distant (i. e., removed), One who by his distinguished achievements, released the earth for the sake of the agrahāras of Brahmans, One who by his valour recovered his kingdom after defeating traitorous wicked enemy (to whom he had given land [formerly])—such an Ālupendra ruler named Kundavarma was equal to Karṇa in liberality, to Arjuna in valour, to Indra in wealth, and to Bṛhaspati in wisdom. And (he was also) virtuous. He was like a bee at the lotus feet of Bālacandra S'ikhāmaṇi.* When 4068 years (and) nine months had passed in the Kaliyuga, and Jupiter was in Kanyā in the Rohiṇī nakṣatra on the afternoon (of the day) in an auspicious moment, (he) set up the image of god Lokeśvara in the beautiful *vihāra* of Kadirikā.[1]

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1. *27 B. of 1901 ; Ep. Rept. for 1921, p. 8 ; S. I. I. VII.* No. 191, p. 87.

The original runs thus :—

Svasti Śri | ŚrīmatSoma-kula-ambhojaraviṇā dīpta (te) jasā- |
rāja-Lakṣmīkucā (lakta)k. ḷaṅkī-kṛta-vakṣasā ||1||
uddāma-bāhuvīryeṇa rakṣitā(ḥ) kṣiti-maṇḍala (āḥ) |

niṣkr lonkeyaśoś-candracandrikā-vilasat-diśā ||2||
surā-pānc kṛto de (do) ṣo yena rājñā nirākṛt. ḥ |
dvijānām-agra-hārebhy. ḥ-cāru-cāritr. śāḷinā (śāḷinā) ||3||
d. ttāṁ-bhuvā (c m)-nirākṛtya b. lāt-viśvāsc ghātinām |
rājyam svabhu (jo)-vīryeṇa gṛh't. m yena mānina ||4||
so'y. m Kcrṇa-sam. ḥ-tyāgi (Pārth.)kalp.ḥ pcrākrame |
Surendrosc dṛśo Lakṣmyā Bṛh. sp. tiscmo dhiyā ||5||
ŚrīKundavarmā guṇava (vā) nc (nā) cluven (dro) mchīpatiḥ |
pāda (ā) ravind -bhramcro Bālacandra-Śikhāmaṇeḥ ||6||
kalcu va (r) ṣos. h srāṇām-atikrānte c. tuṣ. ye (cctuṣt. ye) |
pu (nar. bde) g. te-ca-eva-(āpya)ṣṭa-ṣcṣṭyā scmanvite ||7||
gateṣu nava-māseṣu Kanyāyāṁ scm. thite Gurc u |
paścime-h. ri Rchiṇyām muhū (r) te śubh. -l. kṣaṇe ||8||
Lokeśvcrcsya devasya pr. tiṣṭhām-c k. rot-pr. bhuḥ |
SrīmatKc dirikānāmni vihāre sumcnoh.re || *svasti śrī* ||9||

Mr. Govind Pai, who has edited this inscription in Kannaḍa in the November issue of the now defunct *Karnāṭa Kesari*, 192?, pp.131-141, has given an incorrect rendering of some of the words occurring in the inscription. Thus in verse (1) he writes *k. ḷ. nkita* when it ought to be *k. ḷ. nkī kṛta* ; in verse (2) he writes *kṣitimcṇḍ. lcm* when it ought to be *kṣitim. ṇḍ. lāḥ* ; in verse (3) he writes *kṛtāveśo* for *kṛtodoṣo* ; in verse (4) he gives *bhūp. nirākṛtya* for *bhuvcm* ; in verse (5) he writes *Karn (n) a-scmastyāge* for *Kcrṇc-scmastyāgi* and in the same verse he substitutes *vāyuk. lp. ḥ* for *Pcrtha* ; in verse (6) he gives *Ālupendro* for *Āluvendro* ; and in verse (7) he writes *cṣṭa-ṣcṣṭi* for *āpycṣṭa-ṣaṣṭyā.* Mr. Pai has translated the name of the *guru* of the Ālupa king thus :—*jcḍeyclli elc dingc ḷanru muḍidukoṇḍiruva Śrī Śivcna aḍidāvcregoḷa (bh. ktiyalli) dumbiyopādiy. lliruva Ālupa vcmśc da oḍeycnāda Śrī Kund. vcrmc nemb. guṇc vcntc nāda mc hārājanu.* This is how he translates verse (6) of the above inscription ! Expressed in Kannaḍa it ought to be the following:—*guṇavcnt. nāda Śrī Kundcvcrma Āluvendra rājcnu Bālcccndra Śikhāmcniya pād.-k. mcḷ. g. ḷalli bhrc mcrcd. ntiruvanu.* How far fetched Mr. Pai's translation is can be made out when we give one more specimen of his rendering. This concerns verse (1) which he gives thus in Kannaḍa:—*Svcsti vibhcvcdinda oḍcgūḍiruva candravcmśavemba tāvcrege nēsc rcntiruva tcnna tējdind. hoḷeyuttiruva (tcnna) rājyavemba Lc kṣmiya edege sc v. riruva alctigeyinda bcḷediruva hṛd y. deśavuḷḷ.* I translate this in the following manner :—*svasti śrī Candra-vcmścvemba k. mcl. kke sūry. ncnt iruva ujvclcvāda dēha-kānti-yuḷḷa rāja-Lakṣmiya kuca-kunkum. dinda mā.ida edeyuḷḷa.* Suffice it to

The date works correctly to A.D. 968 January the 13th.[1]

The next name we meet with in the Ālupa genealogy is that of Baṅkideva Ālupendra deva (I). On the evidence of contemporary foreign history and that of three stone inscriptions—two of which clearly deal with him although they are undated, and one dated record which we assign to him on historical grounds,—this ruler may be placed in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. A study of the Ālupa-Śāntara alliance which will be described in detail in a later connection, gives us the date A.D. 1050 for Baṅkideva Ālupendra. The two records which specifically mention this ruler were found in the Someśvara temple at Mūḍukēṟi in Bārakūru. Both break off at the end but give us some details concerning the titles of the king and the territory over which he ruled. The epigraphs open with *svasti* and give the following *birudas* to the king:—*Samasta-loka-eka-vyāpta-yas'o-vistārarum* (One who had his fame spread uniformly all over the universe), *Nija-*

say that Mr. Pai has made matters unnecessarily more complicated by the use of imagination and antique phrases not warranted by the epigraph. He calls Lokeśvara Ādinātha ! And by a roundabout way of reasoning, Mr. Pai arrives at A.D. 830 Jan. 8th Sat. as the year when Kundvarma installed this image of Lokeśvara ! This, as is evident from the chronology given in this treatise, is impossible. In the interpretation of this inscription, I have received invaluable aid from my learned friend Pandit Venkatadāsa Ācārya of Uḍipi ; and the text I have followed is that given in the *S. I. I.* VII. B. A. S.

1. Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris,* II. p. 336. In *S. I. I.* VII, p. 87, the date is given as Kali 4168 ! Mr. Rama Rao adds the detail 13th January, a Sunday B. A. S.

dakṣiṇa-b (h) uja-daṇḍa (in one version *ōrddaṇḍa*) *karavāḷa eka-sahāyarum āgi* (One who felt confident in the use of the sword in his own right arm), *Tuḷu-viṣayadoḷ nija-ājneyaṃ nilisi* (One who established his own command in the Tuḷu-viṣaya), *Male-yēḷum-Kombumnaḷinal-eḷu-Male-pā* (ḷ) *par-ellamam* (One who ruled over the territories comprising the Seven Male and the Seven Kombu), *nija-svāmi* (the Rightful Lord), Śrī Bankideva Ālupendra Devar. One record unfortunatley breaks off here, and the other after narrating the above *birudas*, continues to give a few details concerning what appears to be the military success of the ruler.

The statements occurring here, *viz.*, that the Śāntaḷige Thousand was under him, and that the country was being ruled under the shadow of his sole umbrella-*S'āntaḷige-sāyiramaṃ eka-cchatra-cchāyeyiṃ rājyam-geyyuttam mmalepa*,—when taken in conjunction with the *birudas* of the ruler referring to his valour and his mastery over the Seven Male and the Seven Kombu, prove beyond doubt that Bankideva Ālupendra was enjoying complete independence in the middle of the eleventh century A.D.[1]

An unfinished stone inscription found in the Śambhukallu temple at Udayāvara is supposed to belong to the reign of Bankideva Ālupendra on the following grounds:—It opens in the usual Ālupa manner with *svasti* but proceeds directly to give the date thus:—***Sake (S'aka) nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-sa(s'a)taṅgaḷu 980 neya Viḷambi-samvatsarada Caitra S'uddha Puṇṇame 16 neya***

1. *135 & 137 of 1901; S. I. I.* VII., Nos. 327, 328, p. 178.

adeyam(Va)ḍḍavāradandu which agrees with A.D. 1058 March Friday the 15th, the week day however not corresponding. The inscription then continues thus:— *Cokipāṭiya-baḷiyaṇṇam S'rīmān-Ma(hāmaṇḍaleśvara) Rāja-Sāltiraṭṭa...risaṇa-daṇḍasā*...and then breaks off. [1]

We know that Bankideva Ālupendra's date is A. D. 1050. This inscription which falls in A.D. 1058 can be referred only to him, since it is impossible to conceive of any other ruler exercising authority over the Āḷva-kheḍa during Bankideva Ālupendra's time. Moreover, if the *biruda Mahāmaṇḍalika* is substituted for *Mahāmaṇḍa-leśvara* given by the Madras Government Epigraphist, and if the last words-*risaṇa-daṇḍasā*—are taken to be an error for *dakṣiṇa-bhuja-daṇḍa*, we may have some further grounds, perhaps, for assigning this inscription to the reign of Bankideva Ālupendra which seems to have extended from A. D. 1050 till A. D. 1070.

6. MEDIAEVAL ĀLUPAS

No direct evidence is forthcoming concerning the successor of Bankideva Ālupendra I. But on the strength of one inscription of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra and on that of his son Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendra, we are able to assert that the ruler who succeeded Bankideva Ālupendra I was Udayāditya Pāṇḍya Paṭṭiga-deva Ālupa, a king who is mentioned in the incomplete stone inscription found in the Durgā Parameśvari temple

1. *95 of 1901; S. I. I.* VII, No. 278, p. 143; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, III. p. 118.

at Poḷali Ammuṇije. Here, however, the full name of the ruler is not given. He is styled ...Pāṇḍya Paṭṭigadeva Ālupa, thus proving beyond doubt that he was indeed an Ālupa king. The record, we may incidentally remark, mentions an artisan Biravadi Candaya.[1]

Now, we may assert that Udayādityarasa, who is mentioned in the fragmentary record of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra, is the same ruler whose name is given as... Pāṇḍya Paṭṭigadeva Ālupa on the strength of a later record found in the Nemīśvara *basti*, belonging to Ālupa Jagadevarasa's (son and) successor Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendra. This later record of Kulaśekhara Ālupendra, which will be cited while describing the reign of that ruler, clearly gives the descent of Kulaśekhara Ālupendra thus :—Pāṇḍya Paṭṭoḍeya followed by Pāṇḍya Ca (kravartin) Kavi, and then a ruler whose name is effaced in the record (but who was evidently Ālupa Jagadevārasa) followed by Kulaśekhara. Since, according to our estimate, Udayādityarasa preceded Kavi Ālupendra, it follows that Pāṇḍya Paṭṭoḍeya was no other than Udayādityarasa. The last known date for Bankideva Ālupendra I is A. D. 1058; and the earliest date for Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra is, as we shall presently see, A. D. 1134. We do not know whether Udayādityarasa Pāṇḍya Paṭṭigadeva (Paṭṭoḍeya) Ālupa ruled for fifty eight years; but it would not be far wrong to place him in about A. D. 1088.

1. *374 of 1927-8.*

That Udayādityarasa Pāṇḍya Paṭṭigadeva (Paṭṭoḍeya) indeed reigned is proved by the many *birudas* given to him in the Nemīśvara *basti* inscription discovered at Varaṅga referred to above. They are the following:—*svasti Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta, Pāṇḍya-rājādhirāja, Parames'vara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, S'araṇāgata-vajra, pañjara, ripu-rāja-kuñjara, Sāhityāmara, Nāri-manorāma* (?), *Sangrāma-vīra, Catur-vidha-budha-jana* (*ra*) (*raidini* ?), *Rāja-haṁsa Bhārata-karṇāvataṁsa, Paṇḍita-Pāṇḍya, Pāṇḍya-Dhanañjaya, Jayāṅgana uttuṅga-sthanālingana prasaṅga, Saṅgararaṅga, Kēḷi-vinoda, ā...nā bāḷā-jana-manaḥ kusumasara, Sarasvatī-karṇa-kuṇḍala-ābharaṇa, Raṇa-raṅga-S'ūdraka ityādi nama-upeta Soma-vaṁśa-(maṇ) dalika* (*tilaka* ?) *siṁhāsana-anantaraṃ digantarāḷa-miḷita kīrti-ketti-Paṭṭi-oḍeyam duṣṭa-nighraha-śiṣṭa pratipālana paranāgi rāja-rakṣitam dharmam emba naḍiyam kannaḍisi dharmavam sadya dim rakṣisidan...*

The *birudas Sangrāma-vīra* (Hero of battle), *Jayāngaṇa-uttaṅga-sthanālingana prasanga* (One who was accustomed to embrace the lofty bosom of the Lady Victory), and *Raṇa-raṅga S'ūdraka* (*a S'ūdraka* on the battle-field) suggest that the Ālupa ruler was noted for his martial exploits which unfortunately cannot be determined at present. The statement that Paṭṭoḍeya *dharmam emba naḍiyam kannaḍisi* (caused the conduct of *dharma* to appear?) seems to imply that he championed the cause of the Hindu *dharma.*[1]

1. These passages from *526 of 1928–9* have been taken from the transcript of that inscription so kindly sent to me by Mr. K. N. Dikshit through the Superintendent of Epigraphy, Southern Circle,

His successor was Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra. Seven stone inscriptions dealing directly with Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra, and an eighth concerning one who seems to have been his vassal, have been discovered in the Uḍipi, Kundāpūru, and Kārkaḷa tālukas. The earliest opens merely with *svasti*, and is dated *Sa* (*'Sa*) *ka* (*varṣa*) *1036 neya Vijaya Sam* (*va*) *cch* (*ts*) *aradalu* which evidently stands for Śaka 1035 *expired* (A.D. 1113-4), since the cyclic year for Śaka 1036 was Jaya, and for Śaka 1035 (1113-4) Vijaya. It then mentions directly that in the reign of *Kāvyāḷpendra* (*i. e.*, Kavi Ālupendra) *Maṇda...*(*U*) *deyādityarasara*, and then breaks off after a few words.[1] It is from this inscription found in the Śambhukallu temple at Udayāvara that we determine that Udayādityarasa was Kavi Ālupendra's (father and) predecessor.

Another stone inscription of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra found in the Vināyaka temple at Uppūru, Uḍipi tāluka, is doubly interesting. It not only calls the king by another name –*Pāṇḍya Cakravarti*—but gives

Madras, along with the transcripts of Nos. *372* and *419 of 1927–1928* *485*, *488*, *490*, *491*, and *509 of 1928–1929*. Unfortunately there are many gaps in the inscriptions, specially in *526 of 1928–9*, and the handwriting in many places is indistinct. I am not sure of some of the above passages. I may note here that one of the *birudas* of Udayādityarasa given above–Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya–appears as the name of a Śāntara chieftain Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya, son of Rāya Pāṇḍya, in a record dated A.D. 1148. *E. C.* XI. Dg. 41, p. 51. *Śaraṇāgata-vajra-pañjara* is one of the *birudas* borne by the Hosagunda chieftain Kumāra. Bīrarasa in A.D. 1229. See *infra*, Ch. III, sec. IV.

1. *106 of 1901*; *S. I. I.* VII, No. 290, p. 146; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, III. pp. 228, 230.

us the name of one of the most celebrated figures in Tuḷuva history. It is that of Parapaḷi Nāyaka, who along with others (*muntādavar*), made a gift of gold (*gadyāṇa 19*) on Ādivāra, Pingaḷa, Kuṁbha 31. The cyclic year Piṇgaḷa corresponds to Śaka 1019 (A.D. 1137), and the date evidently stands for Sunday the 21st February.[1]

The memory of Parapaḷi or Paḷipaṭa Nāyaka, as he is called today, is still held in very high veneration by the people of Tuḷuva, especially in the Uḍipi and Kundāpūru tālukas, and, as they say, also over the Ghats. The above record which associates Parapaḷi Nāyaka with a gift of gold, is of particular importance. The following story concerning the liberality of this most generous son of Tuḷuva is still current in the land :—

Parapaḷi Nāyaka was a native of Baṇṇiñje in Uḍipi where a *guḍi* (shrine) of the god Hanumanta and a plot of land are still associated with him—the former as having been the place where he used to perform his worship of Hanumanta, and the latter his rice field from which he earned his living. His master was a learned Brahman, who was in search of a *paraśa* (Philosopher's Stone). Being skilled in black art, the Brahman ordered Parapaḷi Nāyaka to get ready a plantain tree to be planted in a certain place at a given time. Parapaḷi Nāyaka being very inquisitive, brought two plantain

1. *488 of 1928-9;* Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.,* III. p. 278. Kuṁbha 31 is evidently an error for Kuṁbha 30. B.A.S.

trees, and giving one to his master, kept the other for himself. When the auspicious moment arrived, the Brahman planted the plantain tree, Parapaḷi Nāyaka doing the same without his master's knowing it.

In due course startling results revealed themselves: the master's plantain tree proved barren, while Parapaḷi Nāyaka's bore a gorgeous bunch of golden coloured plantains! But the simple-minded Parapaḷi Nāyaka seeing the huge bunch of plantains, was terribly perturbed at the novel fruits, and went to his master and confessed his doings. The kind-hearted Brahman, far from getting angry with his servant, told him to do the following :—On a particular day Parapaḷi Nāyaka was to take the bunch of plantains to the sea, and dcing obeisance (to the ocean) was to throw the plantains into the waters. The Brahman said that the ocean would then send three waves—the first and second would throw metals and precious stones on to the shore, but Parapaḷi Nāyaka was not to collect them. Whatever the third wave brought was to be taken to his home.

Parapaḷi Nāyaka faithfully followed the instructions of his master. The first and the second breaker brought forth glittering metals and shining diamonds respectively. These he threw back into the sea. A third wave swept clean over the beach and left behind it one single pebble in the shape of an axe. Parapaḷi after some moments of doubt as to whether or not he should take this piece of stone, at last carried it to his hut. That evening he threw it in a

niche in the wall, where he kept his scythe. Forgetting the day's strange happenings, he fell asleep.

On the morrow when he started for work in his field, he was stunned to see his scythe turned into gold! Running to his master, he narrated everything begging the Brahman's forgiveness. The Brahman instead of rebuking him told him the use to which the stone could be put, but warned him to use it sparingly. Parapaḷi carried out his master's injunctions to the letter. He turned iron into gold but never made use of the wealth for himself. He continued to serve his old master and to live in his old dilapidated hut. But he bought land at enormous price and bestowed it upon the poor. This he did not only in Tuḷuva but also in the regions of the Ghats, Keraḷa, and even in distant Tirupati.

Honest Parapaḷi drew upon himself the envy of the great land-owners and others. Once he went to Basarūru in order to buy land for cattle. It was his custom to buy land at different places and turn it into public grazing ground. At Basarūru, however, the people looked with suspicion on his wealth and refused to sell plots of land to him. At last Parapaḷi prevailed upon them, and it was agreed that so much of land was to be given to him as would be covered by a stone trough. The condition being that he was to pay the price of the plot in as much gold as the trough would hold. Parapaḷi paid the money but when constructing the trough, caused it so to be shaped that it bulged out in

the middle to an extent the wily citizens of Basarūru had not anticipated. All land below the trough became the property of Parapaḷi Nāyaka.

His deeds consisted mostly in gifts of land for cattle. Everywhere, especially in the Uḍipi tāluka, large plots of waste land are now shown as "Paḷipaṭa Nāyaka's *dharma*". Most often these plots of land contain single slabs of granite placed perpendicularly on the ground. They bear no inscription. But some times nearabouts there is an image of the god Hanumanta. The following places contain many such stones :— Baṇṇiñje, where he is said to have lived; Guṇḍibailu near the Māyā Guṇḍi temple, Ādi Uḍipi on the small hillock where stands the *guḍi* (or shrine) of the powerful devil Bobbariye, and Kukkehaḷḷi near Kīḷiñje where an inscription which is said to have contained details concerning his deeds, has been recently destroyed.

Parapaḷi Nāyaka's last days were spent in charity as well. It was his wish that the Philosopher's Stone should pass into the hands of an equally generous person, now that he was getting old and that his end was approaching. His Brahman master advised him to entertain the men of the locality with a grand feast. The Stone was immersed in one of the huge cauldrons used in Tuḷuva for preparing the dishes. It was agreed that the stone should become his property on whose plantain leaf it would be served. But serve as they would, the stone dropped only on the leaf of Parapaḷi Nāyaka!

Since there was none who was worthy of getting the Stone, on the advice of his Brahman master, Parapaḷi Nāyaka threw it back into ocean from where he had secured it.[1]

To revert to the story of the Ālupa ruler in whose reign Parapaḷi Nāyaka lived. A third stone inscription found at Beḷuvāyi in the Kārkaḷa tāluka is to be assigned also to the same Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra. It opens in the usual manner with *svasti S'rī*, and proceeds directly to narrate that in the victorious and increasing reign of Śrīmat Pāṇḍya

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1. Another story is also current in Tuḷuva concerning the manner in which he got the Philosopher's Stone. It is the following :— Once many pilgrims assembled in the Ananteśvara temple at Uḍipi with a view to proceed to Tirupati. At the repeated requests of Parapaḷi Nāyaka, they agreed to take him along with them as a load-bearer. To while away their time they asked him, in the course of their journey, what he, who could not even perform a *pūjā*, would do if god Govinda appeared to him and blessed him. He replied that he would do good to the people. They laughed at his simplicity. On reaching Tirupati, Parapaḷi found that every body neglected him because he was a poor man. Sorry beyond measure, he sat under a tree and prayed to God that if only He took pity on him, he would pray as others did and do good to the world. Just then a monkey came over head and dropped a pebble on Parapaḷi. Regretting that even animals felt no pity for him, Parapaḷi threw aside the pebble. The monkey repeated his pranks thrice, when for the third time the pebble touched the betel-leaf pestle which turned instantly into gold. Blessing the monkey, Parapaḷi went to the bazar and sold his gold, and to the surprise of all, gave dinners to his fellow travellers and performed many *pūjās* in the temple. Returning to Tuḷuva, he began to give munificent gifts, and is said to have converted *Tiribūḍu* (Loafer's Quarters) of Uḍipi into *Siribūḍu* (*i. e.*, Śrībūḍu or Wealthy Quarters). He lived till the end of his life in the same old hut which he had occupied before going to Tirupati. B. A. S.

Cakravartin Pāṇḍya Deva, which was to endure as long as the moon and the stars may last, (*S'rīmat Pāṇḍya Cakravarti Pāṇḍya-devara rājya-abhivṛddhi prvṛddhamā[nam] ācandrārkka-tārāvara [tārāmbaram] salutam ire*), Mahāpradhāna Arasu Heggaḍe, Kunni Gauḍa's officers (? *cāraru*), Mujavuru of Devala Kanda, and Hāraḍe Deva, made a grant (the details of which are effaced) to Īśvara (?). The date is given with the following incomplete details—*Mīnadalu Brahulva* (? *Bahuḷa*) *Meṣa māsa Ādivāra.*[1]

Since we know that in A.D. 1138 Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra was ruling, we have to construe the above record hailing from Beḷuvāyi as one that refers only to the same ruler.

A fourth stone inscription may also be assigned to him. It was found in the Pañcalingeśvara temple at Bārakūru. The epigraph opens in the manner given above and continues to relate that in the victorious reign, augmenting with perpetual increase which was to endure so long as the moon and the sun and stars may last, of Bhujabaḷa (la) Kavi Ālupendradeva, (*vije[a]yarā . . . . m-uttara-uttara-abhivṛ . . pravarddham-ācandrārkka-ārāmbaram-salutam ire*), an endowment (specified in detail) was made. The grant made in the presence of the god Mārkaṇḍeśvara at Bārakūru, evidently refers to lands in Sūrala (mod. Surāla) to Sūrala Toḷaha for the *naivedya-sāle* (oblations hall ?) constructed by (in honour of ?) Śivānanda Yōgi. The epigraph is dated *S'aka-*

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1. *61 of 1901 ; S. I. I.*, VII, No. 237, p. 120.

nṛpa kālātīta-saṁvatsarada 1062 neya Siddhārthi saṁvatsarada Vais'ākha māsam which evidently refers to Śaka 1062 current corresponding to A.D. 1139 April.[1]

Another stone inscription found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Basarūru, Kundāpūru tāluka, confirms the above titles of the ruler. This epigraph informs us that Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Vīra Kavi Ālupendradeva made a gift for providing offerings to the god Gaṇapati in the presence of the god Nakhareśvara at Basuṛepura (mod. Basarūru). The grant is dated in Śaka 1077, Bhāva, Dhanus Saṅkramaṇa which corresponds to A.D. 1154 December.[2]

Of these five records the first one, *viz.*, that dated in A.D. 1113-4 calls the king merely as ruling the kingdom—*S'rī Kāvyāḷpendra Dēvara rājyadalu.* This suggests that he acknowledged a suzerain in that year. But in A.D. 1138 he is called *Pāṇḍya Cakravarti* ; while the *biruda* of *Bhujabala* and the phrase relating to the victorious and augmenting reign given above, and as mentioned in his record dated A.D. 1140, clearly indicate his prowess and the stability of his independent kingdom. The *biruda* of Vīra prefixed to his name in A.D. 1154 is a further testimony to his independent position.

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1. *176 of 1901 ; S. I. I.* VII., No. 381, p. 236 ; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* III, *p.* 280.

2. *416 of 1927-8;* Swamikannu, *ibid,* p. 311. The god Nakhareśvara is rather an uncommon name. The god Nakhareśvara of Visṇusamudra in Āsandi-nāḍ is mentioned in A.D. 1143, A.D. 1240, and in A.D. 1253. *E. C.* VI. Kd. 99, 100 & 101, pp. 18-19. B. A. S.

A sixth stone record found in the Pañcalingeśvara temple at Kōṭekēṛi in Bārakūru, conclusively proves that he was an independent king. This epigraph after beginning only with *svasti* proceeds directly to give the imperial titles of the ruler thus :—*Samasta-bhuvanās'raya S'rī-pṛthvī-vallabha Mahārājādhirāja Parames'vara Parama-bhaṭṭārakar-appa S'rīmat Pāṇḍya Cakravarti Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra Devaru Bārahakanyāpurada aramaneya (lu) sukha-sankathā vinodadiṃ rājyam-geyyuttam-ire.* (The Refuge of all the worlds, the Favourite of the Earth [and] Fortune, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Śrīmat Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra-deva was ruling the kingdom of the world in peace and wisdom from his palace at Bārahakanyāpura). The date is given thus :—*Sa (S'a) ka-varṣa 1077 neya Yuva-saṁvatsarada Karkkaṭa-māsa prathama-Sōma vāradandu.* This works out correctly to A.D. 1155, June, Monday the 27th.[1]

The other details of this interesting record will be given in a later connection. On the strength of this inscription as well as on that of the above, it may be asserted that from about A.D. 1138 till A.D. 1155 Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Vīra Kavi Āluperdradeva continued to rule as an independent king. His capital, we may note incidentally, was named Bārahakanyāpura, the original god (*mūla-deva*) of which was called Mārkaṇḍeśvara.

1. *171 of 1901 ; S. I. I.* VII., No. 376, pp. 231-2 ; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, III., p. 312.

A seventh undated stone inscription relating to the same Ālupa ruler and found also in the same Pañcalingeśvara temple at Kōṭekēṟi, will be cited later on while describing the foreign relations of the Ālupas.[1]

On the back of a sculptured slab set up near the Gummaṭa statue at Vēṇuru is another stone epigraph which may be assigned to the same age. The inscription opens in the usual Ālupa manner with *svasti S rī*, and then continues to relate that for a religious performance (*sarpūjakke*) of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Sevyagellara, a stone was erected to commemorate for a thousand years the exhibition of horsemanship by him (? *S'rī Sevyagellarasa sahasra varṣakke vēḷe vāliyum*) by order of (*besadiṃ*) Kājuva Mainduvāḷda of the Binni Verggaḍe *baḷi*. The date given is *Sa* (*S a*)*ka-nṛpa kālātita* 1040 *neya Viḷambi-samvatsarada Kārtt kada Amavāsya Budhavāradundu* which corresponds to A.D. 1118, November the 15th Friday, the week day not corresponding. The phrase used for *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Sevyagellara is the following:—*Sarppūjakke cāluḷkeyum eka-cchatradind āḷdu rājyaṃ geyyuttaṃ ire.* What the words *sarppūjakke cāluḷkeyum* stand for, cannot be made out. But from the latter part of the expression, it seems that he was enjoying some sort of independence. The epigaph concludes thus:—*S'rī Sevyagellargiyum s'rī yumakke* (?) *maṅgala mahā śrī.*[2]

We have seen that Kavi Ālupendra ruled also over that portion of Tuḷuva now represented by the Kārkaḷa

1. *Infra* Ch. III. Sec. VIII.

2. *80 A of 1901; S. I. I.* VII, No. 278, p. 131. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* III, p. 239. On Friday the 15th November there was Amāvāsyā.

tāluka, that his reign began in about A. D. 1113–4, but that it was only from A.D. 1138 that we have evidence of his independent rule. It is possible that *Mahāmaṇḍales'-vara* Sevyagellara was either a chieftain of foreign stock who had established himself in about A.D. 1118 within the limits of Tuḷuva in the region which afterwards came to be associated with the Pāṇḍyas; or that he was a member of the Ālupa family who had set himself up as an independent chieftain.[1]

The latter supposition seems to be more probable. The beginning and ending of Sevyagellara's Veṇūru inscription confirms this view. And the undated Beḷuvāyi stone inscription of Kavi Ālupendradeva may be recalled here. The absence of the *birudas* *Vīra* and *Bhuja'ala*, and of the phrase-*vijaya-rājyam uttara—uttara—abhivṛddhi pravṛddha-mānam-ācandrārkka-tārāmbaram-saluttam-ire*-in the Beḷuvāyi record suggests that when it was engraved Kavi Ālupendra had to contend with an opponent whoever he was. The inclusion of the phrase *eka-cchattradind-āḷdu rājyaṃ geyyuttaṃ-ire*, on the other hand, in the inscription of the *Mahāmaṇḍales'vara* Sevyagellara clearly points to an assumption of royal power by that chieftain.

1. There is a Śrī Siyagellarasa mentioned in an incomplete stone inscription found in a field in Rāunragrāma, Holavanahaḷḷi, Maddagiri tāluka, Mysore State. This epigraph records the death of Śrī Siya-gellarasa's servant Raṇāketu's son Deveya, when Noḷamba took the Tagalūr fort. *E. C.* XII, Mi. 38, p. 108. Rice has assigned it to A.D. 950. We do not know whether Siyagellarasa was the same as Sevyagellarasa. B. A. S.

We may not be wrong in assuming, therefore, that soon after A.D. 1118 or thereabouts, Kavi Ālupendra had to struggle probably against Sevyagellara whose *biruda* of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* shows his subordinate position, obviously in the Ālupa family. But it may be observed at the same time that he was the first chieftain to assume that *biruda*, at least so far as the available records are concerned. Whether this is granted or not, it seems certain that during the long reign of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva (*circa* A.D. 1113–A.D. 1155), an independent foreign ruler could not have reigned within the boundaries of the Ālupa kingdom.

Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva's successor was Jagadevarasa. Of this ruler an indirect reference is found in a *vīragal* near the Siddheśvara temple in the Bairapura village in the Sāgar hōbḷi, Shimoga district, Mysore State. The *vīragal* narrates the following:—"On Thursday the 5th lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the year Tāraṇa, being the 19th year of the illustrious Vīra Śāntaradeva, *Obtainer of the band of five musical instruments, Mahāmaṇḍales'vara, possessed of excellent boons from Padmāvatī, delighter in musk, having all these and other titles*",...—when the Kaḷacuriya king Tribhuvanamalla Bijjaṇadevarasa was at Kalyāṇa, "The illustrious Hiriya Daṇṇāyaka ordered Araḷaiyan and Paḍalaiyan of Banavase 12,000 and Siṅgideva of Hombuccha to lead an attack on Bīrarasa of Hosagunda. Thereupon an army of 10,000 horsemen

and 50,000 foot-soldiers went to battle". Then the record contains the name of the Ālupa king Jagadevaraṣa and a description of the heroic deeds of Haḷeyamma, son of Aibiseṭṭi, *telliga* (oil-monger), of Nellivāḍi, and his death.

Dr. Krishna, who has edited and translated this *vīragal* in his *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department* for 1930, comments thus:—"This *vīragal* describes the exploits of a hero named Haḷeyamma of Nellivāḍi in a battle against the Āluva king Jagadevaraṣa. There was also a fight between Bīrarasa of Hosagunda and his over-lord Vīra Śāntaradeva". Dr. Krishna assigns this *vīragal* which contains no Śaka year but only the cyclic year Tāraṇa and the week day, to A.D. 1164 on the strength of the reference to the Kaḷacuriya king Bijjaḷa.[1] With this correct date before us, we shall proceed to locate the Jagadevarasa mentioned above in the Ālupa genealogy.

Vīra Śāntara is undoubtedly a Śāntara ruler, as the name signifies. If the date given above is accepted, Vīra Śāntara was a contemporary of the Kaḷacuriya

1. *My. Archl. Rept. for 1930, pp. 223–6.* Dr. Krishna translates the passage thus:—"The illustrious Hiriya Daṇṇāyaka Araḷaiyan and Paḍalaiya of Banavase 12,000 and Singideva of Hombuchcha ordered a military expedition against Birarasa of Hosagunda" (p. 225). This is incorrect, for the original runs thus: *Śrīmatu Hiriya daṇṇāyakaru Araḷaiyanu Banavase-pannir-cchāsidara-Paḍalaiyyanu Hombuchada Singidevanum Hosagundada Birarasana mēle naḍaduhag-enalu*" (p. 223, ll. 4–6). Here whereas Hiriya Daṇṇāyaka is given the plural, all the others under his commad are spoken of in the singular, thus justifying the translation we have given above. B.A.S.

king *Bijjaḷa* Deva. And since the *vīragal* is dated in the nineteenth year of Vīra Śāntara's reign, he may be placed, as Dr. Krishna rightly says, between A.D. 1146 and A.D. 1164 or thereabouts, Bijjaḷa Deva having reigned from A.D. 1156 till A.D. 1167.[1]

We have now to fix the dates of the Ālupa king Jagadevarasa and his position in contemporary history. It may be argued that he was the same as the Vīra Jagadeva mentioned in the Pañcalingeśvara stone inscription found at Kōṭekeṟi in Bārakūru. But the following considerations will prove that they were not identical :—

(1) The Pañcalingeśvara temple record calls Jagadeva merely Vīra Jagadeva, while the Siddheśvara temple record styles him Ālupa Jagadeva.

1. The identification of the Vīra Śāntara Deva mentioned in this record is a difficult matter. It is clear from the Siddheśvara temple *vīragal* that his nineteenth regnal year was A.D. 1164, *i.e.*, his first regnal year was A.D. 1146. But from A.D. 1146 till A.D. 1164 we have six Śāntara names—Vikrama Śāntara (A.D. 1147), Jagadevarasa (A.D. 1149), Bommarasa (A.D. 1152), Rāya Tailapa Deva (A.D. 1159), Jagadevarasa (A.D. 1160), and Singi Deva (A.D. 1165–A.D. 1166). (*E. C.* VII, Sk. 103, pp. 74–75; *ibid*, VIII. Sa. 28, Sa. 93, Sa. 112, Sa. 113, Sa. 114, Sa. 159, and Nr. 47, pp. 108, 115, 122–123, 151–2.) But a Vīra Śāntara Deva figures in the records of A.D. 1170, A.D. 1173, A.D. 1191, and A.D. 1194. (*E. C.* VIII, Sa. 116, p. 116; *ibid*, VII. Sh. 116, p. 37; Sk. 38, p. 49; *My. Arch. Rept.* for 1931, pp. 204–208; and *ibid* for 1930, pp 220–222). What the Kaḷacuriya monarch Bijjaḷadeva had to do with Banavase is apparent from two records dated A.D. 1162 respectively. These mention king Pāṇḍya in the Noḷaṁbavāḍi and Barmarasa Daṇṇāyaka over the Banavase 12,000, under the same monarch. (*E. C.* XI, Dg. 42, Dg. 84, pp. 54, 67). A further elucidation of this question is outside the present limits of our treatise. B. A. S.

(2) Vīra Jagadeva of the Pañcalingeśvara temple *inscription has been assigned to* A.D. *1104*–A.D. 1149-50, *i. e.*, he has been given a period of nearly forty-five years. The Ālupa Jagadeva being a contemporary of Vīra Śāntara and of king Bijjaḷa Deva must be placed between A.D. 1146 and A.D. 1176. If he were the same as the Vīra Jagadeva of the Pañcalingeśvara temple inscription, he would have to be given an unusually long reign from A.D. 1104 till A.D. 1176. This is inadmissible.

(3) We know from Ālupa records that Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra ruled from A.D. 1113 till A.D. 1155. It cannot be that another Ālupa king reigned at the same time.

We have, therefore, to place Ālupa Jagadeva either before Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra or after him. The former is inadmissible, because Ālupa Jagadeva was a contemporary of Vīra Śāntara and of king Bijjaḷa Deva. Hence he must be placed between A.D. 1146 and A.D. 1176. We know that there is a gap in the Ālupa genealogy after Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra and before Kulaśekhara Ālupendra whose first year is A.D. 1170. Ālupa Jagadeva fills in this gap between Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra and Kulaśekhara Ālupendra. If this is allowed, then, Ālupa Jagadeva ruled from A.D. 1155 till A.D. 1170. Only in this way can we reconcile the date A.D. 1164 given to the *vīragal* by Dr. Krishna with the chronological difficulties of the Ālupa kings in the period after Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra and before Kulaśekhara Ālupendra.

One question, however, remains still to be discussed —the status of Ālupa Jagadeva in the Siddheśvara record. From Dr. Krishna's note given above, it is not clear whether we have to take Ālupa Jagadeva as an ally or enemy of Vīra Śāntara Deva. What seems certain is that Bīrarasa of Hosagunda had taken the offensive; that Hiriya Daṇṇāyaka ordered Araḷaiyan, Padaḷaiyan, and Siṅgideva to concert measures against him; and that Haḷeyamma of Nellivāḍi died the death of a hero. Dr. Krishna's note seems to suggest that there were two fights—one in which Haḷeyamma lost his life against Ālupa Jagadevarasa, and the other in which Bīrarasa of Hosagunda fought against his overlord Vīra Śāntara.

But this may be questioned. The *vīragal* mentions only *one* encounter, and it does not suggest that Vīra Śāntara was the overlord of Bīrarasa of Hosagunda. That the *vīragal* describes only one encounter can be found out by noticing how and when Ālupa Jagadeva comes in the story. The original clearly says that on the attack made by Bīrarasa of Hosagunda, 10,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry were called to action. These numbers are significant: the offensive conducted by Bīrarasa was evidently of a very serious nature necessitating the united action of three provincial officials.

It was to meet such a grave contingency that Ālupa Jagadeva's aid was called into requisition. We prove that he was asked to join the battle against Bīrarasa from the context itself which relates that when 10,000

cavalry and 50,000 infantry had gone to war (*hat[t]u sāsira kudure aivattu sāsira-āḷa-daḷa dhurake hodalli*), the Ālva king Jagadevarasa from below the Ghats (being a party) in the struggle, proceeded, ravaging the districts (*Ghāṭada keḷagaṇa Ālvarasu Jagadevarasan-oḷagāgi naḍedu-nāḍa-kiḍisuttav iralu*). Ālupa Jagadeva's position can best be understood by noting the meaning of the phrase *oḷagāgi naḍedu* which may be interpreted thus—"came in the struggle (and) proceeded." The inscription does not warrant the supposition that Ālupa Jagadevarasa was accompanied by others. It merely records his participation in the battle and the havoc he caused in the country (of the enemy).

The exploits of Haḷeymma were evidently directed against Bīrarasa and not against Ālupa Jagadeva, although it must be confessed that the reference to the army which burnt Gauja and which was marching to Andāsara is not ascertainable.

We have now to explain why Ālupa Jagadeva could not have fought against Vīra Śāntara, and why Bīrarasa could not have been a feudatory of the latter. If our identification of Ālupa Jagadevarasa mentioned in the Siddheśvara temple record with the successor of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra is correct, then, Ālupa Jagadeva could not have led an army against the Śāntara king. It was only in the preceding reign of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra that the Ālupa-Śāntara alliance had been cemented by a marriage between that Ālupa king and a Śāntara princess. Until the contrary is proved,

we have to assume that this good feeling continued in the times of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra's successor; and that Ālupa Jagadevarasa marched against Bīrarasa of Hosagunda on behalf of his ally Vīra Śāntara Deva.

As against this the following may be argued:—That the inscription mentions the Ālupa king as *Ālvarasu Jagadevarasanu*, thereby calling him in the singular. The Hosagunda ruler is likewise called in the singular—*Hosagundada Bīrarasana mēle*. This proves that both Bīrarasa and Jagadevarasa were enemies to the Śāntara king. But this objection is of no avail. Vīra Śāntara himself is styled merely *S'rīmatu Vīra S'āntara Deva*, and no plural termination is appended to his name. Likewise the three provincial officials who helped Hiriya Daṇṇāyaka, *viz.*, Araḷaiyan, Paḍalaiyan of Banavase 12,000, and Siṅgideva of Humbuccha, are called in the singular. The reason seems to be that the scribe mentions with respect only the provincial viceroy, the illustrious (*S'rīmatu*) Hiriya Daṇṇāyaka, and the suzerain Bijjaḷa Deva.

The second objection that may be raised against our surmise is that the Hosagunda rulers, as shown elsewhere in this treatise, were called "'Shaker of the Tuḷu Rāya', 'Promoter of the Tuḷu kingdom," "Establisher of the Tuḷu Rāya"; that these three *birudas* were borne by the later Hosagunda chiefs evidently in commemoration of the help which Bīrarasa of Hosagunda had given to Ālupa Jagadeva; and that, therefore, we have to suppose that Ālupa

Jagadeva really helped Bīrarasa against Vīra Śāntara. These considerations are invalidated by the fact that the *birudas* in question were borne by Hosagunda chiefs in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. They are not of any use for our purpose.

Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Vīra Kulaśekhara Ālupendra I succeeded Ālupa Jagadevarasa. Of this ruler five stone inscriptions have been found in Tuḷuva:—the stone inscription in the Mahāliṅgeśvara temple at Basarūru in the Kundāpūru tāluka; an unfinished stone record found in the Mahāliṅgeśvara temple at Kōṭa in the Uḍipi tāluka; two defaced stone inscriptions found in the Gauri temple in that quarter of Mūḍubidre called Prāntya; and a stone slab set up in front of the verandah of the Nemīśvara *basti* in Varaṅga, also in the Kārkaḷa tāluka.

The Mahāliṅgeśvara temple record found at Basarūru is a damaged epigraph but is dated only in the cyclic year Manmatha, Makaramāsa, 18, Monday. The cyclic year corresponds to Śaka 1098 (A.D. 1176) and the date intended is probably January the 12th Monday. It merely records a gift to the temple of Nakhareśvara of the *paṭṭaṇa* Basarūru. The king is given the following *birudas*—*Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta*, *Soma-kula-tilaka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rājaparames'vara*, *Paramabhaṭṭārakar-appa S'rīmat Pāṇḍya Cakravarti Kulas'ekharadeva.*[1]

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1. *419 of 1927-8; Ep. Rep. for 1927-8*, p. 44.

The unfinished and undated stone epigraph also of the same ruler but found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Kōṭa only mentions (a gift to) the god of Kōṭa.[1]

The two defaced stone inscriptions of this ruler found in the Gauri temple at Prāntya in Mūḍubidre may now be examined. The earlier of these two records is dated *Sa(S'a)ka-nṛpa kāḷātīta saṁvatsara* 112 (7) *neya Krodhana samvatsarada Meṣa māsa 17 neya Ādivāradandu*. This corresponds correctly to A.D. 1205 April the 10th Sunday.[2]

Opening in the usual Ālupa manner, it proceeds to give the *birudas* of the ruler thus :—*Pāṇḍya Cakravarti Ko (Ku) lase (s'e) khara Āḷvendra-devar*, and then relates that under the shadow of his sole umbrella (*eka-ochatra-diṃ rājyaṃ geyyuttaṃ ire*), (on the given date), a deed of charity (*dharma-kārya*) was made by some prominent citizens including a *Mahāpradhāna*, whose name is effaced, and others for the goddess Durgā. On this occasion a grant of land from their *brahmadeya* estates to the same goddess was made by Jjhuṅkunjanā Deva, his son Narena Inā (Jjhana ?) Deva, and his son-in-law Vāsu Deva, embodying the same in a stone inscription (*śilā likhida* [*likhita*] *śāsanam*).[3]

In the other stone inscription also found in the same Gauri temple, we have the following *birudas* given to the ruler :—*S'rīmat Pāṇḍya Cakravarti Rāya Bhujabaḷa*

1. *507 of 1928–9.*
2. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, IV, p. 12.
3. *52 of 1901* ; *S. I. I.*, VII, No. 223, p. 112.

(*la*) *Vīra Kola* (*Kula*) *Se* (*S'e*) *khara Ālvendra deva*. His victorious and increasing reign is given thus :—*vije* (*ja*) *ya-rājyam-uttara-uttara-abhivṛddhi-pravṛddha-mānam-ācandrārkka-tārāmbaradim sukha-saṅkathā-vinodadim saluttav* (*m*) *-ire.* The inscription is dated in *Vi* (*su*) *s'o manāḷu* 158 (0) 1 (6) 2 (?) *Kaliyuga vari* (*ru*) *sa* (*ṣa*) 4315 *sand-andu* 6 *ru māle naḍu* (*vu*) *tird-andu Yuva samvatsarada Kes'ava māsa prathama dina*...*Vaḍ* (*ḍ*) *a vāram.* This corresponds to S'aka 1137 Yuva (A.D. 1215 April the 16th Thursday). The details of the grant to the goddess Durgā and to the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha that follow are defaced. Nevertheless they will be discussed later on while dealing with the history of the religion under the Ālupas. The Vīra Pāṇḍya Deva mentioned in this record could only have been Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Vīra Pāṇḍya Ālupendra referred to above in this treatise. The record under review breaks off at the end![1]

The patronage which Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Kavi Kulaśekhara Ālupendra extended to the Jaina religion, as is proved by the above record, is further corroborated by a long but undated and damaged inscription on a slab set up in front of the verandah of the Nemīśvara *basti* in Varaṅga in the Kārkaḷa tāluka. It is this record

1. *51 of 1901*; *S. I. I.* VII, No. 222, pp. 111-2; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem*., IV, p. 32. Kali 4315 expired = Kali 4316 current which agrees with Śaka 1137. I am unable to interpret the figures preceding Kaliyuga in this record. Mr. Rama Rao informs me that Keśavamāsa is equivalent probably to Mādhava which is the same as Vaiśākha. In the present reckoning it has been taken as Vaiśākha, B. A. S.

that gives us the name of Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra's predecessor as Pāṇḍya Paṭṭoḍeya whom we identified with Udayādityarasa Pāṇḍya Paṭṭigadeva Ālupa above. The inscription further supplies us with the names of the queen Jākala Mahādevi's younger brother Vīra Bhūpāla (*ā Ma* [*hādevi*] *ya anuja*), who is praised thus-*dāva* (*na*)-*S'aurya-sāra* Vīra Bhūpāla. It was he who made public the grant given by Jākala Mahādevī. The inscription gives further the names of Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya, and of the three Jaina priests Maladhāri Deva, Mādhavacandra, and Prabhācandra.[1]

The reign of Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I was the longest in Ālupa history. According to the direct evidence of the epigraphs given above, his rule lasted from A.D. 1176 till A.D. 1215. But on the strength of an inscription concerning the well-known Konkan ruler Jayakeśi I, to be mentioned in a later context, we believe that the first year of Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva was A.D. 1170. There cannot be any doubt that Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I ruled for forty-five years from A.D. 1170 till A.D. 1215. His age is memorable not only from the point of view of its length but also from the standpoint of the stability of the Ālupa kingdom. We have

1. *526 of 1928-29; Ep. Rept. for 1928-9* pp. 79-80. See also *Ep. Rept. for 1927-8;* pp. 59-60 where Mr. Venkoba Rao rightly identifies Kulaśekhara Deva of *419 of 1927-8* with Kulaśekhara Deva of *52 of 1901*. In *526 of 1928-9* the following *birudas* precede the name Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya—*jcgct-prasiddha vidyā-vilāsini suvarṇa-kuṇḍala-ābharaṇa... Pi*(*a*)*ṇḍita Pāṇḍyan-eṇisi Pāṇḍya-nanda*, etc.

seen the assertion made in his records that his was a victorious and augmenting reign. The praise bestowed on him in the epigraphs seems justified : for to preserve the integrity of the Ālupa kingdom which his predecessor Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra had firmly established, inspite of the many aggressive designs of foreign Karnāṭaka rulers, was indeed a remarkable achievement. We shall deal with the troubles in the reign of this ruler, while delineating the foreign relations of the Ālupas.

Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva I's successor was Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin. This is inferred from the Nemīśvara *basti* inscription which narrates the following :—*alle baḷiyam Paṭṭi-Oḍeya Kulaśekhara-deva rajyānantaraṃ Rāya-gajāṅkuśan immaḍida rājan Nūrmmaḍi-Cakra-varti dāna-cintāmaṇi catus-samudra-mudrita-kīrti-kāntā-mano-vallabhan-enisi* [1]...The absence of the intervening names of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva and of Jagadevarasa in this context is for the present inexplicable. However, we may note that Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin had the *biruda* of *Rāya-gajāṅkuśa*, and that he seems to have been celebrated for his gifts as the *birudas* "A wishing gem(Philospher's Stone)of charity", and "the Favourite of the lady Fame who had spread to the limits of the four seas", clearly imply. Since it is stated in the epigraph that he came after Kulaśekhara Ālupendra-deva, he may be assigned to the period intervening between Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I and Vibudha-

1. *526 of 1928-9.*

vasu. He may, therefore, have reigned from A.D. 1216 till A.D. 1256.[1]

Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin's successor was Vibudhavasu. The sources of information for the reign of this king are the *Grāmapaddhati* and a stone inscription found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Kōṭa in the Uḍipi tāluka. The Puttige *maṭha* version of the *Grāmapaddhati* merely calls him Vasu but describes him at some length, thus :–Once there was a king named Vasu. He was the substance of virtue, and was known as Indra of the Earth. While he ruled, the earth was filled with plenty, and falsehood and thieving were unknown. He was highly learned and well versed in the science of politics. (*purā tu pārthivaḥ kaścit āsīt sāra-guṇānvitaḥ ; nāmnā Vasuḥ iti khyātaḥ yam viduḥ bhūpurandaram. tasmin s'āsati bhūpāle kṣoṇīm sarvasamṛddhinīm; anṛtatvaṃ taskaratvam nāsti–iti āhuḥ manīṣinaḥ...mahā-prājñaḥ nīti-śāstraviśāradaḥ*). We shall have to refer to this again while describing the judicial procedure common in ancient Tuḷuva.[2]

That king Vasu of the *Grāmapaddhati* belonged to the Ālupa family there cannot be any doubt. The Mahālingeśvara temple stone inscription of this ruler, dated Śaka 1166, Ānanda (A.D. 1244–5), maintains that he belonged to the Pāṇḍya line, and that he gave a

1. The Government Epigraphist (Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer) makes Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin, Vīra Bhūpāla, and Kundaṇa brothers. *Ep Rep. of the S. Circle for 1928-9, pp. 79-80.* But in the transcript sent to me the name Kundaṇa cannot be traced. The meaning of *alle baḷiyam* and *immaḍida rājan* is not clear. B. A. S.

2. The Puttige version. *Infra* Ch. V.

village valued at 1,000 pagodas as a gift,[1] evidently to the same temple. We have seen that the Ālupa rulers of this age assumed the cognomen Pāṇḍya. This explains why Vibudhavasu is called a ruler who belonged to the Pāṇḍya line. The Pāṇḍya family mentioned here does not refer to the Pāṇḍyas of Madura at all but to another family who had nothing to do with them. For our purpose we may note that Vibudhavasu's reign fits in very well the gap between Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin and Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva I.[2]

His successor was Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva I. Eight stone inscriptions of this ruler and a ninth concerning his crowned queen have been found in Tuḷuva. These are the stone inscriptions in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Kōṭa in the Uḍipi tāluka; another stone epigraph in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Brahmāvūru also in the same tāluka; a third one in the Mahiṣāsuramardinī temple at Nīlāvara also in the same tāluka; a fourth one in the Koṭeśvara temple at Koṭeśvara in the Kundāpūru tāluka; a fifth inscription found in the Kundēśvara temple at Kundāpūru; and a sixth discovered in the Viṣṇu temple at Puttige in the Uḍipi tāluka. Two more inscriptions found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Padūru in the Uḍipi tāluka, may also be assigned to the reign of the same ruler. The ninth stone inscription which mentions his queen

1. Rangachari, *Top. List.* I No. 217, p. 869.

2. It may be that Vasu was given the title of *Vibudha* (the Wise) because of his learning. B. A. S.

was found in the Mahiṣāsuramardinī temple in Nīlāvara in the same tāluka.

The stone inscription found in the Mahālingésvara temple at Kōṭa supplies the earliest date for Vīra Pāṇḍya Deva Ālupendradeva. It is dated Śaka 1177 when Jupiter was in Mithuna, Ānanda, Bhādrapada, Bahuḷa, 10 Sunday, Kanyā 10 which agrees, but for the week day which happens to be Monday, with 7 September A.D. 1254. The record embodies an order issued by the king in the presence of Aḷiya Bankideva, Maiduna (brother-in-law) Oḍḍamadeva, Ballaveggaḍe, and "the Thousand of Koṭṭa", *i.e.*, Kōṭa (*Koṭṭada sāsirvarum*), while he was ruling from his capital Bārahakanyāpura. It cannot be made out whether the Aḷiya Bankideva was the king's nephew or his son-in-law, and whether he is to be identified with a ruler of the same name whose earliest record, as will be narrated presently, is dated A.D. 1302. The Ālupa ruler is styled thus—*Vīra Pāṇḍya Āḷupendradevara vijaya-rājyam-uttara-uttara pravṛddhamānam ācandrārka tārāmbaram saluttam-irddu.*[1]

The next stone inscription found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Brahmāvūru is dated Śaka 1177 when Jupiter was in Mithuna, Ānanda, Āśvayija (Āśvija), Śu. 15, Monday, Kanyā 30 Saṅkramaṇa Monday, which agrees with Monday the 28th September A.D. 1254. This record opens with a salutation to Gaṇapati (*S'rī Gaṇādhipataye namaḥ*). The king, who is called Pāṇḍya

1. *509 of 1928-9 ; Ep. Rep. for 1928-9*, p. 57.

Cakravartin Arirāya-Gajakesarin Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva, is said to have been seated in the durbar hall in his palace at Bārahakanyāpura with Aḷiya Bankideva, Maiduna Oḍḍamadeva, Ballaveggaḍe, ministers (*pradhānaru*) and *purohits*, when he made a gift to the Two Hundred (*Brahmavūradali nūrirvarige*) of Brahmāvūru.[1]

While seated in the same palace at Bārahakanyāpura along with the same nephew and Oḍḍamadeva Narasinga Heggaḍe, the ministers, and the *purohits*, Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva made a gift (of gold) to the Three Hundred of Niruvāra (*Niruvārada munnūrvarige*), as is related in the damaged stone record found in the Mahiṣāsuramardinī temple at Nīlāvara in the Uḍipi tāluka. The date of this inscription is given thus :—Śaka 1181, Pingaḷa, Phālguṇa, Bahuḷa 5, Sunday, when Jupiter was in Kanyā, Mīna 1, Saturday which corresponds to February the 24th Sunday and February the 23rd Saturday A.D. 1258. The king is expressly stated in this record to have been seated on the throne in the older (senior) paḷace at Bārahakanyāpura (*S'rīmatu rājadhāni Bārahakanyāpurada hiriya-aramaneyalu*).[2]

The Koṭeśvara temple stone epigraph found at Koṭeśvara in the Kundāpūru tāluka records a similar gift of gold. Here the Three Hundred of Kuḍikūṟa are said to have assembled at Bārahakanyāpura and the king's brother-in-law Oḍḍamadeva and Narasinga

1. *485 of 1928-9 ; Ep. Rept. for 1927-8*, p. 57.

2. *490 of 1928-9*; *Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 58. This record enables us to assert that Niruvāra was the earlier name of Nīlāvara.

Heggaḍe are again mentioned. The inscription is dated Śaka 1183, Durmati, Mārgaśīrṣa, Śu. 6, Tuesday Dhanus, 3, which corresponds to Tuesday the 29th November A.D. 1261. The ruler is given the *birudas Pāṇḍya Cakravarti Arirāya Gajakesari*, and is again said to be ruling from his *sthira siṁhāsana* (firm throne) at Bārahakanyāpura.[1]

The Kundeśvara temple inscription styles the king *Pāṇḍya devarasa Ālupendrarasa*, and describes him as ruling from the same capital with his crowned queen (*paṭṭada mahiṣī*), his *maiduna* Oḍḍamadeva, Narasiṅga Heggaḍe, the *senabova*, the *adhikāri*, the *purohita*, and others; and to have fixed 140 and 180 *samudāya gadyāṇas* as the annual imposts leviable from the villages of Kundāpūru and Kuḍikūṛa respectively. The date of this inscription is Śaka 1184, Dundhubi, Śravaṇa, Bahuḷa 13, Sunday Simha 16. It agrees with Sunday the 13th August A.D. 1262.[2] The name of the crowned queen, as ascertained from another record to be mentioned later on, was Balla Mahādevī.

In the Viṣṇumūrti temple at Puttige in the Uḍipi tāluka is a damaged stone inscription also of the same ruler. It is dated only in the cyclic year Prabhava, Siṁha, but is assignable to Śaka 1190 (July-August A.D. 1267). The epigraph records a royal order made in the presence of the *pradhānas* (ministers) and other officers,

1. *370 of 1927*; *Ep. Rep. for 1926-7*, pp. 62, 108-9.

2. *364 of 1927*; *Ep. Rep. for 1926-7*, pp. 62, 108-9.

and issued from Bāra(ha)kanyāpura. The *biruda* of *Vīra* is given to the king in this inscription.[1]

It cannot be determined whether Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Gajakesarı Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva ruled only from A.D. 1254 till A.D. 1267. From the above record it is clear that the king's firm throne (*sthira siṁhāsana*) was always at Bārakūru which, it must be noted, is consistently styled Bārahakanyāpura. His last date cannot be determined but it is not improbable that he ruled till A.D. 1277-8 or thereabouts.

Two stone inscriptions of the same ruler have been found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Padūru in the Uḍipi tāluka. Unfortunately both are damaged but both clearly give the name of the king as Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva. One of these is undated, and in the other, which seems to record a gift of land, the date is lost.[2] The main reason why these two records are assigned to the reign of this ruler is that they were found in one of the Śaivite centres of the Uḍipi tāluka. It is true that one of the inscriptions of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva II was also found in the Uḍipi tāluka. But, on the whole, the inscriptions of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva II and of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva III were found in the Mangalore and Kārkaḷa tālukas.

1. *500 of 1928-9*; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, IV, p. 137.
2. *367* and *368 of 1930-1931*.

The year A.D. 1277 witnessed the regime of his crowned queen Balla Mahādevī. A stone inscription found in the Mahiśāsuramardhini temple at Nīlāvara in the Uḍipi tāluka, styles her as the *paṭṭada piriyarasi* (the senior crowned queen). It describes her as ruling the country (*śrīmatu paṭṭada piriyarasi Balla-mahādevi-yaru vijaya-rājyam-uttara-uttara-abhivṛddhi pravardhamāna ācandrārkka tārāmbaram-saluttam-irdda*). The epigraph states that a specified endowment in money (100 *honnu*) was made to the goddess Bhagavatī of the temple of Niruvāra in the presence of all the *pradhānas*, *deśa-puruṣas*, *oḍeyas*, *adhikāris*, and the important representatives of the village of Niruvāra (*Niruvārada grāmadavaru*). The inscription is dated Śaka 120 (1), Īśvara, Kanyā 15, Sunday. The cyclic year Īśvara corresponds, however, to Śaka 1199 (expired), and the other details evidently stand for A.D. 1277, September the 12th Sunday.[1]

The succession devolved on her son Nāgadevarasa. Two damaged inscriptions of this ruler have been found in the Mahāliṅgeśvara temple at Basarūru in the Kundāpūru tāluka. The earlier of the two is a damaged record dated Śaka 1213 Khara, Māgha Bahuḷa 10, Thursday, Kumbha 20 which agrees but for the last detail which ought to be Kuṁbha 21, with A.D. 1292 February the 14th Thursday. Nāgadevarasa is called in this record the son of Balla Mahādevī, and is said to be ruling from the capital Bārahakanyāpura. It

1. *491 of 1928–9*; *Ep. Rept. for 1928–29*, pp. 58, 80.

registers a gift of a flower garden to the god Nakhareśvara of Basarūru.[1]

The other damaged inscription, also found in the same temple, is dated Śaka 1220 Kumbha 20 which corresponds to (Śaka 1220, the cyclic year being Viḷamba) A.D. 1299, February the 13th Friday. It commemorates a gift also to the same god in the same temple.[2]

Of the next ruler Bankideva Ālupendradeva II, four stone epigraphs have been found. The first of these was discovered in the Gollara Gaṇapati temple at Mangalore; the second at Kariyaṅgaḷa near Poḷali Ammuṇije in the same tāluka; the third in the Mañjunātha temple at Kadri near Mangalore; and the fourth in a field in the village of Sujeru, Mangalore tāluka. The Gollara Gaṇapati stone inscription gives him the following *birudas* :—*Pāṇḍya Cakravartin*, *Rāya-Gajānkuśa*, and calls him Bankideva Ālupendradeva. His independent status is proved by the following phrases used in the same inscription :—*vijaya-rājyam-uttara-uttara-abhivṛddhi-pravarddhamāna-ācandrārkka-tārāmbaram (saluttam-ire) duṣṭha-nigraha-śiṣṭha-pratipālanar-āgi sukha saṅkathā-vinodadiṃ rājyam geyyuttam irdda.*

The date given in the above inscription is the following:—*S'aka-abda 1225 neya S'ubha kṛta saṁvatsarada Meṣa māsa 7 neya Ā (di)* which corresponds to Sunday

1. *415 of 1927-8*, *Ep. Rept. for 1927-8*, p. 49.
2. *420 of 1927-8* ; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* IV p. 198.

April the 1st A.D. 1302.[1] The inscription then continues to narrate that in that part of the palace of the capital Mangaḷāpura called Mogasāle, where the king was holding the durbar on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of the great queen Mocala Mahādevī (*śrīmatu rājadhāni Maṅgaḷāpurada aramaneya Mogasāleyal-ōlagaṃ-koṭṭ iralu munna tammaḍiyakke Mocala mahādēviyara svargastar-āda avara piṇḍa-pradānadalu*), certain grants of land (specified) were made to Kādu Vāmana for the gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara. This epigraph, we may incidentally observe, is called a *śilā-sanketamam*, evidently because it was an agreement arrived at by the people and the king. In fact, the last sentence invokes a blessing on the ruler who was present on the occasion :—*eṅdu barada śilā-sanketamaṃ kēḷda śrīmat Ar* (*a*) *sarge mangaḷa-mahāśrī*.[2]

The identity of the great queen Mocala Mahādevi is uncertain. But the use of the epithet *Mahādevī* and the absence of the term *paṭṭada piriyarasi* or *paṭṭada mahiṣī* suggest that she may have been the mother of Bankideva Ālupendra. If we take the death anniversary of the queen mentioned in the record to be the first of its kind, she may have died in A.D. 1301.

1. and (2) *17 of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII, No. 177, p. 75. On the same page of *S. I. I.*, *a* is interpreted as Āśāḍha, and 8 is substituted for 7. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, IV. p. 206. Kittel refers to a stone inscription dated Śālivāhana Śaka 1225 found in front of a temple that was then called Nīradevālaya and at present dedicated to Hanumanta in which the name Mangalāpura is mentioned. *Kannaḍa-Eng. Dicty.*, p. 1180. Evidently the inscription referred to is the one under discussion. B. A. S.

The second stone inscription belonging to this ruler was found at Kariyaṅgaḷa, near Poḷali Ammuṇije in the same tāluka. It is dated only in the cyclic year Krodhana (Krodhin), Siṁha 15 which corresponds to Śaka 1226 (A.D. 1304 August, Wednesday the 12th). The inscription records a gift of land to the temple of Hoḷaladevā (? devī) by a Brahman in the reign of Bankidevarasa.[1]

A third inscription of the same king is the defaced stone record found in the Mañjunātha temple at Kadri near Mangalore. This undated epigraph gives the *birudas Pāṇḍya Cakravartin (Rā) ya-Gajāṅkuśa* to the king Bankideva Ālupendra, and informs us that in the course of his increasing and victorious reign, while he was protecting the virtuous and punishing the wicked (*vijaya rājyam uttara-uttara abhivṛddhi pravarddhamāna* [*mā candrākka tā*] *rāmbaraṃ* [*saluttam-ire*] *duṣṭha-nigraha-śiṣṭha pratipālana*), and then breaks off.[2] The similarity of the *birudas* and the phrases describing his independent rule mentioned in the above inscription with those given in the Gollara Gaṇapati temple inscription, suggests beyond any doubt that both the records are to be referred to the same ruler.

The Sujeru stone inscription is dated Śaka 1228, Viśvāvasu, Siṁha 18, Sunday which corresponds correctly to A.D. 1305, August, Sunday the 15th. This is a unique record which shows how carefully the Ālupa

1. *377 of 1927-8* ; Swamikannu, *Ind. Epem.*, IV, p. 211.
2. *26 of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII, No. 188, p. 84.

kings looked after the material welfare of their subjects. Its importance will be discussed in a subsequent section on the features of Ālupa administration.[1]

7. LATER ĀLUPAS AND THE BEGINNING OF THE DECLINE

Soyideva Ālupendradeva succeeded Bankideva Ālupendradeva. It cannot be determined how long the latter's rule lasted. But from the fact that the earliest inscription of Soyideva Ālupendradeva is dated A.D. 1315, it is permissible to surmise that Bankideva Ālupendradeva's reign lasted till A.D. 1314-5. Five stone epigraphs of the reign of Soyideva Ālupendradeva have been found, while a sixth record, mentioning one who was obviously a member of the royal family, falls within his reign. The five stone records are the following :—a stone inscription found in the Somanātheśvara temple at Maṇigārakēṟi in Bārakūru ; a stone epigraph discovered in a place called Dammaraguḍḍe in Paḍebeṭṭu, Uḍipi tāluka ; a stone record found under a peepul tree in Kāpu also in the Uḍipi tāluka ; another one found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Uḍipi ; and a damaged one discovered in the Anantapadmanābhasvāmi temple at Kuḍupu in the Mangalore tāluka. The sixth stone inscription falling within the reign of Soyideva Ālupendradeva is also much damaged. It was discovered in the Nemīśvara *basti* at Varaṅga in the Kārkaḷa tāluka.

1. *338 of 1930-1931* ; Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.* IV p. 213.

The Somanāthesvara temple stone inscription found in the Maṇigārakēṛi begins in the usual Ālupa manner with *svasti śrīmat*, and gives the following *birudas* to Soyideva Ālupendradeva:—*Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Arirāya Basava S'ankara Deva*. Of these the second is a new *biruda* altogether. The phrase *vije (ja)ya-rājya-udayam-uttara-abhivṛddhimānam-ācandrārkka-tārāmbaraṃ saluttam irdda* suggests that he was enjoying an independent kingdom. But, as we shall point out in a later connection, the Ālupa power was now beginning gradually to decline. The date of the above record, however, is given as *S'aka-varuṣa 1238 Rākṣasa saṁvatsarada Mārgas (ś) ira Su-(S'u) dd (h) a 13 (Vṛ) ścīka-māsa 13 Sōmavāra*. The cyclic year for Śaka 1238 was Anala; and Vṛścika 13 Monday would mean A.D. 1316 November the 9th Tuesday. We have, therefore. to assume that the date intended was probably Śaka 1237 *expired* in which case it works out correctly to A.D. 1315 November, Monday the 10th. The ruler is represented as being in the palace in Bārahakanyāpura, and not Bārakāntupura, as has been wrongly read by the Madras Government Epigraphist. The king is described to be seated on the golden throne (*suvarṇa-siṁhāsana-ārūḍhar-āgi*, and not *unnata-siṁhasana-ārūḍharāgi*, as has been supposed by the same writer), and holding his durbar (*ōḍḍōlagam koṭṭ-irda-prastā-va-doḷu*). The inscription which is unfortunately effaced in many places, records a grant for the offerings of the god Somanātha of Maṇigārakēṛi. It was made by Bankidevarasa, the nephew of the ruler (... *vālvara*

baḷiya [*aḷiya*] *Baṅkidevarasaru*) to Banki Senabova's (man ?) Annadāta Heggaḍe. The importance of this epigraph will be made clear while describing the administration under the Ālupas.[1]

The second is a damaged stone inscription found in a place called Dammaraguḍḍe, about a mile to the north of the Subrahmaṇya temple in the Paḍebeṭṭu village, Uḍipi tāluka. It is dated Śaka 12 (46 Raktākṣi) which corresponds to A. D. 1324-5. The ruler is called Vīra (So) yideva Ālupendradeva. This record seems to register a gift of money-income to the temple of Kōṭīśvara by the king. It mentions the *Mahāpradhāna* So (va) ṇṇa Sēnabova and Siṅgaṇa Sāhaṇi.[2]

The Kāpu stone inscription of the same ruler gives him the same *birudas* and the same phrase regarding his independent rule. It is dated *S'ri S'aka-varuṣa 1247* (*neya*) *Rakatākṣi* (*saṁvatsarada*) *Kanyā* ... The cyclic year Raktākṣi corresponds to Śaka 1246 and not to Śaka 1247 the cyclic year of which was Krodhana. The date intended is probably Śaka 1246 (A.D. 1324, September). This is another defaced inscription which clearly describes the king as seated on the golden throne (*s*[*u*] *varṇa*

1. *151 of 1901 ; S. I. I.* VII. No. 354, p. 212 ; Swamikannu, *Ind Ephem.* IV. pp. 232–235. The cyclic year for Śaka 1237 was Rākṣasa. But instead of Mṛgaśīrsa, there is Nija and Vṛścika 13 corresponds correctly to November the 10th Monday. Swamikannu, *ibid*, p. 233. B. A. S.

2. *374 of 1930–1.* The latter part of the date is by no means certain. On the back of this slab is a much mutilated Kannaḍa inscription of the Vijayanagara times, mentioning an Oḍeya and some Mudalis. *Ibid.*

(*simhāsa*) *na ārūḍhar-āgi*) at Bārahakanyāpura, and holding the durbar (*oḍḍolagam-koṭṭ-iralu*). It records a grant of land (details effaced) made at the request of Śrimān *Mahāpradhāna* Singaṇa Sāhaṇi and the officials called *eraḍu-kōla baḷi niyogis.*[1]

The Mahālingēśvara temple inscription of Uḍipi begins directly with the date which is given thus:- *Prabhava samvacch* (*ts*) *arada Āśāḍha Ba*(*huḷa*) *3 Ma. Karkkāṭaka māsa 9 Maṅgaḷavāra ḍi.* The cyclic year Prabhava corresponds to Śaka 1249 but the week day however does not correspond. The date is perhaps meant for Śaka 1249 (A.D. 1327) July, Wednesday the 8th and not Tuesday. The king is given the same *birudas* as in the above Kāpu inscription. The *Mahāpradhāna* Singaṇa Sāhaṇi (but called in this record Sahaṇi), along with Bhōṣana (Bhūṣaṇa ?) Adhikāri, Koḍakala Nāyaka of Naḍapu and others, gave certain specified forest land for the (services of the) god of Tāṟe-guḍḍe. The epigraph concludes with an imprecation that he who violates the grant would suffer the sins of killing cows in Vāraṇāsi. The engraver's name is given in Devanagari characters as Śrādharanathā which is evidently an error for Śrīdharanātha.[2]

The fifth inscription of the same ruler was discovered in the Anantapadmanābhasvāmi temple

1. *92 of 1901 ; S. I. I.* VII. No. 274, p. 141 ; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* ... p. 250.

2. *118 A. of 1901 ; S. I. I.* VII. No. 308, p. 159, Swamikannu *ibid,* IV, p. 257.

at Kuḍupu. This damaged epigraph calls the king Vīra Soyirāya and adds a third *biruda* to the two alrady mentioned above-that of *Rāya-Gajānkuśa* which, as we have already seen, was assumed by Soyideva Ālupendradeva's (father and) predecessor Bankideva Ālupendradeva. The inscription under review is dated only in the cyclic year Bhava Kuṁbha 22 (Wednesday) which corresponds to Śaka 1257 (A. D. 1335 February Wednesday the 15th). An official named Mainda Heggaḍe is mentioned in the record.[1]

The sixth stone inscription which falls within the reign of Soyideva Ālupendradeva but which was not evidently issued by him is a damaged record found in the Nemīśvara *basti* at Varaṅga in the Kārkaḷa tāluka. It mentions a chief named Gopīśvararāya, who is given the *birudas* of *Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya, Pāṇḍya Dhanañjaya,* and *Arirāya Basava S'ankara.* The name of the *sarvādhikāri* Narasinga also occurs in the inscription. It is dated Śaka 1 (25) 4 Āṅgīrasa (Mithuna), Śu. 10, Thursday which works out to A.D. 1332 June the 4th Thursday.[2]

We have seen that in the undated stone slab set up in the verandah of the same *basti* at Varaṅga, belonging to the reign of Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Kulaśekharadeva Ālupendradeva, already cited above, the name Pāṇḍya Dhanañjaya appeared as a *biruda* of Paṭṭoḍeya, while a prince named Pi(a)ṇḍita Pāṇḍya was also mentioned.[3]

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1. *461 of 1928-9 ; Ep. Rept. for 1928-9,* p. 58.
2. *527 of 1928-9 ; Ep. Rept. for 1928-9,* p. 59.
3. *526 of 1928-9,* op. cit.

Gopīśvararāya has the same *biruda* like the one assumed by Paṭṭoḍeya, and in addition that of *Arirāya Basava S'ankara*, which we may note was used by the Ālupa ruler himself. These considerations make it certain that Gopīśvararāya belonged to the royal family in the indirect line, and that he was not an independent ruler.

The *birudas Basava S'ankara* together with *S'rīmat Pāṇḍya Cakravartin* and *Rāya Gajānkuśa* which were borne by the Ālupa rulers were, we may incidentally observe, also used by one of the most prominent of the later Hoysala rulers-Vīra Ballāḷa III.

Soyideva Ālupendradeva was succeeded by Vīra Kulaśekharadeva. Two stone inscriptions of this ruler have been discovered. The first is a damaged record found at Niruvāra in the Uḍipi tāluka. It is dated Śaka 1(26)7 Tāraṇa (Vṛścika), 27, Thursday which corresponds to A.D. 1345, November the 24th Thursday. The inscription mentions a gift to the temple of Durgā Bhagavatī of the same locality.[1]

The other inscription is written in the Grantha script. It was found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Kōṭa in the Uḍipi tāluka, and it contains the incomplete detail that Jupiter was in Kumbha. The date evidently stands for A.D. 1345. The inscription records an endowment to the same temple of Mahālingeśvara at

1. *496 of 1928-9 ; Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 58. The cyclic year Tāraṇa is probably here meant for Śaka 1266 *expired* with which it agrees. For the cyclic year for Śaka 1267 was Pārthiva. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, IV., pp. 290-293. B. A. S.

Kōṭa in the Uḍipi tāluka.[1] If we assume that Soyideva Ālupendradeva's last year was A.D. 1335, then, it may be taken that Vīra Kulaśekharadeva's reign lasted from that date till A.D. 1345-6.

Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva succeeded Vīra Kulaśekharadeva in A.D. 1346. Only two inscriptions directly bearing on the reign of this ruler have been found, while two others may be assigned to him on historical grounds. That Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva's earliest year was A.D. 1346 seems certain both from the inscriptions found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Brahmāvuru in the Uḍipi tāluka as well as from the supplementary grant recorded on a stone in the Śringeri *maṭha*. The former is a damaged epigraph dated Śaka 1 (26)9 Vyaya, Mārgaśirśa, Su. 1 (1), Vaḍḍavāra which agrees with A.D. 1346 November the 25th Saturday. The inscription seems to record a gift of land.[2]

The Śringeri *maṭha* inscription is concerned mainly with the endowments made to it by the five famous brothers-Harihara, Bukka, Mārapa, Muddapa, and Kampaṇa, the founders of the Vijayanagara Empire, in the year A.D. 1346. A supplementary grant to the servants of Bhārata Tīrtha Śrīpāda of that pontificate is also made in the same record and is dated in the same year. It is from this that we gather that the ruler who made the supplementary grant was no other than Vīra Pāṇḍya Deva. For it gives him the *birudas*

1. *506 of 1928-9.*
2. *484 of 1928-9; Ep. Rept. for 1928-9,* p. 59.

Pāṇḍya Cakravartin, Arirāya Basava S'ankara, A Goad to the Elephants the hostile kings. These *birudas* were worn by the predecessors of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva, and were, therefore, naturally assumed by him. We assume that Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva went to Śriṅgeri along with his queen whose name is given as Kikkāyitāyi which is evidently an error for Cikkāyitāyi, (*i. e.*, Kṛṣṇāyitāyi), in the same inscription.[1]

Two other inscriptions that may be assigned to the same ruler are the completely defaced stone inscription found at the entrance to the central shrine of the Pāṇḍyeśvara temple at Mangalore, and the illegible stone epigraph found at the entrance to the Cakrapāṇi temple at Attāvara also in the same town. The former, however, contains the date one figure of which is damaged : Śaka 128 (?), Mīna-māsa 14th Ā. The Government Epigraphist (Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar) has substituted 4 for the missing figure. But this (Śaka 1284) does not work out correctly, since the cyclic year for Śaka 1284 was Śubhakṛt. The date, then, according to the calculation of the Madras Government Epigraphist, would be A.D. 1362, March 9th Wednesday. The week day and the cyclic year, according to this calculation, do not agree. Hence we assume that the missing figure in the date of the record may

1. Mahāmahōpādhyaya R. Narasimhacharya was, however, unable to identify this ruler. The inscription in full is given in the famous Śringeri *maṭha* epigraph, Sg. 1 of *E. C.* VI.: *Mys. Arch-Rept. for 1916*, p. 57.

have been 2 in which case the date would be Śaka 1282, Śārvari Mīna-māsa 14th Ā (di). This agrees very well with A.D. 1360, March, Sunday the 8th.[1]

The Cakrapāṇi temple stone inscription is likewise illegible, and the date also contains one figure that is damaged. The Government Epigraphist reads Śaka 128 (9) Parābhava, Meṣa-māsa, 10, Guru. But the cyclic year Parābhava corresponds to Śaka 1288 and not to Śaka 1289 the cyclic year of which was Plavaṅga. If we accept the date as Śaka 128 (8), then, it may stand for A.D. 1366, April, Saturday the 4th. The week day however still does not correspond.[2]

The inscription records that for the offerings of the god Āñjaneya of the Cakrapāṇi temple, the following stone inscription was written (*bara* [*e*] *da śilā-śāsanada kramav-ent-endare*)—Whereas in former times Kulaśekharadeva, (*munna ādi-kāladalu Kulaśekhara-de...*), and then it breaks off. If we allot twenty years to Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva, we reach A.D. 1366 which may have been the last year of that ruler. Kulaśekharadeva mentioned in this record was perhaps Kulaśekharadeva Ālupendra-deva I, the predecessor of Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin. We infer this from the words *ādi Kulas'ekharadeva* in the record. This consideration and the fact that the record follows closely the Pāṇḍyeśvara inscription, and

1. *20 of 1901, S. I. I.* VII., No., 180, p. 77; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* IV, pp. 322, 326.

2. *18 of 1901; S. I. I.* VII., No. 18, p. 75; Swamikannu, *ibid* pp. 334, 336.

that it was also found in the same town of Mangalore, enable us to assign the Cakrapāṇi temple record to the reign of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva.

If the above is accepted, then the earliest date for Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva's successor Kulaśekharadeva Ālupendradeva III may have been A.D. 1366. With this ruler a radical change seems to have come in the faith professed by the Ālupas. The inscription in question was found in the Ammanavaru *basti* in Mūḍubidre. It opens in the usual Jaina manner, calls the Ālupa ruler a disciple of a well known Jaina priest, and describes him as making endownments to a Jaina *basti*. Unlike the Ālupa inscriptions hitherto examined, the Ammanavaru *basti* epigraph begins with the accredited Jaina invocation, thus:—*S'rīmat-parama-gaṁbhīra - svādvāda - amogha lāñcchanam jīyāt trailokya Nāthasya śāsanam Jina-śāsanam* (Having the honourable supreme profound *syād-vāda* as a fruit-bearing token, may it prevail, the doctrine of the Lord of three worlds, the Jaina doctrine). Then it proceeds to give the following *birudas* to the ruler, whom it calls Pāṇḍya Cakravartin, thus: *svasti samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta Soma-kula-tilaka Pāṇḍya Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Satya-ratnākara S'araṇāgata Vajrapañjara śrīmat Cārukīrti-divya-śrī-pāda-padma ārādhaka parabaḷa-sādhakarum appa śrīmat Pāṇḍya Cakravartin.*

Of these *birudas* seven had already been assumed by the Ālupas: *Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta*, *Rāja-parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *S'araṇāgata-vajrapañjara*, *Soma-kula-tilaka*, *Pāṇḍya-mahārājādhirāja*, and *Parameśvara*. Of

the others *śrīmat-Cārukīrti divya-śrī-pāda-padma-ārādhaka*, and *para-baḷa-sādhakarum* are similar to those of the many *birudas* assumed by a Paṭṭi Pombuccha ruler of the Śāntara family, *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Lokanātharasa (A.D. 1334), whose position in Tuḷuva history during this period will be discussed in a later connection. The *birudas* of Lokanātharasa which are strikingly similar to those borne by Kulaśekharadeva Ālupendradeva III, are the following: *Samasta-bhuvanāśraya śrīmat-Cārukīrti-Paṇḍita-devara dib(v)ya-śrī-pāda-padma ārādhaka* and *para-baḷa-jagad-daḷa.*[1]

The statement that Pāṇḍya-Cakravartin *eka-(ccha-tradim)-rājyam geyyutta-irdd* followed immediately by *Rāja-gaja-baḷa* Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva suggests that it refers only to that Ālupa ruler. This is further proved in a later passage which says that Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva, while seated on the jewelled throne in the *basti* of Bidire (*i.e.*, Mūḍubidre) (*Kulaśekhara Ālup-endra-devaru Bidireya(ba)sadilyalu-ratna-simhāsana-āruḍha... ka-sthitar-āgi*), made some specified although illegible endowments for the god Pārśvanātha of Bidire. The golden throne mentioned in the earlier records is now spoken of as a jewelled throne.

The record, inspite of its being defaced in many places, contains the following :—*hattu* 157394 *ne sandu dinam S'aka-varuṣa* 1306 *Kaliyuga* 4484 *sanda ... masa* (*Meṣa*) *ma- ...*, *S* (*S'*) *uddha Caturdasiya dina*. Kali 4484 corresponds to Śaka 1305, while Kali 4485, to Śaka 1306,

1. *Infra*. Ch. III, Sec. 8.

the cyclic year of which was Raktākṣa. The date intended was probably A.D. 1384 April Friday the 8th.[1]

Kulaśekharadeva Ālupendradeva III's claims for independence as expressed in the *birudas samasta bhuvana-vikhyāta*, *Pāṇḍya-mahārājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara* cannot be justfied in view of the activities not only of the Śāntaras, who had already gained ground within the limits of the Ālupa kingdom, but also of those of another Karnāṭaka power which had successfully cast both over the Śāntaras as well as the Ālupas its sway since A.D. 1346. We refer here to the Vijayanagara rulers who had placed their viceroy over Bārakūru in Śaka 1307 (A. D. 1385-6.)[2]

There is one name among the Ālupa rulers which may be mentioned here. It is that of Ālupa Kāmadevarasa about whom a much damaged and undated record was found in the Durgā Parameśvari temple at Iruvaila in the Kārkaḷa tāluka. This is the only inscription concerning him. It seems to register a gift of land.[3] Nothing more can be determined about this figure in Ālupa history.

Kulaśekharadeva Ālupendradeva III was succeeded by (his son and successor) Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva III. Only one inscription of this ruler has been discovered in the Gauri temple at Prāntya in Mūḍubidre. This record begins in the usual Ālupa style with a *svasti*,

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1. *53 A of 1901 ; S. I. I.* VII. No. 225, p. 113 ; Swamikannu *Ind. Ephem.* IV. pp. 368, 370.

2. *Infra* Chapter III. 3. *477 of 1928-1929.*

and then proceeds to give most of the *birudas* assumed by Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva III's predecessor Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva III but not those referring to the Jaina teacher Cārukīrti Paṇḍita. On the other hand, it clearly points to the strong hold which the earlier Śaivite religion still had on the Ālupa royal house which was now gradually sinking into insignificance. The following *birudas* are given to Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva :—*Samasta bhuvana-vikhyāta*, *Soma-kula-tilaka*, *Pāṇḍya-mahārājādhirāja*, *Parames'vara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Satya-ratnākara*, *S'araṇāgata vajra-pañjara*, *S'rī-Mañjunātha-devara śrī-pāda-padma-āradhakar-appa*, *Para-baḷa-sādhakarum-appa*, *śrīmat Pāṇḍya Cakravarti Rā (ya-Gajāṅkus'a) s'rī-Vīra Pāṇḍya-dēvaru*.

The substitution of the *biruda śrī-Mañjunātha-devara śripāda-padma-āradhakar* (Worshipper at the lotus feet of god Mañjunātha) for the *biruda śrimat-Cārukīrti-divya-śri-pāda-padma-āradhakar* assumed by Kulaśekharadeva Ālupendradeva III, is to be borne in mind in our estimate of the diffusion of different religious creeds in Tuḷuvanāḍu.

Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva III is said to be ruling the kingdom under the shadow of one umbrella (*eka–cchatradim rājyam–geyyuttam irdda*). This, as we have already seen, was used to denote the independent status of Kulaśekharadeva Ālupendradeva III.

The similarity of all the *birudas* except those pertaining to the faith of the rulers, and the phrase used to express their political position, as given in the above records of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva III and Kulaśekhara-

deva III, clearly prove that they belonged to the same family. This is further corroborated by the distinctive Ālupa *biruda Rāya-Gajāṅkuśa* borne by Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva III. These considerations are enough to invalidate the statement made by the Government Epigraphist (Mr. G. Venkoba Rao) that Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva III was not an Ālupa ruler.[1]

The record is dated 1577 (*311*) *aṅdina..S'aka-varuṣam* 1318 *san (du) Va (r) ttamāna...Iśvara-saṁvtsarada-siṁha māsa Āditya-vāradaṅdu*. This corresponds to Śaka 1319, the cyclic year of which was Īśvara, in which case the date intended was perhaps A.D. 1397 August the 5th Sunday.[2]

The inscription records a grant to Durgā Devī (of the Gauri temple) of Mūḍubidre.

The ruler who succeeded Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva III was Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva IV. Only two epigraphs of this ruler have been found. One was discovered in the Gauri temple at Mūḍubidre. It begins in the old Ālupa manner with *svasti śrī*, and merely relates that when Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva was ruling the kingdom under the shadow of his sole

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1. *Ep. Rept. for 1926,* pp. 108-9. Mr. Venkoba Rao seems to have confounded Vīra Pāṇḍya of the Ālupa family with a later Vīra Pāṇḍya of the Bhairarasa family of Kārkaḷa. B. A. S.

2. *50 of 1901*; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 221, p. 111, Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* IV. p. 397. August 5th is taken here on the assumption that it is the first Ādivāra in Siṁha. But this is a mere supposition. B. A. S.

umbrella (*Pāṇḍya-cakravartin Kulase* (*s'e*) *kharālpendrade-var eka-cchatra* [*dim*] *rājyam-geyyatt-ire.*)

The date which follows is wrongly given thus :—(*S'aka-nrpa*) *kālātīta-s*(*am*)*vatsarada* *1363 neya Raktākṣi-sam* ...and then the effaced epigraph proceeds to record a grant of land for the *naivedya* of the goddess Durgādevī [of Mūḍubidre]. The cyclic year Raktākṣi corresponds to Śaka 1366 (A.D.1444-5) and not to Śaka 1363, the cyclic year of which was Durmatī.[1]

Another inscription has to be referred to this ruler. It is a stone epigraph found in the grounds of the Kanara High School, Mangalore, and is dated only in the cyclic year *Raktākṣi Meṣa-māsa 12 neya Ādivaradandu*. The inscription contains a great many details concerning temple management which will be discussed in connection with the features of administaation under the Ālupas. Here we may note that it mentions an Ālupa ruler in the following terms: *Mangaḷāpurada hiriya aramaneya Bhuvanāśrayada mogasāleyalu samasta-pradhānarum yeraḍu-kōlu-baḷiyam verasu*(*m*)*oḍdolagam-koṭṭirdda-ā-prastā-vanadalu Aḷiya Vīra Baṅki Devarasargge Muguru-nāḍina-rājyam biḍuvalli Māva Kulaśekhara-devarsarum Aḷiya Baṅki Dēvarasarum Bankeśvara Devarige śilā-śāsanam geydu koṭṭa kramavent-endaḍe...*[2] In the older (or senior) palace at Mangalore (*Mangaḷāpurada hiriya-aramaneya*), in the front room of the public audience hall of which

1. *53 of 1901*; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 224, pp. 112-3, 511 ; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* V. pp. 84, 90.

2. *23 B of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 185, pp. 81-2.

by name the "Refuge of the World" (*bhuvanāśrayada moga-sāleyalu*), with all the ministers and the *eraḍu-kōlu-baḷi* officials, on the occasion of the public audience, the kingdom of Mugurunādu was assigned to Aḷiya [nephew] Baṅkidevarasa by his uncle [*māva*] Kulaśekhara dēvarasa. On this the king Kulaśekhara together with Aḷiya Baṅkideva made an endowment to the god Bankeśvara.

We have to find out the age of epigraph and the identity of the ruler Kulaśekara and of his nephew Baṅkideva. The cyclic year Raktākṣi agrees with any one of the following Śaka years–1126, 1186, 1246, 1306, and 1366. The epigraph in question cannot be dated to Śaka 1126 for the following reasons:–In Śaka 1126 (A.D. 1204-5) the king is given many titles among which, as we have seen already, *Pāṇḍya-Cakravartin Rāya*(*ra*) *Bhujabala*[1] are important. His nāme is spelt Vīra Kolaśekhara Āḷvendradeva. In none of the three inscriptions of this Ālupa king are his relatives mentioned. These titles, the more corrupt form of the name, and the absence of the name of any of his relatives suggest that he could not have been the Kulaśekhara mentioned in the stone inscription found in Mangalore.

The inscription cannot be dated to Śaka 1186. We know from the Ālupa records that Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendra I was ruling from A. D. 1254 till A. D. 1267.

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1. *51 of 1901*, op. cit.

It cannot be that the Kulásekharadeva of the Mangalore inscription ruled at the same time.

The epigraph cannot be placed in Śaka 1246 (A.D. 1324) for the same reason. Soyideva Ālupendradeva was ruling from A.D. 1315 till A.D. 1357. Moreover, it was only in the reign of his predecessor Baṅkideva Ālupendra II in A.D. 1302 that the palace at Maṅgaḷūru was called merely *Srīmatu rājadhāni Maṅgalāpurada(a) ramaneya moga-sāle*,[1] and the palace itself was styled simply Bhuvanāśraya.[2] This proves that in the days of Baṅkideva Ālupendradeva II, and, we may presume, in those of his successor Soyideva as well, the palace at Mangalore was not called *hiriya aramane*, as it is styled in the Mangalore record. We have, therefore, to date the Kanara High School inscription to a later age in order to understand the term *hiriya aramane* applied to it.

Now, there remain two Śaka years to which the Kanara High School inscription can be assigned:—Śaka 1306 and Śaka 1366. In A.D. 1384 Kulaśekhara Ālupendra deva III and in A.D. 1444 Kulaśekhara Ālupendradcva IV reigned. It is difficult to determine to which of these two names the Kulaśekhara of the Kanara High School inscription has to be referred. We may venture to suggest, however, the following:—That the record in question cannot be referred to the reign of Kulaśekharadeva III for the following reasons:- This ruler is given a string of *birudas* which are not found in the

1. *17 of 1901, op. cit.*
2 338 of 1930–31. See *infra The Capitals.*

Kanara High School inscription. He is represented as ruling from his jewelled throne at Mūḍubidre, and as a patron of jainism, who gave a grant to the god Pārśvanātha of that city.[1] These considerations are inapplicable to the Kulaśekhara of the Kanara High School inscription. For, as we shall explain while describing the features of administration under the Ālupas, the Kulaśekharadeva of the Kanara High School record was a patron of Brahmanism, as the detailed regulations pertaining the temple of the god Baṅkeśvara entered in that inscription, and the fact that the grant was made by the king Kulaśekharadeva himself together with his Aḷiya Baṅkideva clearly prove.

There remains Śaka 1366 when there reigned Kulaśekharadeva Ālupendradeva IV. One inscription of this ruler dated wrongly in Śaka 1363 (*i. e.*, 1366) but in the cyclic year Raktākṣi has already been noticed by us. This inscription registers a grant to the goddess Durgā. The ruler is styled Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva.[2] We believe that the Kanara High School record dated only in the cyclic year Raktākṣi is to be assigned to Śaka 1366, and that the Māva (uncle) Kulaśekharadeva, the patron of Brahmans, of that record is to be identified with Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Kulaśekharadeva.

The date of this inscription (*S'aka 1366 Raktākṣi Meṣa māsa 12 neya Ādivara*) would, then, correspond to

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1. *53 A 1901*, op. cit. 2. *53 of 1901*, op. cit.

A.D. 1444 April the 7th Tuesday, the week day not corresponding.[1]

8. SOME CHIEFTAINS

Kulaśekharadeva Ālupendradeva IV was the last of the prominent Ālupas, so far as the epigraphs concerning them are concerned. With him the flickering vestiges of Ālupa power may be said to have vanished. The name Ālupa was too great, however, to be entirely annihilated. And so we find it lingering on till the sixteenth century and after. Three names of chieftains exercising some sort of political authority are met with in inscriptions of the later ages. A stone inscription found in the Haceveṭṭu village in the Kārkaḷa tāluka, records a grant of land to the temple of Mahādeva at Iṭṭala (Viṭṭhala ?) by Kāntaṇa Māra Āḷuva *alias* Komṇa for offerings and perpetual lamps and for feeding Brahmans. This was in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Virūpākṣa Rāya (A.D. 1384–A.D. 1404). The inscription is dated only in the cyclic year Tāraṇa, Makara 6, Thursday, when there was a solar eclipse. The cyclic year Tāraṇa agrees with Śaka 1326 and the date works out correctly to January 1st A.D. 1405, when there was a solar eclipse.[2]

We have seen above that Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva III ruled from A.D. 1396 till A.D. 1436. It cannot be that Kāṇṭaṇa Māra Āḷuvā *alias* Komṇa exercised any regal authority during these years. Hence it has to be supposed that

1. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* V, p. 90.
2. *519 of 1928-9*; *Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 55.

he was a member of the royal family entrusted with the charge of administering unspecified districts. Whatever that may be, the Komṇa branch has given two more chieftains to Tuluva.

One of them was Devaṇṇarasa alias Komṇa who is mentioned in two stone inscriptions. In the earlier of these records, it is related that his sister Śanakarā-devi made a gift of the produce of some of her lands to the (Anantanātha ?) *basti* at Kiyaruvara for offerings and worship. The stone inscription which gives us these details was found in the Anantanātha *basti* at Nellikāru in the Kārkaḷa tāluka. It is dated Śaka 1447 Tāraṇa, Dhanus 15, Sunday. This corresponds but for the week day which happens to be Tuesday the 13th and not Sunday, to A.D. 1524, December.[1] No overlord is mentioned in this record.

The other record dealing with Dēvaṇṇarasa *alias* Komṇa was found iu Śirtāḍi in the Kārkaḷa tāḷuka. This inscription, however, mentions Cimṇarāja Oḍeyar, who was evidently the Vijayanagar viceroy. It records the construction of a new *basti* and an endowment of seventy-six *varāhas* by Dēvaṇṇnrasa *alias* Komṇa. With this amount some land was purchased at Arjjināpura and left in charge of Kōṭyaṇṇa Āḷva for the conduct of worship. The epigraph is dated Śaka 1453

1. *522 of 1928-9*; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* V. p. 251, 253. The cyclic year Tāraṇa agrees with Śaka 1446, while Pārthiva, with Śaka 1447. In the latter instance, the date works out to December the 13th Wednesday A.D. 1525. Swamikannu, *ibid*, p. 253. B. A. S.

Vikṛti, Meṣa 15 Sunday which agrees with A.D. 1530 April the 10th Sunday which however was Meṣa 14.[1] The two records make it clear that Devaṇṇarasa *alias* Komṇa was entrusted with some governmental authority from A.D. 1524 till A.D. 1530.

The third name in the Komṇa branch is that furnished by the inscription written in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa found in the Anantnātha *basti* at Nellikāru in the same tāluka. This undated inscription mentions no king but merely records that the hall (*mandira*) of the *caitya* (*i. e.*, the Jaina *basti* evidently) was caused to be built by the famous Mañjaṇa Komṇa Bhūpa.[2]

9. UNIDENTIFIED ĀLUPA KINGS

A few names in the Ālupa genealogy cannot be fixed with the meagre information that is before us. One of the earlier inscriptions is the defaced record discovered

1. *524 of 1928-9* ; *Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 60. It cannot be determined whether the name Cimṇarāja Oḍeyar mentioned in the above record was identical with Cimṇarāja Oḍeyar, who was the officer under ' Ain-ul-Mulk Gılāni, and who punished the insubordinate *thāṇadar* Dilāwar Khān, as mentioned in a record dated A.D. 1562. Saletore, *S. P. Life.*, I, pp. 382-383.

2. 520 of 1928-9. The name Ālupa still survives among the Buṇṭs. and in one or two families of Roman Catholics chiefly of Udayāvara and Uḍipi. In a later chapter we shall see how in one of the most famous Tuḷu *Pāḍadānas*, called Koṭi and Cennaya, a Sāma Āḷva will figure. In a stone inscription dated *Śaka 1437 sanda aarttamāna*, Āḷuva Pāṇḍi Śeṭṭi, Āḷuva Kōṭi Śeṭṭi, and Āḷuva Nāra (ya) ṇa Śeṭṭi (42 of 1901 ; *S. I. I.* VII, No. 212, p. 109) are mentioned. The Government Epigraphist (Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar) correctly states that the cyclic year referred to is Dhātṛi (*i. e.*, A.D. 1516). Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* V, p. 234.

in the Ananteśvara temple at Uḍipi. It is an undated record which opens with *śri svasti* unlike the majority of the Ālupa inscriptions we have hitherto examined. It then proceeds to narrate the following :—*nareṇumm-appa porigam nātham Kavi* (*mu* ? *Vima* ?) *lādityan-ādaṅdu* (*huvi*) *tap* (*p*) *idakke ṣaṣṭi om* (*māna*) *keṛe pa* ... *nd-udāro* (*m*).[1] From this indistinct and incomplete inscription all that we can gather are the names Kavi Vimalāditya and (his shield-bearer ?) Nāreṇu (Nārāyaṇa ?). Since the genealogy from Māramma Āḷvarasa till Citravāhana II, as we have pointed out in the previous pages, is unbroken, Kavi Vimalāditya is to be placed either before Māramma Āḷvarasa or after Citravāhana II. If he were the predecessor of Māramma Āḷvarasa, we would have had some clue to this in the inscription of the latter. The absence of the slightest hint in regard to this suggests that Kavi Vimalāditya may have reigned in the troublesome times that followed the reign of Citravāhana II.

An undated stone inscription found in Kariyaṅgaḷa near Poḷali Ammuṇije in the Mangalore tāluka, mentions Ālupa Kumāra Pāṇḍya Jayasingarasa, and a gift made by him to the goddess Hoḷala Bhaṭṭārakī. On the following considerations this inscription may be placed at the end of the eighth century A.D. Firstly, the fact that the inscription calls the goddess Hoḷala Bhaṭṭāraki and not Durgā Parameśvarī, as the people

1. *118 of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII, No. 307, pp. 158–59.
2. *380 of 1927–8*.

now call her, proves that the inscription belongs to that early period when the people had retained the original Buddhist name of the goddess. This may have been in about the eighth century A.D. Secondly, the inscription was found in Kariyaṇgaḷa which has yielded two other epigraphs-that relating to Raṇasāgara whom we have placed in the first quarter of the eighth century A. D., and that concerning Baṅkideva Ālupendṛadeva II dated A.D. 1304. The inscription under review could not have belonged to the latter Ālupa ruler for two reasons: it mentions clearly the goddess Hoḷala Bhaṭṭāraki, while the later inscription of the times of Baṅkideva Alupendradeva II calls the same deity Hoḷaladeva! Such confusion could never have taken place in one and the same age. Moreover, if the record in question had belonged to the reign of Baṅkideva Ālupendradev II, it would have contained some reference to that ruler. The absence of any reference to that ruler suggests that the two records do not belong to the same reign. We may, therefore, place Ālupa Kumāra Pāṇḍya Jayasiṅgarasa in the ninth or tenth century A.D., when the Ālupas had dynastic connection with the Śāntaras from whom they borrowed the name Pāṇḍya.

Since the epithet *Kumāra* appears in the inscription it may not be far wrong to assume that Kumāra Pāṇḍya Jayasiṅgarasa belonged to the Ālupa family. This is confirmed by the first name Ālupa which the prince bore as well as by the fact that he is said to have be-

longed to the Lunar race (*Soma-kula*) and "far famed in the World". It has been made clear that Pṛthvī-sagara, whom we have assigned to the middle of the eighth century A.D., was the earliest Ālupa ruler to claim descent from the Lunar race. We have elsewhere shown that the Buddhist goddess Tārā known popularly by her Hinduized appellation of Durgā, was most popular in the eighth century A.D.[1] This explains why the goddess in the inscription is called Hoḷala Bhaṭṭāraki and not Durgā Parameśvarī, as we have it in the later records of the same place.

Under these circumstances the assertions of the Madras Government Epigraphist (Mr. G. V. Srinivasa Rao) that Ālupa Kumāra Pāṇḍya Jayasiṅgarasa was a Cālukya feudatory, and that he belonged to the Ucchangi Pāṇḍya line,[2] are to be rejected. The fact that in the Western Cālukya genealogy the name Jayasiṅga appears, and that the name Pāṇḍya was common to the Ālupas and to the Ucchaṅgi rulers, are no arguments to institute a relationship between the Ālupa rulers, who were of the *Soma-kula* and the Noḷaṁbavāḍi Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas, who claimed decent from the Pallavas.[3]

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1. Saletore, *Wild Tribes*, pp. 25–28.
2. *Ep. Rept. for 1921–8*, pp. 59-60.
3. See Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.* pp. 55, 59, 61, 63.

10. FEATURES OF ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE ĀLUPAS

The epigraphs which we have examined not only give us a genealogical account of the Ālupa rulers but also some interesting details concerning the manner in which they conducted their administration. These records deserve an independent study, since it is only with their aid that we shall be able to judge the veracity of purely traditional narratives relating to other phases of the life of the people not revealed in the stone epigraphs. The partial picture which is thus got from the stone inscriptions will have to be read in conjunction with the more elaborate narratives which we have gathered exclusively from folklore and which we have deferred for a later treatment in this treatise. Turning to the stone records we find that they contain statements which may be grouped under the following heads :—the king and his officials, capitals, municipal corporations, rural administration, army, taxation, and social solidarity.

(A) THE KING AND HIS OFFICIALS

What precisely was the conception of royalty in the minds of the people in the early days of Ālupa history cannot be made out from the epigraphical records. The earliest Ālupa rulers have, as we have seen, merely *śrīmat* prefixed to their names, thus denoting that they were of indigenous, though not necessarily of Tuḷuva, extraction; and that they did not attempt to give a

classical colouring to their descent. This *biruda* of *śrīmat* is coupled with others,...(*d*)*aṇḍa-vibhūta-vistīrṇa pitāmaha-avalokana*, *samvarddhita-kula-abhimāna* (one who had spread his fame by the might of his arms, one who was looked upon with affection by his grand-father, and one who had increased the fame of his family), in the case of Śrīmat Āḷvarsar, who has been provisionally assigned to the beginning of the seventh century A. D. The next step in the examination of the *birudas* is reached when we come to reign of Chitravāhana I. It is interesting to observe that in the two records of his overlord the Western Cālukya monarch Vinayāditya Satyāśraya, Citravāhana is called *śrīmat mahārāja*.

Not till we come to the times of Śvetavāhana, whom we have ventured to place in the first half of the ninth century A. D., do we get a hint as regards the popular conception of government. Pāṇḍyavillarasa's son Dēvu, who fought on behalf of Śvetavāhana, is described to have been "beloved by the good and shunned by the wicked" (*sādhu priyan asādu-varjitan*).[1] This expression is strikingly similar to the one which denoted a special function of sovereignty in the later ages. A ruler was expected to govern the country (like a father) putting down the wicked and upholding the good (*duṣṭa nighraha śiṣṭa prati-pālanadim*). It is this idea which is evidently included in one of the *birudas* of Śvetavāhana's successor Pṛthvīsāgara, whom we have assigned to the middle of the eighth century A.D.

1. *105 of 1901, op. cit.*

He is called the *Terror of the Wicked* (*duṣṭa-bhayaṅkarargge iṣṭa-bhṛtyan-appa*).[1]

Pṛthvīsāgara was indeed an ambitious ruler. The simple *birudas* of the earlier kings were exchanged by him for the more elaborate ones including that given above. They were the following :—*The illustrious Ālupendra* (*S'rīmat Ālupendra*) *who had sprung from the Moon* (*Soma-vaṁśa-udbhava*), *the Ornament of his family* (*kula-tilakam*), *Udayāditya*, *Uttama Pāṇḍya*, and *the illustrious Āḷuvarasa*.[2]

With the inclusion of the *birudas Parameśvara* and *Adhirājarāja* by his successor Vijayāditya Māramma in the last quarter of the eighth century A. D., the Ālupa rulers may be said to have given the fullest expression to their ambitious designs.

That the earlier conception of sovereignty still continued in the popular mind in the middle of the tenth century A.D., is proved by two of the many *birudas* given to Kundavarmarasa II :—*uddāma bāhu-vīryeṇa rakṣitāḥ-kṣitimaṇḍalāḥ* (One who, endowed with great physical strength, protected the corners of the world shining in the moonlight of pure fame) and *dattām bhuvam nirākṛtya balāt-viśvāsa ghātinam* (One who by his valour recovered his kingdom after defeating traitorous wicked enemy (to whom he had given land [formerly])). A singular *biruda* of this ruler is that relating to the abandonment (or causing to abandon) the evil of drinking liquor - *surā–pāna krito-de(do)ṣoyena rājñā-nirā-*

1. *101 of 1901, op. cit.* 2. *102 of 1901, op. cit.*

kṛtaḥ. It must be confessed that information is not forthcoming to show to what extent the evil said to have been removed by the ruler was rampant in the Ālupa kingdom. Nevertheless the significance of the *biruda* seems to be that the people gave to sovereignty an attribute in addition to the one mentioned above, *viz.*, that of associating royalty with a moral obligation which is not generally met with in the Karnāṭaka records[1].

From Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra (A.D. 1113-A.D. 1155) onwards the Ālupa rulers prefixed imperial titles to their names. The *birudas* of this prominent ruler were, as we have already noted, *samasta-bhuvanāśraya*, *śrī-pṛthvīvallabha*, *mahārājādhirāja*, *parameśvara*, and *paramabhaṭṭāraka*. With him comes into prominence a phrase which had already received considerable significance in contemporary Karnāṭaka history, *viz.*, that which described monarchs as ruling in the enjoyment of peace and pleasant (or profitable) conversations (*sukha-saṅkathā-vinodadim rājyam-geyuttam-ire.*), especially, it would appear, stories relating to benefactions for charity or religious merit (*dharma*)[3].

1. Even Kauṭalya seems to promulgate that a king should prohibit drinking (and gambling) only in a military camp. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. X, 364, p. 421 (Sastry's ed. 1923).

2. The *birudas samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta*, *Pāṇḍya-rājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, etc., given to Udayāditya Pāṇḍya Paṭṭigadeva, the predecessor of Kavi Ālupendra I, are met with only in the inscription of Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I in the thirteenth century A.D., and not in the reign of Paṭṭigadeva himself. B. A. S.

3. Cf. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, pp. 167-168.

Thus was added a third constituent to royal authority, *viz.*, that of conceiving a ruler as a protector of *dharma* by virtue of his having listened to the pleasant and peaceful stories of benefactions. One more example will suffice to show how this idea had come to stay in the mind of the people even in later ages. Bankideva Ālupendra II, as already seen, was ruling in A.D. 1302 a victorious and ever increasing kingdom thus :—*vijaya-rājyam-uttara-uttara-abhivṛddhi pravṛdhamāna-ācandrārkka tārāmbaram (saluttam-ire) duṣṭa nigraha śiṣṭa pratipāla-nakar-āgi sukha-saṅkathā vinodadim rājyam geyyuttam-irdda.*[1]

In the matter of appending the *birudas* and the phrases relating to sovereignty, the Āḷupas only followed the Karnāṭaka usage which had from early times been in vogue. In one detail, however, the inscriptions hitherto discovered do not enlighten us, *viz.* the appointment of *yuva-rājas* or crown princes over different parts of the kingdom. Certain considerations suggest beyond doubt that, in spite of any explicit reference to a *yuva-rāja* administering the country at the dictates of the king, in any of the epigraphs, the Ālūpa kings must nevertheless have entrusted the *yuva-rājas* with some duties pertaining to government. The name of Ālupa Kumāra Jayasiṅgarasa, whose age we have discussed above, suggests that he may have been a *yuva-rāja*, although, it must be admitted, there is no evidence to prove our assertion. The fact that in A.D. 1254 Vīra Pāṇḍya Ālupendradeva I issued an order in

1. *17 of 1901*, op. cit.

the presence of his Aḷiya (nephew) Bankideva, as we have seen above, does not invalidate the assumption that the Ālupa rulers must have been aware of the many advantages accruing from appointing *yuva-rājas* to important offices in the state.

This supposition is strengthened by the fact that that ruler himself conducted important public affairs along with his crowned queen Balla Mahādevī. We have seen that in A.D. 1262 he fixed the annual imports of the two villages of Kundāpūru and Kūḍikūṟa in the presence of government officials. It is not surprising, therefore, that the queen, who in A.D. 1267 had participated in the conduct of public business, should have carried on the administration herself in A.D. 1277, obviously on the death of her husband Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva.[1]

This does not seem to be the only example of a crowned queen administering the country in Ālupa history. From the Pañcaliṅgeśvara temple stone inscription found in Kōṭekēri near Bārakūru of the king Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra, and dated A.D. 1155, it may reasonably be surmised that his queen Paṇḍya Mahādevī likewise took part in public affairs. For the inscription mentions that to the city corporation (*nagara samūha*) of the town Pannirpaḷḷi, which belonged to (or which was ruled over by) the Pāṇḍya Mahādevī(*ā ūran-āḷva Pāṇḍya Mahādeviyara nagara samūhakke*), a specified gift of land was made.

1. *491 of 1928-9*, op. cit.

The above record is interesting from another point of view. The gift of land in question was made by dignitaries who hailed from Kāśmīra. They are thus described :—Born in the city of Pajjera which belonged to the locality (district ?) of Pravarapura near the secred waters of Kāśmīra (*ṣri-Kāṣmīra-*[*śrī*] *jalada śrī Pravarppurada adhiṣṭānada*[*Pajjera*]*purada sthānadalu huṭṭida*), devotees of Śaradā-devī(*Srī-Sā*[*S'ā*]*radādeviya*), and children of Śrīyūṭi Rāṇa and Dēgōna Rāṇi—the *śrī-sāvāsi* Maṇinoja Rāṇa's younger brother Śrī Sāji Rāṇa. The gift was made up of land in which fourteen *muras* of rice could be sowed, situated in Pannirpaḷḷi (the meaning of *guḍigallu Nālguṇḍada* [the stone of the temple of Nālguṇḍa ?] being not clear).

In the same inscription the term *sāvāsi* occurs in the following context concerning the above gift of land:—*dhārā-pūrvvakavāgi eradu-koṭṭa tappu bhūmiya nēgilan hūḍida sāvāsigaḷa guṇḍikeya*...the precise meaning of which is also not clear. To what the *tappu bhūmiya nēgilan hūḍida sāvāsigaḷa* (of the Sāvāsis who had ploughed the wrong field) refers, is not apparent from the epigraph.[1] For our purpose we may note that the term *sāvāsi* thus occurring twice in the above inscription is significant in the sense that it points out to an official in the palace who was invested with the affairs of the royal ladies, or perhaps to one who was a Master of the Robes. A Bauddha *sāvāsi*, we may be permitted to observe,

1. *171 of 1901*, op. cit.

is mentioned in A.D. 1098, and a superintendent of *sāvāsis* in A.D. 1176.[1]

A few more details are available concerning some of the highest officials in the Ālupa government. There is no evidence to prove that the Ālupas had under them the high dignitary called the great Minister for Peace and War (*mahā-sāndhi-vighrahika*), who is mentioned in contemporary Cālukya records. But all the same they were aware of such an high office, as is proved by the Sohrab plates dated A.D. 692, which we have already referred to in an earlier connection. The name of the official who wrote this inscription is given as the *Mahā-sāndhi-vighrahika* Rainapuṇya Vallabha. Since the gift recorded in this inscription was made at the application of the Mahārāja Citravāha I, and since it related to a village within his jurisdiction, it is evident that that high official was known to the Ālupa ruler.[2]

Four kind of ministers are distinctly mentioned in the Ālupa records. Of these three were probably concerned only with political duties, while the last one was to look after the religious affairs. The three ministers in charge of political affairs were the *mahā-pradhāna* or the great minister, the *sāmanta-pradhāna*

1. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 203 ; *E. C.* VII. Sb. 170, p. 24.

2. It may be remarked here that the evidence we have here cited proves that under the Western Cālukyas the office of a *mahā-sāndhi-vighrahika* existed in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. The assertion of Rice (*Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 169) that that official is seen only in the eighth century A.D., is, therefore, to be rectified. B. A. S.

or the minister over the feudatories, and the *pradhāna* or minister. In the undated Beḷuvāyi stone inscription of the reign of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva I (A.D. 1113-A.D. 1155), *Mahāpradhāna* Arasa Heggaḍe is mentioned.[1] The Gauri temple stone inscription of Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I dated A.D. 1205-6, contains only the designation *S'rīmanu* (*S'rīman*) *mahāpradhāna*, the name of the official being uufortunately effaced.[2] The *Mahāpradhāna* Sōvaṇṇa Senabova is mentioned in the Paḍebeṭṭu stone inscription of Soyideva Ālupendradeva, dated A.D. 1324-25, already cited above.[3] The suffix *senabova* attached to the name of the *mahāpradhāna* suggests that the post of a great minister was by no means confined to higher social orders, but that it was open also to the humbler sections of the people like the accountants (*senabovas*) and the like.[4]

The *sāmanta-pradhānas* are mentioned collectively (*sāmanta-pradhānaru*) in A. D. 1315 in the Somanātheśvara temple stone record of Soyideva Ālupendradeva.[5] The *sāmanta-pradhānas* under the Ālupas were in all likelihood entrusted with the same duties which the Karnāṭaka monarchs allotted to their *sāmantādhipatis*, *viz*., duties concerning feudatories.[6] The *pradhānas* or ministers are often met with in the Ālupa inscriptions.

1. *61 of 1901*, op. cit.
2. *52 of 1901*, op. cit.
3. *374 of 1930-31*, op. cit.
4. The *senabovas* were not always recruited from the Brahmans. B. A. S.
5. *157 of 1901*, op. cit.
6. On Sāmantādhipatis, read, Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 170.

Pradhāna Ar (p) a Heggaḍe is mentioned in the record from the Pañcalingeśvara temple of the times of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra dated A. D. 1155.[1] We have already seen that Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva I (A. D. 1254–A. D. 1267) made gifts on various occasions in the company of high state officials among whom were the *pradhānas* or ministers.

Two other offficers must also have been known to the Ālupa rulers, although it cannot be asserted that they were included among the Ālupa category. These were the *mahāmaṇḍalika* and the *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, both of whom rose to great prominance in later Karnāṭaka history. Certain *maṇḍalika mahāmaṇḍalikas*, described to have been prominent persons in the army of Komara (Kumāra ?) (*Komara-daṇḍa :mukhyarāgidda maṇḍalike-mahāmaṇḍalikar*), are also stated to have submitted to Bankideva Ālupendra I, in the undated Someśvara temple inscription found in Mūḍukēṟi in Bārakūru.[2] In the reign of the same ruler we saw *Srīmān Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Rāya Sāltiraṭṭa... in A.D. 1058, according to the unfinished epigraph found in Udayāvara.[3]

Religious affairs were under the minister called *dharma-karaṇika*. We gather this from the Kigga inscription of the Mahārāja Citravāhana I assigned to about A.D. 675 which, after laying a penalty on those

1. *171 of 1901*, op. cit.
2. *136 of 1901*, op. cit.
3. *95 of 1901*, op. cit.

who dared to enjoy the produce given as a gift to the Kīḻgāṇeśvara god, ends thus:— "Taking a clean place, Senavarasa and *Dharma-karaṇika* will divide and give the palace office share on a smooth plastered floor (or evenly plastered over)." The *Dēveḍittiyer* and the *Sāer*, whom we have already mentioned in the same connection above,[1] seem to have been entrustcd with some unspecified work in connection with temple endowments under the *dharma-karaṇika*. From the record in question it is clear that the *dharma-karaṇika* shared with another dignitary the responsible work of checking the revenue produce which was given in kind. The above seems to have been a very early instance of a *dharma-karaṇika* having been coupled with other state officials. In the twelfth century and after the offices of *dharmādhyakṣas* and *rājyādhyakṣas*, especially in the Kaḷacuriya times, were given moral and political duties.[2]

The injunction in the above Kigga stone inscription assigned to about A.D. 675 that the paddy produce, cow's milk, bullock,... of the god Kīḻgāṇeśvara excepting the attendants of the gods, "no one is (permitted) to enjoy", and the fact of thc existence of a *dharma-karanika* with the *dēveḍitteyar* and the *sāer* under him, enable us to conclude that the Ālupa rulers from the earliest times took particular care of the religious institutions in their kingdom. This tradition was handed down to later Ālupa rulers who made, as we

1. *Supra* Section 3.
2. See Rice, *Mys. & Coorg*, p. 170.

have already seen, endowments to temples in the presence of great ministers and officials of the state, obviously with a view to ensure not only a proper conduct of the items mentioned in the grants, but also to indicate that the king had an abiding interest in the welfare of the religious institutions. We shall deal with this phase of the question presently.

That even in the fourteenth century the earlier tradition of the king co-operating with his officials and important citizens in such matters continued to be a feature of the Ālupa administration is proved by the Someśvara temple stone inscription dated A.D. 1315 of reign of Soyideva Ālupendradeva I. This inscription relates that when the king was seated on his golden throne, his nephew (Aḷiya) Bankidevarasa along with the *sāmanta-pradhānas*, the (*deśa*)-*puruṣas*, the high officials of the two divisions called *eraḍu-kōlu baḷis* and others (*eraḍu kōlu baḷiyum bāhattara niyōgigaḷu muṁtāgi*), made a special grant to Banki Senabova's (man?) Annadāta Heggaḍe. The latter received specified gifts of land in Aidurū, obviously on behalf of the god Somanātha of Maṇigārakēṟi where stands the temple of the god. The inscription continues to narrate that the king gave ten *honnu* (gold) for the lights of the same god. Further it says the following:—*ā bāḷiṅge tēremadila a(r)ppisuva appaṇe-salva ar(a)sana mānis(ṣ)yaru h(eṅ)gasa(ru) bīḍu dēvasva(vā)gi ā S'omanāthdevara manis(ṣ)yarē nōḍi ā dharmava naḍasuvaru.* For the prosperous continuance of the endowment made by the

king, therefore, while men and women, in compliance with the king's orders, were to give their contributions towards the royal property applicable to (meant for) the service of the god, only the officials of the temple of the god Somanātheśvara, however, were entitled to look after the *dharma* mentioned above. The noblemen of Aidūru seem to have agreed to this, for the next sentence runs thus:—*Aidūru muṅtāgi oḍeyaru māḍida dharma.*[1]

In the list of Government officials mention may be made of the engraver of stone epigraphs. The inscription of Śrīmat Āḷuvarsar assigned to about A.D. 600, affirms that Śrī-Kāḷādityan *dharegoḷānmam*, (Lord of the world) wrote (*baredōn*) the *śāsana*.[2] One of the Śambhukallu records of Vijayāditya Māramma (A.D.750-A.D. 770) was written by Raṇadhāri (*Raṇadhāri-likhita*).[3] The only exception to the general rule of engravers writing their name in Kannaḍa is that of Śrādharanāthā (Śrīdharanātha ?) in A.D. 1327[4] mentioned in an earlier context. The office of the engraver developed into a prominent institution under the Vijayanagara rulers.[5]

In another detail too the Ālupas were influenced by the the practice prevalent in the Karnāṭaka. And this was in regard to the provision which was made to commemorate the services of those who had fallen in a

1. *157 of 1991*.
2. *96 of 1901* ; S. I. I, VII, No. 279, p. 143.
3. *98 of 1901* ; *E. I. IX*, p. 22.
4. *118 A of 1901*; *S. I. I. VII*, No. 308, p. 159.
5. Saletore, *S. P. Life.*, I, pp. 273-282.

fight or in a battle. Sometimes merely inscribed stones were erected in memory of the fallen heroes. The earliest instances of such stones are found in the times of Raṇasāgara. For instance, on the death of Śūdraka Nāgamma, Raṇasāgara himself made a gift in appreciation of his valour.[1] On behalf of Nalimaṇi Nāga Dīkṣira Sāgara, who had fought on behalf of Raṇasāgara against Nāpaḍe, a memorial stone was erected by his younger brothers (*ātana tammukaḷ nīrisida kallu*).[2]

Heroes who fell in a fight were praised in a simple but effective manner. Thus when Polokku Priyacelva, the beloved servant of Pṛthvīsāgara, died, while storming Udayāvara, he was merely described as one endowed with beauty and one who was shunned by the wicked people. He ascended to the world of gods after having struck down the foot-soldiers (of the enemy).[3] Another hero Palipaṟe, son of Nandavilmuḍi, is likewise sparingly described as one who struck down the enemies, and ascended to the abode of heaven.[4] Two similar memorial stones will be described in the next chapter on the foreign relations. One of them was called *kalnaṭṭu*, or *kalnāḍ*, evidently according to the usage prevalent in the Karnāṭaka.[5]

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1. *379 of 1927–8*, op. cit.
2. *108 A of 1901*, op. cit.
3. *101 of 1901*, op. cit.
4. *103 of 1901*, op. cit.
5. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 171 ; *E. C. XII*, Mi. 91 of *circa* 920 p. 111.

(B) THE CAPITALS

From the discussion of the epigraphs given above, it must have been apparent to the reader that the capital of the Ālupas shifted from time to time. This particular part of the narrative deserves some elucidation, as it has an important bearing on the beginnings of a famous law said to have been promulgated by a legendary hero of Tuḷuva. On Ptolemy's evidence it was asserted that Udayāvara was the capital of the Ālupas in the second century of the Christian era. The fact that civil strife was waged repeatedly round Udayāvara in the seventh and eighth centuries proves that that city continued to be the capital till the end of the eigth century A.D.

The name of the other capital of the Ālupas–Bārakūru-does not appear till the beginning of the ninth century A. D. When we first meet with it in the reign of Dattāḷpendra Śrīmāra in A.D. 959, it is called Bārahakanyāpura which was not the earlier and original name of the city. For in an earler inscription–an inscribed *vīragal* found in the Durgā temple at Hosahoḷalu near Bārakūru—the name appears in its more archaic and trustworthy variant *Bārakanūr*. This *vīragal*, for reasons to be discussed in the next chapter, may be assigned to the ninth century A.D.[1] We may observe here that in the inscription relating to Dattāḷpendra

1. *181 B of 1901;* S. I. I, VII., No. 388, p. 245. It cannot be made out whether we have to ascribe the founding of the town to a man named Bāraka : *Bārakana-ūru* (the town of Bāraka). B. A. S.

Śrīmara, as will be pointed out while delineating the religious history of the times, the palace at Bārakūru is called *Bārahakanyāpurada piriya-aramane*-the beloved palace of Bārahakanyāpura.[1] This shows that in the reign of Dattāḷpendra Śrīmāra, it must have been considered as having been recently constructed in a manner to eclipse in beauty the other palace, obviously that at Udayāvara. It is only in A.D. 1258 that the palace is called *hiriya-aramane*,[2] thus qualifying its antiquity when compared with the palace at Mangaḷūru.

On the strength of the inscription in Grantha characters on the pedestal of the Lokeśvara image at Kadri, dated A.D. 967, it may be concluded that Kundavarma, who had proceeded to the *vihāra* of Kadirikā to consecrate that image, may have done so from the "great city of Mangaḷāpura" which is not, however, mentioned in the Ālupa records. We shall cite indirect epigraphical evidence which explains why Kundavarmarasa chose Mangaḷāpura as his capital.[3]

On the other hand, the Someśvara temple inscriptions of Bankideva Ālupendradeva I seem to suggest

1. *124 of 1901; S. I. I.* VII, No. 314, p. 165. *Piriya* is here taken to be the *tadbhava* of *priya*. Only in this sense is it historically intelligible in the epigraph under review. In an earlier context we took *piriya* in the sense of *senior-paṭṭada piriyorasi* (Cf. *E.C. IV*. Intr. p. 21)—essentially in the sense of *beloved* and *senior*. B. A. S.

2. *490 of 1928-9*. *Bāraha* is the Ardhamāgadhi form of *dvādaśa*. It is not improbable that Bārakanūr was called Bārahakanyāpura b the Jainas in the tenth century A. D. B. A. S.

3. *Infra*, Ch. III, Sections 6 and 7.

that the capital was still at Bārahakanyāpura. Since all the stone epigraphs relating to the reign of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva have been found in the Uḍipi and Kundāpūru tālukas, and since none of them mentions Mangaḷāpura, it may be concluded that till the middle of the twelfth century A.D., the Ālupas did not revert to Mangaḷāpura in the south. Our surmise is proved by the Pañcalingeśvara temple stone epigraph which describes that ruler as governing from his palace at Bārakanyāpura in A.D. 1155. It continued to be the capital till A.D. 1267. King Nāgadevarasa in A.D. 1292 also ruled from the same capital. Thus from the ninth century A.D. till the end of the thirteenth century A.D., Bāranakanyāpura enjoyed the reputation of being the capital of the Ālupas, excepting for a short space of a few years when political necessity compelled Kundavarmarasa to shift his capital to Mangaḷāpura.

But in A. D. 1302 under Bankideva Ālupendradeva II, Mangaḷāpura is called *śrīmatu rājadhānīm*.[1] In the Sujēru stone inscription dated A. D. 1305, the king is said to have been seated in his palace called Bhuvanāśraya at Mangaḷāpura. Of this ruler, we may note incidentally, we have a singular fact mentioned in this record. It relates that in order to alleviate the sufferings of the people caused by a drought, Bankideva Ālupendradeva II prayed to the god Timireśvara for rain; and when his prayer was granted, he made a

1. *17 of 1901*, op. cit.

gift of land to the temple (of the same god) as a token of his gratitude.[1]

The capital reverted to Bārahakanyāpura in A. D. 1315 under Soyideva Ālupendradeva.[2] We lose sight of the capital till A. D. 1384 when Kulaśekharadeva Ālupendradeva III is spoken of as seated on the jewelled throne in Bidire (*i. e.*, Mūḍubidre).[3] But in the intervening period and even after Kulaśekharadeva Ālupendradeva III's reign, Bārahakanyāpūra continued to be the capital of the Ālupa kingdom, as is evident not only from the trend of events, some of which will be narrated in the next chapter, but also from the fact that most of the Vijayanagara viceroys ruled over the Tuḷurājya from Bārakūru, although some governed it from Mangaḷāpura as well. But this subject falls outside the purview of the present thesis.

(C) MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS

Of these capitals, Udayāvara, Bārakūru, Mangaḷāpura, and Mūḍubidre, we have a few interesting statements concerning the status of the first two. They were *nagaras* or cities. But between them and Udayāvara there was some difference in regard to corporate existence. One of the earliest Śambhukallu temple stone inscriptions styles Udayāvara (which it

1. *338 of 1930-31*, op. cit.; *Ep. Rept. for 1930-1931*, p. 49. The temple of the interesting deity Timireśvara mentioned in this record cannot be located. Probably it was in the neighbourhood of the modern the Kanara High School. But of this I am uncertain. B.A.S.

2. *157 of 1901*, op. cit.

3. *53 A of 1901*, op. cit.

calls Odevura) a *nagara*, but it couples all the citizens who made up the corporation and the temple priests along with it (*Odevura nakara sahitta...sakala śri-āḷgal Goravar*).[1] This presupposes that so early as the sixth century A.D., Udayāvara was already enjoying the advantages of municipal life.

That Udayāvara was indeed a *nagara* is further proved by one of the Śambhukallu temple stone inscriptions of the reign of Raṇasāgara Ālupendra, which mentions the *Udiyapurada nagara*- the city of Udayāvara.[2] The constitution of this city is suggested in another record but of the times of Pṛthvīsāgara. Here it is stated that there was a *nāyaka* or headman over that city. Udayapura Nāyga's (*i.e.*, Nāyaka's) son Siṅgadatta, Kumāra Erega, Raṇavikramanātha, and Sandavarada's (son) Kaṇṇaci were the recipients of certain favours to be enumerated presently.[3]

The Someśvara temple stone inscription of king Dattāḷpendra Śrīmāra contains an interesting statement which clearly indicates the socio-political solidarity that lay behind the actions of the Tulu people, The grant recorded in that inscription was to be jointly protected by the king, the representatives of district and the municipal corporation—*yī dharmmavannu ar(a)su nāḍu nakhara pālisi-baharu*.[4]

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1. *99 of 1901*, op. cit.
2. *100 of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII., No. 284, p. 144.
3. *102 of 1901* ; *E. I.* IX, p. 21.
4. *124 of 1901*. See *infra* Ch. V.

There were other *nagaras* in the Ālupa kingdom. On the strength of the Greek-Kannaḍa Farce to be cited later on, another important city near Udayāvara was likewise under a *nāyaka*. This was Malapi (mod. Malpe). The Śambhukallu temple stone inscription of Māramma Āḷvarasar referred to above, also speaks of Kōḷala (mod. Koḷalagiri) as a *nagara*, and relates that Karasi Nāyga (Nāyaka) was ruling over that city (*Koḷala nakarakke Karasi Nāygan āḷḍ*).[1]

The citizens of a *nagara* were called in the earlier days merely *okkalu*; and in the twelfth century A.D. they collectively formed the *nagara-samūha* or municipal corporation. There was a daily supervision of towns. Eighteen cities, including, of course, Udayāvara, were supervised daily (*padineṇṭu paṭṭanamumam nitta vyavast*[*h*]*e*), as is related in the Śambhukallu temple stone inscription of Raṇasāgara Ālupendra. This duty was under the direct control of the king. We infer this from the statement in the same inscription to the following effect:—That this duty of supervision of the towns and of protecting the country belonged only to the ruler (*ī vyavasthe āge ūru rakṣippadu idāṇ Dēvarg allade pēr ārkkōl-varoḷara...*)[2]

The cities had representatives who generally acted as a channel of communication between the king and the *nagaras*. This is seen from the manner in which the rulers granted full or half of the tolls to them. In the

1. *99 of 1901*; *S. I. I., VII.* No. 288, p. 144, op. cit.
2. *100 of 1901*; *S. I. I. VII*, No. 284, p. 144.

earlier days the representatives were identical with the citizens or *okkalu*. But collectively (in an assembly) they were also known by other names– *sāsirvarum* or the Thousand, and sometimes *mun-nūrvar* or the Three Hundred. These terms denoted the composition of the assembly of the citizens. In one of the earliest stone records found in the Śambhukallu temple, which we have assigned to the seventh century A.D., we find that the capital Udayāvara had seventy *okkalu* : *Udilipurada* [*Udayapurada*] *nakarada erpatt* (*o*) *kkalu*. The word *sāsirvarum* or the Thousand occurring in the same inscription, is to be referred to the general assembly of Śivaḷḷi(*S'ivaḷi.....sāsirbbarum*).[1]

The king granted tolls to the representatives of the *nagaras*. In the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., Vijayāditya Māramma confirmed the tolls of the cities of Pombuccha and Udayāvara to Susenavadi's son Svarṇagosasi, Muttavarasá's son Aḍiyapa Śeṭṭi, Maṇḍuka's son Parasebya, and Senavadi's son Nāgakumāra.[2] From another record of the same ruler, we learn that the representatives were called *okkalu*. This stone inscription narrates that Muttavarasa's son Saruvigosasiga, Kaḍal Śeṭṭi's son Madāmma, Vyaśeṭṭi's son Dharmmanayga, Maṇugasattava, Sarvvandu (*i. e.*, Sarvabandhu) and Puleyarma obtained (*ī okkalu paḍeduvu*) the confirmation of the grant given above, to the cities of Udayapura and Ponvuḷca (*i. e.*, Pombuccha).[3]

1. *96 of 1901* ; *S. I. I. VII.* No. 279, p. 143, line 11.
2. *98 of 1901* ; *E. I. IX.* pp. 23–4.
3. *97 of 1901* ; *E. I. IX.* pp, 23–4.

The *deśādhīśvaras* ("the Lords of the Country") mentioned in one of the undated inscriptions of Bankideva Ālupendradeva I found in the Someśvara temple at Mūḍukēṟi in Bārakuru, were evidently entrusted with some unspecified duty by the kinn in the districts. The effaced lines in connection with them suggest some sort of governmental supervision of their work :—*samasta-deśādhīśvara(ra) negaleyum..ja prabhāvamumam-āḷd-ī-samvyavahāradoḷ-suḷivand-vino..*[1]

The term *sāsirvarum* or the Thousand occurs again in A.D. 1254 in the times of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva. The famous town of Kōṭa had an assembly of a Thousand. It was in the presence of this assembly and of Aḷiya Bankideva and others, that the ruler Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva gave a grant of land.[2]

In another record of the same king dated A.D. 1258 we are informed that when the king was at Bārahakanyāpura, at his feet (*śrī-pāda-sannidhāna* (*dalu*), a specified grant was made to the *mun-nūṟvaru* (the Three Hundred) of Niruvāra. Among those present were certain high officials we have seen above, all the ministers, and *purohits* or priests.[3]

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1. *136 of 1901* ; *S. I. I. VII* No. 327, p. 178.
2. *509 of 1928–9*, op. cit.
3. *490 of 1928–9*. The term *mahājana* used by the Madras Government Epigraphist in connection with the Three Hundred of Niruvara, is misleading. The *mahājanas* were no doubt of the same status as the Three Hundred. But the absence of the term *mahājana* suggests that in Tuḷuva the people attached a different meaning to the term *mun-nūrvaru* and *sāsirvaru*. These were *assemblies* of representa-

Niruvāra continued to have a representative assembly in A.D. 1277. For in that year while the queen Balla Mahādevī was ruling, all the high and low officials of the government together with the representatives of Niruvāra, made a grant of a rice field to the goddess Bhagavatī of Niruvāra.[1]

Even under the Vijayanagara rulers, we may be permitted to say, Niruvāra continued to have a representative assembly. The village assembly, however, was known then by the name *jagatta-munnūru* (The Three Hundred of the World). We learn this from a stone inscription found in the Mahiśāsuramardini temple at Nīlāvara in the Uḍipi tāluka. It relates that under the Vijayanagara monarch Deva Rāya (II), Bācaṇa Oḍeya was placed as viceroy over Bārakuru-rājya, while Sadāśivadeva Aigaḷ served under the latter as the *adhikāri* of Niruvāra. Provision was made by the *Adhikāri* Sadāśivadeva Aigaḷ and the *jagatta-munnūru* for daily offerings to the local deity. The inscription is dated Śaka 1330 Sarvajit, Āśviyuja, Ba. 1 Sunday. The cyclic year for Śaka 1329 was Sarvajit,

tives, and not merely individuals such as the *mahājanas* essentially were. Here we may also note that the term *eḷpatt-okkalu* occurs in an inscription dated A. D. 1074. And Rice translates it as *seventy families*. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 295, p. 150. But we have already seen that *okkalu*, especially in Tuḷuva, meant citizens and not families. In later history *okkalu* meant tenants. This is still the meaning of the term in Tuḷuva. B. A. S.

1. *491 of 1928-9.* But in the Govt. Epigraphist's collection given as *1927-8.*

and the date works out to A. D. 1407 September the 18th Sunday.[1]

Other centres which had assemblies were Brahmāvūru, Kuḍikūṟa, Kundāpūru, Puttige, Mūḍubidre, and Kāḷāvara. In A.D. 1254 the assembly of Brahmāvūru in the Uḍipi tāluka was called merely the "Two Hundred" (*Brahma-ūradali nūr-irva*).[2] A stone inscription found in the Kōṭeśvara temple in the Kundāpuru tāluka, dated A.D. 1261, relates that the assembly of Kuḍikūṟa was called "the Three Hundred" of that place.[3] Since the annual imposts were fixed at 140 and 180 *samudāya gadyāṇa* for Kundāpūru and Kuḍikūṟa respectively in that year by Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva, in the presence of his relatives, priests, nobles and officials,[4] we have to assume that Kundāpūru also had an assembly similiar to the one at Kuḍikūṟa. We prove our assumption by a stone inscription of a later date found in the Kundeśvara temple at Kundāpūru. It records that Narasiṁha Oḍeya was governing the Bārakūrurājya under the orders of Hariappa Daṇṇāyaka. The name of the Vijayanagara monarch was Deva Rāya. Narsiṁha Oḍeya renewed in the presence of the god Kundeśvara of Kundāpūru, and with the consent of the people, a grant of land which had been made by Śenabova

1. *498 of 1928-9*; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, *V*, p. 16; *Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 55. The cyclic year for Śaka 1330 was Sarvadhārin. Swamikannu, *ibid*, pp. 18-19.

2. *485 of 1928-9.*

3. *870 of 1927.*

4. *Ep. Rept. for 1926-7*, p. 108.

Devaṇṇa to the temple but which had lapsed. The record is dated Śaka 1347 expired, Viśvāvasu, Caitra, Śu. which corresponds to A. D. 1426, March.[1]

We infer that Puttige had a similar assembly of representatives from the damaged stone inscription in the Viṣṇumūrti temple assigned to A.D. 1267. Since the epigraph refers to Puttige and to the royal order made in the presence of the ministers and other officers by the king Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva from Bārahakanyāpura, we suppose that there was an assembly at Puttige as well.[2]

As regards the existence of a corporate assembly in Mūḍubidre, we have proof of it in a stone inscription dated in A.D. 1281, found in the Guru *basti* at Mūḍubidre. It refers to the regime of the Hoysala prince Vīra Ballāḷa during the times of his father Vīra Narasiṁhadeva III. And it records a decision which the officers of the State represented by Hariyappa Daṇṇāyaka, brother-in-law of the *Mahāpradhāna* Devappa Daṇṇāyaka, Mādaḍaha, son of Hosavaḍaha, *Adhikāri* Deva Āḷuva, prominent heroes, fifty foreigners (? *aivaru horahinavarum*), eight heads of the commercial guilds of Mūḍubidre called *mānisa-seṭṭis* (*Bidireya nagaradalu eṇtu ṃānisa seṭṭikārarum*), the citizens (*nakararu*), and the officials of the *eraḍu-kōlu-baḷis*, unanimously (*tammoḷ ekastar-āgi*) arrived at concerning the preservation of a *dharmada-kallu* or Edict of Righteousness. Some of the

1. *365 of 1927*; Śwamikannu, *Ind. Eph.* V. p. 54.
2. *500 of 1928-9.*

items of this interesting record are unfortunately obsolete. But it is evident from the epigraph that for those who partially despoiled the edict (by using it as a whetstone for their weapons ?), the fine would be fifty-one *gadyāṇa* at the hands of the king, while those who destroyed it completely were liable to a fine of 500 *gadyāṇa*.[1]

Another record of the same Hoysala ruler but found in Kāntāvara in the Kārkaḷa tāluka, enables us to say definitely that heavy fines were imposed on those who violated what appeared to be the joint legislation of the subjects as well as of the State. No doubt this record is dated only in the cyclic year Bahudhānya and is defaced. Nevertheless it contains the following information :—The *adhikāris* of the Kānteśvara temple at Kāntāvara, and the citizens of the locality joined together and decreed that for the four households of the *grāma* (*grāmada-nālku gṛhakke*), there was to be a particular custom (? *sāvṛtti*) which is unfortunately not clear in the epigraph. If any one violated this arrangement (*yi maryādeyalli-migelāge koṇḍade*), he had to

1. Some of the terms that are obsolete are following :—*aruvaru Ballāḷugaḷam...nālvaru eḷamegaḷum asēsa hōlāradhavarum...eraḍu-hōlu-baḷiya nāḍum nakaru ṭammoḷekastar-āgi māḍida śāsana kramavent-aṅdaḍe yiṛt-ī dharmmada kallind-oḷage āyudhavanu are kittavaṅge arasiṅge (te) ruva ga 51 ne (ra) kittavaṅge (hoṛage) kaḍidavaṅge ga 500 kondava ga... arasinge ātana jīva jīvange tale (Balañji)garige halaru makal kaiyali tappidade 1 tale sāvira honnu arasinge teruvaru kaitappu māḍid-ātan-allade ātana...tam...ya māḍi bandu kettidalli tappi naḍasaḷ āgadu ṛakaradoḷaguḷḷa (aṭṭavaṭṭanu)...ṭṭadḍe Baḷañja nītinge...13 of 1901; S. I. I.* VII. No. 213, pp. 108–9.

pay a fine of 101 *gadyāṇa* to the temple, an equal amount to the king, and an equal amount to the *grāma*.[1]

The corporate nature of the public activities under the Ālupas is further suggested in the Somanātheśvara temple stone inscription of Soyideva Ālupendradeva, which informs us that when he was seated on the golden throne in Bārahakanyāpura in A.D. 1315, Aḷiya Bankidevarasa, the *sāmanta pradhānas* (or chief feudatories), (*deśa*)*puruṣas*, *eraḍu-kōlu-baḷiyabahattara niyōgigaḷu*(? officials of: the *eraḍu-kōlu-baḷi*), and others gave certain grants to Banki Senabova's (man ?) Annadāta Heggaḍe.[2]

(D) RURAL ADMINISTRATION

The most important official of the rural parts was the Headman of the District. It was during Bōygavarma's headmanship of the district (*Bōygavarmara nāṭu mudi-meyuḷ*) that king Pṛthvīsāgara had confirmed the gift of one half of the tolls both on water and on land to the cities of Paṭṭi and Udayapura.[3] The next ruler Vijayāditya Māramma confirmed in a similar manner tolls to the same cities, during Arakella's headmanship of the district.[4]

The minute organization of the villages together with the classification of households is seen best in the traditional accounts of Tuḷuva called *Grāmapaddhati* which will be examined in a subsequent chapter. The

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1. *57 A of 1901*; *S. I. I.* VII, No. 232, p. 118.
2. *157 of 1901; S. I. I. ibid,* No. 354, p. 212.
3. *102 of 1901; E. I.* IX, pp. 20–21, op. cit.
4. *97 of 1901*; *E. I. ibid*, pp. 23–24.

epigraphs do not enlighten us on the numerous details concerning the organization of the villages.

(E) ARMY ORGANIZATION

From one of the Śambhukallu records we learn that the Ālupas were conversant with battle-arrays-*vyūha*. A hero called Kāltide, son of Vijaṇa Nāyga, is said to have been eminent in war, a lion in battle (*kāḷega kesari*), and to have broken in battle the (circle) array of the enemy's forces (*sāhasad ari cakra-vyūhamam oḍedōn*).[1] The infantry under the Ālupas was called *patati* (*padāti*). This is gathered from a stone inscription found at Udayāvara of the times of Pṛthvīsāgara.[2]

A significant phrase occurring in some of the early Ālupa inscriptions, which has its parallel in early Gupta and Karnāṭaka records, enables us to conjecture that there were districts which were ravaged by the soldiers. Thus in the grant issued by Vinayāditya Satyāśraya to Divākaraśarmā, in A. D. 692, the village granted was Sālivoge in the Eḍevoḷal-viṣaya. It is expressly stated in the epigraph that it was not to be entered into by soldiers, and that it was free from molestation.[3]

(F) TAXATION

Some details concerning the burden of taxation may be gathered from the inscriptions. One of the

1. *94 of 1901; E. I.* IX, pp. 17–18.
2. *101 of 1901; E. I. ibid*, p. 20, op. cit.
3. *E. C.* VIII Sb. 571, p. 92. Cf. *E. C.* VII, Sk. 264, p. 143; Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, p. 98.

inscriptions of Āḷuva Rāja Citravāhana I dated A. D. 694 mentions the imposts.[1] We have seen above that imposts and tolls once granted by a ruler were re-confirmed either whole or half, by his successor; and that there were tolls (*suṅkam*) both on water and on land. Details of the dues are to be found in one of the Śambhukallu stone records mentioned above, of the times of king Vijayāditya Māramma. It relates that that ruler confirmed the following dues to the cities of Pombuccha and Udayapura;—per double bag of grain, one and a half basket of grain; per *maḷave* (maund?) of cotton, sixteen *pala* of cotton; per load of arecanuts, three hundred nuts; and per head load of pepper, sixteen *pala* of pepper.[2] The customs dues were, therefore, paid in kind.

(G) COINAGE

But the rulers and people were aware of coinage. Thus in one of the inscriptions of Citravāhana I, already cited above, the gift of the village of Sālivoge was made in A.D. 692 by the Western Cālukya monarch Vinayāditya Satyāśraya, at the request of the same Ālupa Mahārāja, with the pouring of water and presentation of coin.[3] It may be deduced from this that coinage was known to the Ālupa rulers from the later half of the seventh century A. D. onwards. But from the above account of the customs dues levied in kind, it is

1. *E. C.* XI, Dg. 66, pp. 62-3, op. cit.
2. *98 of 1901; E. I.* IX, p. 22.
3. *E. C.* VIII, Sb. 571, p. 92, op. cit.

also apparent, at the same time, that exchange and barter was a feature of the commercial transactions of the times. The confirmation of the gift of one half of the tolls both on land and on water to the cities of Pombuccha and Udayāvara, in the reign of Pṛthvīsāgara, mentioned above, relates evidently to the tolls paid in kind.

In A. D. 1139 the expression *Pāṇḍa gadyāṇa mūvattam* (Thirty Pāṇdya *gadyāṇa*)[1] appears in one of the inscriptions of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra, thereby clearly suggesting that by the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D., Tuḷuva had adopted the monetary system of the Karnāṭaka, at least so far as the *gadyāṇa* is concerned. But it must be confessed that the precise meaning of the term *Pāṇḍa gadyāṇa* is not apparant. Whether it was any one of the Ālupa rulers with the second name of Pāṇḍya who introduced the *Paṇḍa gadyāṇa*, or whether it was but a mere imitation of the *gadyāṇa* already existing in the Karnāṭaka is a point which cannot be solved for the present.

A few more details concerning the political life and society under the Ālupas, as gathered from their inscriptions, may be mentioned before we pass on to the topic of the foreign relations of the rulers. These refer to their social solidarity.

(H) SOCIAL SOLIDARITY

The precautionary clauses appended to the Sālivoge village grant mentioned above, *viz.*, that that village

1. *176 of 1901; S. I. I.* VII, No. 381, p. 236, line 16.

was not to be entered into by soldiers, and that it was to be free from molestation, show beyond doubt that in the seventh century A.D., the State made definite provision for the welfare of Brahman endowments. That these formed a feature of the Ālupa administration is proved by another grant also in the reign of the same Ālupa king Citravāhana I. But this time it was not a grant given under the patronage of the Western Cālukya monarch but issued under the Ālupa king's own authority. The clause in the grant to the god Kīḷgāṇeśvara relates that "excepting the attendants of the gods, no one else (is) permitted to enjoy. Those who enjoy this, and he who causes it to be enjoyed, will remove the burden from the *Dēveḍittiyer* and *Sāer*, and take the produce, to be held as consecrated to the thirty-three (*i. e.*, the gods). Those who go and enter and take, or taking enjoy, are guilty of the five great sins..."[1]

The imprecations at the end of the grants show the communal sense among the people. As in other parts of the Karnāṭaka, the fear of incurring punishment in the next world brought home to the people a sense of loyalty and respect for royal orders and public endowments. The five great sins (*i. e.*, killing a Brahman, drinking liquors, stealing gold, committing adultery with the wife of the *guru* or incest with one's mother, and associating with any one guilty of these

1. *E. C.* VI, Kp. 37, p. 82, op. cit.

crimes)[1] are mentioned in the grant of about A.D. 675, as we have already noted above.[2] Another grant of the same age but of Āḷu-arasar Guṇasāgara, father of Citravāhana I, ends thus:—"Those who ruin that, or whisper for its ruin, or think it in the mind, or advise others to ruin it, are guilty of the five great sins, and incur the punishment of the gods and the punishment of the king. Those thirty-three gods, moreover, will inflict on the destroyers of this ruling, excessive strong smells with excessive heat, and they will wither up along with those who steal silver or gold ornaments."[3]

The politico-religious nature of the threats held out to the violators of public grants is further shown by other records which declare that the spoliation of public measures was equal to the destruction of one of the most important religious centres of Tuḷuva. Thus, those who prevented the daily supervision of the eighteen towns mentioned above, were said to have incurred the great sin of having destroyed Brahmapura (Brahmāvūru ?) of Śivaḷḷi in Tuḷuva (*S'ivaḷḷiya Brahmb [a]puramum arida mahā-pātakanakku).*[4]

The inscriptions of king Pṛthvīsāgara add two more details— one relating to the merits of a horse-sacrifice, and the other to the five great sins of one who destroyed Vāraṇāsi and Śivaḷḷi.[5] An inscription of his succes-

1. *Manu*, XI, 55.
2. *E.C.* VI. Kp. 37.
3. *Ibid*, Kp. 38, p. 82.
4. *100 of 1901*, op. cit. See *infra* Ch. V, Section 2 for reference to Avīci in this record.
5. *102 of 1901; E.I.* IX, pp. 20–21.

sor Vijayāditya Māramma contains one more detail concerning the horse-sacrifice: those who confirmed the grant would receive the eight-fold fruits of a horse-sacrifice; while those who destroyed it, would incur the five great sins mentioned above in connection with Vāraṇāsi and Śivaḷḷi.[1]

The reference to the eight-fold fruits of a horse-sacrifice mentioned in two different inscriptions in regard to king Vijayāditya cannot be understood for the present. We are unable to say how a horse-sacrifice came to be associated with an Ālupa ruler. Even in the middle of the twelfth centuary A.D., the fruits of a horse sacrifice are spoken of in one of the inscriptions of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra. In this record the names of two holy places - Rameśvaram and Kurukṣetra - are added to the two already mentioned, *viz.*, Vāraṇāsi and Śivaḷḷi. And further, those who preserved the grant would receive the fruits of a gift of a thousand cows and of a dinner to a thousand Brahmins at the Ganges, Benares, Rameśvaram and Kurukṣetra.[2]

When we come to the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., we meet with imprecations and threats that suggest the social solidarity of the people under the Ālupas. An inscription of Bankideva Ālupendradeva dated A. D. 1302, ends with the usual imprecations given

1. *98 of 1901; E. I. ibid*, p. 22.

2. *171 of 1901; S. I. I.* VII, No. 376, pp. 231-2. On the question whether a feudatory can perform an *aśvamedha* sacrifice, *pro*, read Atul Sur, *Indian Culture*, I, pp. 114-115; 704-706; J. C. Ghosh, *ibid*, II, pp. 140-141; *contra* D. C. Sirkar, *ibid*, I, pp. 311-12.

above, and with the significant clauses relating to the excommunication from the *sthāna* (*i. e.*, locality or district) of those who violated the grant, and to their being fined by the king to the extent of fifty-one *gadyāṇa-ī dharmavan āvan-obban ahudal-eṅdaḍe Vāraṇāśiyalu sāvira kavileya konda brahmetti Narmadevalu sāvira Brāhmaṇa ghātaka māḍida brahmetti sthānadoḷag-āva-obban ahudal eṅdaḍe sthānadiṅdhorage arasige tappu ga (dyāna) 51.*[1]

One of the records of the next ruler Soyideva Ālupendradeva, dated A. D. 1315, ends in the usual Karnāṭaka manner. After mentioning the sins of killing a thousand cows in Vāraṇāsi, the epigraph continues to quote the lines from the *Purāṇas*, thus:—*sva dattām para-dattām vā yo hareta vasundharāṃ ṣaṣṭhi varṣa sahasrāṇi viṣṭāyam jāyate kṛmiḥ.*[2]

The same sense of united action prevailed in the later times, even when the suzerainty of the Ālupas had passed completely into the hands of the Vijayanagara rulers. The epigraph which gives us details concerning the corporate activities of the people in socio-religious matters is the Kanara High School record of the last prominent Ālupa ruler Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva IV, which we have elsewhere described in this treatise. It registers a grant to the god Bankeśvara by the king and his nephew Bankidevarasa. The following

1. *17 of 1901; S. I. I.* VII, No. 177, p. 75. For similar regulations in later Karnāṭaka history, read Saletore, *S. P. Life*, II, pp. 205–209.

2. *157 of 1901; S. I. I.* VII, No. 354, p. 212. These verses have been traces to the *Bṛhaspati-Smṛti*, vv. 26–9. Calcutta, San. 1296). Bata Krishna Ghosh, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, III, p. 432.

penalties are mentioned in this royal grant for those who failed to carry out their legitimate duties as well as for the king himself, in case he failed to do his own duty.

If a Brahman stole the property of the god (*devara dēvasy[v]ada*) from the priest of the locality (*yi sthānada pāda mūladavara*), he would be declared to be outside the four castes.[1] If a Śeṭṭi committed the same fault, he would be declared to be outside the entire Baḷañja (*dharma*). If the Vokkalu Makkaḷu[2] committed it, they would be fined 1,000 *honnu* per head. If any one partially disfigured the *sthāna*[3], 500 *honnu* ; and he who did it completely, 100 *honnu* (extra ?). If any one committed a murder, the guilty man was, according to usage, to remain with the enemies for seven days (? *kondaḍe kolisi koṇḍava hagegaḷa ēḷu dina yiddu hōya maryāde*). If the *tantri*, whose duty it was to perform all the ceremonies in connection with the purificatory bath (*avabhṛta snāna*) of the god, observing all the *saṅkrāntis*, failed to do his duty, he would be fined ten and a half *honnu*. He who

1. The meaning is not quite clear : *yī dēvara dēvasya* [*va*] *da kuḍitaṟeyoḷage yī sthānada pāda-mūladavara mēle yiḷidetta kaḷadaḍe beṭṭaṅda...ri daḍe haṇe koḍi eḷe golu kaḍi hode eṅd-ivara nālku jātiyoḷu Brāhmaṇa māḍi dade kaṇṇu kai-jāti sarvasya* (*va*) *nālku jātiyim poṟagu.* I am not sure that I have rendered this passage correctly into English. B. A. S.

2. *Vokkalu makkaḷu* lit. "sons of the representatives", since we have seen that *okkalu* was used to denote the representatives of the *nagaras* in olden times in Tuḷuva. But nowadasys the word *vokkalu* means tenant, and Vokkēlme is the name given to the Buṇṭs. B. A. S.

3. *Sthāna*, as we have already remarked elsewhere, denoted the locality or district or place. But in this particular record it seems to have been used for the temple itself. B. A. S.

failed to carry out his appointed functions at the *āsrama kāla*, and he, at the *dhāre-kīḷsānti kāla*, would be fined one and a half *honnu* respectively. If the original priests (*pāda-mūladavaru*) failed to bring the daily *naivēdya* rice, and to report daily about the agreeable series of stories or conversations (*kathā-māle*), the president (*adhyakṣa*) (of the original priests ?) would be fined five and a half *honnu*. If the permanent *senabova* failed to keep the accounts, he would be fined ten and a half *honnu*. If the *adhikāri* failed to supply oil to the lamp that was to be kept burning always (*nandā dīvigeġe*), he would be fined ten and a half *honnu*. If (the official whose name is effaced) failed to perform the *śrī bali*, or sacred offering of rice, three times (a day), or to cleanse the remains of the offerings to the gold (*nirmālya...bandu vōlagisadiddoḍe*), if the customary pledges were not carried out (? *yathā krammadalu aḍapu naḍeyadiddaḍe*),—for all these for the daily food (*andina grāsakke*), the fine would be double.... If the *adikāri* did not perform the customary usages concerning the *ayana*, 101 *honnu*. If the owner of the shops (*aṅgaḍiya adhikāri*) did not supply the Brahmans with the daily provisions like rice, oil for Śivarātri, etc.,...he would be fined ten and a half *honnu*; the same amount was imposed on those who failed to carry out the ceremonies on (four ?) successive *Amāvāsyas*;[1] and half a *honnu* for him who neglected to look after the burning of the per-

1. The meaning of this is not clear : *māḍakke (ku) ḷayi nāḍalu yiradalu, Beḷiyintūralu yivariṅda bhaḷavaḷiya koṇḍu bandu neruvudu Amavāsenālku agrava naḍayisadiddaḍe hattuvare daṇḍa.*

petual lamp. There is no usage in regard to the building of a palace within the limits of the temple (*dēvālayadalu aramane kaṭṭuva maryāde yilla*). Five and a half *honnu* were to be imposed (as fine) on a class of temple servants (Bākeneṅges)—who unfortunatly cannot be identified—for non-attendance.[1] If the king failed to investigate and to protect all this, he would incur the sin of having killed a thousand cows and a thousand Brahmans on the banks of the Ganges and at Rāmeśvaram (*yint-īva ellavam vicārisi rakṣisadiddaḍe arasinge Gaṅge Rāmesvaradalu sāvira kavileya savira Brāhmaṇara konda pāpa*). Great success to uncle (*māva*) Kulaśekharadeva, who issued this stone charter of righteousness (*yint-ī-dharmamam śila-śāsanam geyyd*) by the nephews (*aḷiyandiru*) Bankideva and Bammadeva.[2]

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1. *Kūṭaḍuvu Bākeneṅgeyavaru tāvu eṅdu baha mariyādeyalu bāradiddaḍe ayiduvare daṇḍa.* B. A. S.

2. *23 B of 1901* ; *S. I. I. VII*, No. 185, pp. 81–82.

CHAPTER III

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Summary:—1. The Śātavāhanas and Tuḷuva-the rejection of the theory relating to the supposed identity of the Ālupas and the Śātvatas, the Śātavāhanas, the Cuṭus, and the Anus—the conquest of Sahya by Gotamīputra Śātakarṇī. 2. Tuḷuva and the Western Cālukyas-Kīrtivarmā I-Pulikeśin II-Vikramāditya Satyāśraya-Kīrtivarmā II—(The Rāṣṭrakūṭa ascendancy)—Vikramāditya VI—and the Ālupas. 3. The Senavars and Tuḷuva. 4. The Pallavas and the Ālupa rulers. 5. The Coḷas and Tuḷuva. 6. The Ālupas and the Pāṇḍyas-Neḍuñjeliyaṅ's conquests-Saḍaiyan Raṇadhīra's conquests-Saḍaiyan's date. 7. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Ālupas--the rebellion of Citravāhana II—the date of Citravāhana II and of Rājāditya. 8. The Śāntaras and Tuḷuva—the Udayāvara *vīragal*—the Bārakūru *vīragal*—Raṇasāgara and the Śāntaras—foreign foes mentioned in Kundavarmā's inscription of Kadri-*Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Lokanātheśvara's place in Tuḷuva history,—Bankideva Ālupendradeva's relations with the Śāntaras—the Śāntara rulers Jagadeva and Pāṇḍyadeva in Bārakūru—the Śāntara seat at Kervāśe—how the Ālupas came to append the surname Pāṇḍya to their names. 9. The Kadambas and the Ālupas—the Kadambas of Banavāsi—troubles in the reign of Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendra I—Soyideva's general levied tribute from Tuḷuva—the battle of Birusa and the Kadamba invasion in the reign of Kadamba Mallideva—Kāva Deva's generals attack Sōde and Ballayamakki and the battle of Perige. The Kadambas of Goa and Tuḷuva-Jayakeśin I's subjugation of Tuḷuva. 10. The Kaḷacuriya, the Kākatīya, and the Hosagunda schemes-Keśi Rāja's conquest of Sanka Male-Kākatīya Rudradeva's alleged subjugation of Tuḷuva the claims of the Hosagunda rulers to be ***Promoters***

of the Tuḷu Rāyas examined. 11. The Hoysalas and Tuḷuva—the early Hoysalas on friendly terms with the Ālupas-causes of enmity between the Ālupas and the Hoysalas-Viṣṇuvardhana Deva's conquest of the Tuḷu kings—the Hoysala general who conquered Tuḷuva-references to the subjugation of Tuḷuva by Viṣṇuvardhana Deva in later records—Āḷvakheḍa not broken up by the Hoysalas-Boppa Daṇḍādhipati's claims to have subjugated Tuḷuva—the Ālupa trouble in A.D. 1194—Vīra Ballāḷa-Deva III and Tuḷuva—as governor over Bārakūru in A.D. 1281-the I and the II. Battles of Siriśi—the Battle of Candāvūru-Vīra Ballāḷa Deva's visit to Bārakūru in A.D. 1338—his chief crowned queen Kṛṣṇāyi Tāyi a Tuḷuva princess-the importance of Bārakūru under the Hoysala and Vijayanagara monarchs.

1. THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS AND TUḶUVA

Of late an attempt has been made to connect the Ālupas with the Śātavāhanas and the Cuṭus.[1] It is maintained that the Aryan Śātvatas, or Śātvats of northern India, settled down in Dakṣiṇāpatha, that they were the ancestors of the Śātavāhanas, that one branch of the Śātavāhanas called the Cuṭus decended into Tuḷuva, and that the Ālupas were a branch of the Cuṭus.

To these conjectures we may add the following more substantial reasons for asserting that the Śātavāhanas and the Ālupas may have had some features of common origin. The Ālupas like the Śātavāhanas belonged to the Lunar race. The Ālupas could lay claims, like the Śātavāhanas and the Śātvats, to a local (Karnā-

1. This is Mr. Govinda Pai's theory. *Itihāsada iruḷalli Tuḷuvanāḍu. The Pañcakajjāya volume of the 13th Karnāṭaka Sāhitya Sammēḷana*, 1927, p. 108 seq.

ṭaka ?) origin. The Ālupas and the Śātavāhanas had some admixture of Nāga blood.[1] And, finally, one of the Śātavāhanas, as will be mentioned presently, conquered Sahya which is the name given to that part of the Western Ghats passing through Tuḷuva.

But none of these arguments can support the theory that the Ālupas were in any way connected with the Śātavāhanas. Firstly, the Ālupa records found in Tuḷuva and over the Ghats do not mention one peculiarity of the Śātavāhanas. In the Śātavāhana records the name of the mother of the king always appears in conjunction with his name. The actual names of the mothers are not given but they are called after the *gotra* of their family priest.[3] Secondly, the Śātvats, who are supposed by some to have been the ancestors of the Śātavāhanas, and the Vṛṣnis are said to have lived in *saṅghas* or corporations. The Ālupas never lived in corporations, although, as we have pointed out, village organization in ancient Tuḷuva possessed some sort of corporate character. Thirdly, the Śātvats and the Vṛṣnis are described to have been irreverent towards Brahmans.[3] This can never be said of the Ālupas whose gifts to the Brahmans and temples have been described above.

1. On the Nāga affinity of the Śātavāhanas, read *I. A.*, XIV. pp. 333-334; Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 15; Sukthankar, *E. I.* XIV, pp. 154-155; H. C. Chaudhuri, *Pol. Hist.* p. 220. (1st ed.); pp. 260-261 (2nd ed.)

2. Rice, *ibid* p. 16; Cunningham. *Stupa of Barhut*, p. 129.

3. Chaudhuri, *ibid*, p. 73 (1st ed.;) 90 (2nd ed.)

The identification of the Ālupas with the Anūpas is likewise untenable. No doubt there is some outward similarity between the word Anūpa and Ālupa (Alūpa), that both the Anūpas and the Ālupas belong to the Lunar dynasty, and that both the Anūpas and the Ālupas are described to have ruled on the western coast of India. But the Anūpas occupied the valley of the Narmadā,[1] while the Ālupas, the fertile region of Tuḷuva. Secondly, in no Ālupa record is the word Anūpa met with.[2] Thirdly, the fact that Sahya and Anūpa are distinctly mentioned in one of the records of Gotamīputra Śātakarṇī, as having been ruled by him, clearly proves that Anūpa was never identified with Ālupa.

We may dispense with a third set of assumptions concerning the alleged relationship between the Cuṭus and the Ālupas. The Cuṭus were the feudatories of the Āndhras. Their coins have been found in Aparānta (Kanheri), Konkan (Kārwar and Banavāsi), and in Shimoga (Malavaḷḷi). The titles of their rulers, as determined from their coins, were Rano Cuṭu Kaḍānaṁdasa and Rano Mudānaṁdasa[3]. Here a forced relation-

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1. Rapson, *Coins of the Āndhrabhṛtyas*, Intr. p. xxxii.

2. The Anūpas are also placed on the east coast of India, and near the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. *Mahābhārata*, Udyoga Parva, XVIII, p. 579 (Roy). See also Nripendra Kumar Datta, *Aryanisation of India*, pp. 34–35.

3. Rapson, *ibid*, Intr. pp. lxxxii–lxxxiv ; *E. C.* VII. Intr. p. 4; Sk. 263, 264, p. 142; *I.A.* XXV, p. 28; *JRAS* for 1905, p. 304.

ship between the Cuṭus and the Ālupas is not altogether impossible. The Cuṭus ruled over Kārwār and Banavāsi. The Ālupas, too, as we have seen, were in some way connected with Banavāsi.

But these arguments are of no avail in establishing the alleged connection between the Cuṭus and Ālupas. In the first place, the trans-Ghat origin of the Ālupas can no longer be maintained. Secondly, no Cuṭu coins or inscriptions have been found till now in Tuḷuva. This justifies our assumption that the Cuṭus had nothing to do with the Ālupa kingdom. Thirdly, the similarity between the name of one of the Ālupa kings and the name generally prefixed to the Cuṭus is only accidental. Finally, all the Cuṭu coins and inscriptions hitherto discovered are in Sanskrit, whereas the Ālupa records are mostly in Kannaḍa. This clearly demonstrates that the Ālupas did not belong to the same stock as that of the Cuṭus.

Notwithstanding the fact that no identity of origin, language, or interests is possible between the Ālupas on the one hand, and the Śātvats, the Śātavāhanas or Śātakarṇis and the Cuṭus on the other, yet it has to be admitted that the inclusion of the name Sahya among numerous conquests of Pulumāvī Gotamīputra Śātakarṇī, in an inscription of queen Gautamī Balásrī, the mother of the ruler, dated in the nineteenth regnal year of the king (circa A.D. 124),[1] proves beyond doubt

1. Rapson, *Coins.*, pp. xxx–xxxv.

that the Śātakarṇi arms had extended probably as far as the northern parts of Tuḷuva. Beyond this nothing can be said for the present concerning the relationship between the Śātakarṇi kingdom and Tuḷuva.

2. TUḶUVA AND THE WESTERN CĀLUKYAS

On the strength of the above Śātakarṇi record, it may reasonably be supposed that Tuḷuva did not form an independent political unit in the first half of the second century A.D. And yet we have ventured to suggest in the foregoing pages, on the close similiarity between the word Oloikhoira of Ptolemy and the Āḷvakheḍa of inscriptions that in the middle of the second century A.D., Tuḷuva was known by that name to the western peoples. Whatever may be the difficulty in finding the origin of the Ālupa kingdom, there is no denying the fact that in the fifth and especially in the sixth century A.D., it was a prominent principality.

We have already remarked that one of the earliest historical references to the Ālupa kingdom is in the Mahākūṭa inscription of the Western Cālukya monarch Mangaleśa, dated A.D. 601–2, wherein it is said that Kīrtivarmā I conquered Āḷuka.[1] The probable date when Kīrtivarmā I subjugated the Tuḷuva kingdom may now be fixed. King Kīrtivarmā I's own lithic records do not enlighten us on this point. We have, therefore, to argue backwards with the aid of the

1. *I. A.*, XIX, pp. 10, 14, 19; seq; *E. I.* VII. App. *A List of Insc. of S. India*, No. 5, p. 3.

records of his younger brother and successor Mangaleśa. Here too opinion is divided concerning the date of king Mangaleśa's accession. Fleet places it in Śaka 489 (A.D. 567–8), and Rice, in A.D. 597.[1] If we accept A.D. 567-8 as the earliest date for king Mangaleśa, then, the conquest of Ālupa by king Kīrtivarmā I is to be placed before that date. It is not unlikely that Kīrtivarmā I may have subjugated Āḷvakheḍa in about A.D. 575 when, according to our calculations, Māramma Āḷvarasa ruled over the Tuḷuva kingdom.

King Mangaleśa's attention being directed to the north where the Revatī-dvīpa, the Mātangas, and the Kaḷacuriya king Buddha, son of Śankaragaṇa, had to be conquered,[2] the Ālupa ruler seems to have raised the banner of revolt, thus necessitating another Western Cālukya invasion of Āḷvakheḍa. This explains why in the Aihole inscription of Pulikeśin II, dated Śaka 556 (A.D. 634-5), the following is narrated in regard to

1. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.*, p. 21; *Mys. & Coorg*, p. 63. Rice commits an error when he makes Jayasiṁha the father only of Rājasiṁha, Raṇarāga. *Ibid*; cf. Fleet, *ibid*, map facing where it is rightly said that Jayasiṁha I was the father of Buddhavarmā and Raṇarāga. That Rice is wrong in maintaining that A. D. 597 is the first year of Mangaleśa's reign, is clear from No. III Bādāmi Cave inscription dated Śaka 500 (A. D. 578–9), of the twelfth year of his reign. This suggests beyond doubt that A. D. 566–7 was the first year of Mangaleśa's reign. See Fleet, *I. A. III*, p. 305; *ibid, VI*. p. 363; *Pali, Sanskrit, and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, No. 39, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 21; B. A. S.

2. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.*, p. 21 Rice asserts that Mangaleśa overcame the Ālupas at the same time he subdued the Kaḷacuriyas. *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 61. There is no basis for this assertion. B. A. S.

the Ālupa and Ganga rulers:—"Although in former days they had acquired happiness by renouncing the seven sins, the Ganga and Ālupa lords, being subdued by his dignity, were always intoxicated by drinking the nector of close attendance upon him."[1] The statements that the Ganga and the Ālupa lords were merely "subdued by his dignity," and that they were permitted to drink the "nector of close attendance upon him" (Pulikeśin II) clearly suggest that he gave much prominence to the two rulers. By A.D. 634-5, therefore, Tuḷuva had passed under the Western Cālukyas once again. The Ālupa ruler who, according to our surmise, was probably the contemporary of the great Pulikeśin II Satyāśraya was Kundavarmarasa (I).

The close association of the Ālupa king with Pulikeśin II as described in the above record, explains to some extent the good feeling that continued to exist between the suzerain rulers and the feudatory Ālupas till the days of Vinayāditya Satyāśraya. We have already described how Vinayāditya Satyāśraya gave grants of land at the request of his feudatory the illustrious Mahārāja Citravāhana I, to deserving Brahmans.

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1. *E. I.* VI. p. 10. Mr. M. V. Krishna Rao writes that Pulikeśin II "baffled all his uncle's intrigues, and by the use of energy, counsel and intrepid support from Durivinīta and the Ālupas, the traditional allies of the Calukya dynasty, neutralised all the advantage that Mangalesa had gained by the actual possession of power, and succeeded in becoming king." (M. V. Krishna Rao, *The Gangas of Talkad*, p. 39. Madras, 1936). No source of information can be adduced in support of all these imaginary statements. B. A. S.

The Ālupas seem to have acquiesced in the supremacy of the Western Cālukyas down to the days when the latter were expelled from the Karnāṭaka regions by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. This is inferred from an undated inscription of Kīrtivarmā II. (A.D. 747-A.D. 757), in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa characters, found at Aḍūru in the Kāsaragōḍu tāluka, South Kanara.[1]

With the defeat of Kīrtivarmā II by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the political hegemony of Karnāṭaka passed into the hands of the latter. And we ought to narrate here in strict chronological order the relations between the Ālupas, the Rāṣṭrakuṭas, and other Karnāṭaka rulers. But in order to bring the history of the Western Cālukyas in Tuḷuva to an end, we may be permitted to allude to the relations between the later Western Cālukyas and the Ālupa kings.[2]

1. Kielhorn, *E. I.* VII. No. 50, p. 9; Rangachari, *Top List.* II. 76 A, p. 854.

2. Here we meet with an inscription which can be properly located only with the help of future research. It is dated A. D. 968, and it narrates that when (with usual Cālukya titles) "Caṭṭiga Deva was ruling the kingdom of the world, and (with the usual Kadamba titles)...was ruling the Banavāsi 12.000 under the shadow of his sole umbrella, posseesed of the qualities of an appointed great minister, holding the office of Pērggaḍe...made in Maṅgaḷūru and for the god (on the date specified) at the time of the sun's eclipse, Caṭṭiga Deva was washing the feet of the Brahmans of...gave Doravale to the god..." *E,C.* VIII. Sb. 465, p. 78. We do not know whether we have to refer the name Mangaḷūru as given in the above insctiption to the Mangaḷūru of Tuḷuva which, as we have already seen, came into prominence as a provincial capital in the ninth century A.D. Moreover, it cannot be determined who this Caṭṭiga Deva was in the genealogy of the Western Cālukyas. The dates of

The next great Western Cālukya name we meet with in the history of the foreign relations of the Ālupas, is that of Vikramāditya VI, Tribhuvanamalla II, better known as Vikramāṅka Deva or Vikramārka. An incident took place when this ruler had been placed as governor over Gangavāḍi Six Thousand, as is related in an inscription dated A.D. 1060. It was in the reign of his father Trailokyamalla. The inscription informs us that on Ballavarasa paying a visit to the Pānugal fort, during the days of Kadamba Satyāśraya Deva, who was placed over Kāṇanūr, the following heroic event happened:— Tuḷuva Caṇḍiga said "I will not let (the nail) grow to my finger", and cut off the finger which he had given, at the Permmāḷu pillar, and climbing up the Bheruṇḍeśvara pillar, leaped upon the point of a spear and gained the world of gods. At this Ballavarasa and Satyāśraya Deva made suitable endowments to the temple in the Banavase Thousand. We may incidentally observe here that this Bheruṇḍeśvara pillar had been erected in A.D. 1047 by the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*

the last Western Cālukya king Vikramāditya IV., after whom the Rāṣṭrakūṭas held the suzerainty of the Karnāṭaka, are not available. And the earliest date for Taila II. who retrieved the fortunes of the Western Cālukyas, is A.D. 973-4. Whether Taila himself bore the name Caṭṭiga is not certain. In a damaged inscription found in the Narasimha temple in the premesis of the old Siddheśvara temple at Hāveri, probably of the times of the king Jagadekamalla II, (A.D. 1138-A.D. 1150), an account of the Western Cālukya house is given from Taila II's time. In this genealogical account Taila II's son is called Sattiga (Satyāśraya). Bengeri, *Karnataka Historical Review*, II, No. 2, p. 8 seq. Was the Sattiga mentioned here the same as the Caṭṭiga of the above record ? B. A. S.

Cāmuṇḍa Rāya.[1] What precisely is meant by the above anecdote, we are unable to determine. But in the eleventh century A.D., the Tuḷuvas were evidently renowned as heroes.

That Vikramāditya Deva VI conquered Tuḷuva is proved from the writings of his court poet Bilhaṇa who, in his *Vikramānkadeva Caritam*, informs us thus:—"When he (Vikramānka Deva) resumed his march, the trumpet of his army reminded the kings of Malyaladeśa of his former great deeds. Jayakeśin, the king of Koṅkan, came to him and brought him presents. The Lord of Ālupa made his submission and received benefits in return. The wives of the king of Keraḷa wept when they thought of Vikrama's former deeds".[2]

The lord of Ālupa mentioned by Bilhaṇa cannot easily be identified. Vikramāditya VI reigned from A.D. 1073–4 till about A.D. 1126-7.[2] In the Ālupa chronology, as outlined above, we see two rulers who may be placed as contemporaries of Vikramāditya VI–Udayādityarasa Pāṇḍya Paṭṭiga Deva aud Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra-deva. It is probable that the former is the lord of Ālupa referred to by Bilhaṇa; but it is equally probable that Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva acknowledged the suzerainty of the Western Cālukya monarch. While delineating the history of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra-deva (A.D.1113-A.D. 1155), we asserted that he seemed to have acknowledged a suzerian in A.D. 1113-4; and that

1. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 152, p. 109; Sk. 151, pp. 108-9.
2. Bilhaṇa, *Vikramānkadeva Caritam*, Intr. p. 34, (Bombay, 1875).

his independent reign may be placed between A.D. 1138 and A.D. 1155. The last date of the reign of Vikramāditya VI is A.D. 1126-7; and the earliest date of the independent regime of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva is A.D. 1138. Therefore, it is probable that the Ālupa ruler continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Western Cālukyas in A.D. 1113-4.[1] This was a year when there was trouble in the country, as we shall relate later on; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Ālupa king Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva strengthened his position by receiving protection from the Western Cālukyas against his new enemy, the Hoysalas, whose greatest soldier and statesman Viṣṇuvardhana Deva was planning the subjugation of Tuḷuva.

We may observe here that the memory of the great Vikramāditya VI's conquest of Tuḷuva still survives in Tuḷuva. In Bārakūru near the old fort behind the Pañcaliṅgeśvara temple is pointed out "the seat of Vikramāditya". The Vikramāditya could not have been Vikramāditya of Ujjain, as the people relate, but only Vikramāditya VI. The name Vikramārka is also met with in Tuḷu legends.

The Western Cālukyas continued to hold Tuḷuva under them till the last quarter of the twelfth century A.D. Of the Western Cālukya monarch Someśvara Deva's general, Kāma Deva, also called Kāva Deva, it is

1. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* pp. 48-51. He seems to have lived till A.D. 1132-3. *Ibid*, p. 51. Rice places him between A.D. 1076 and A.D. 1126. *Mys. & Coorg.* p. 73.

said in an inscription dated Śaka 1111 (A.D. 1189-90) that, after subjugating the countries of Male, Tuḷu, the Koṅkaṇas, and the Western Ghats, he was made the viceroy over Banavase 12,000, the Pānugal 500, and the Puḷigeṟe or Lakṣmeśvar 300.[1] The Ālupa ruler who may have been subjugated was perhaps Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I.

3. THE SENAVARS AND TUḶUVA

While describing the events in the reign of the Ālupa ruler Citravāhana I, it was said that one of his inscriptions mentioned Senavarasa and the Dharmakaraṇika, who were to divide and to give the palace office share (of the produce ?) on a plastered floor. The name Senavarasa here deserves comment. These Senavara rulers belonged to the Kacchara-*vaṁśa* and had the lion crest and the serpent flag. They hailed from Anūpadeśa.[2] Excepting the name Senavarasa mentioned here, we do not meet with any other name of the rulers of the Kacchara-*vaṁśa* in the Ālupa records.

4. THE PALLAVAS AND THE ĀLUPA RULERS

On the floor of the Subrahmaṇya temple in the village of Mallam, Guḍūr tāluka, Nellore district, is a record which is dated in the fifteenth regnal year of Nandipotarasa, and which mentions that the men of the district, the villagers, and the heads of the assemblies,

1. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 86.
2. This topic will be dealt with by me in a separate paper. B. A. S.

gave at the order of Caḷukkiarasar, on the petition of Āḷuva-arasar, thirty-five *kalañju* of gold for maintaining the lamps of the god Subrahmaṇya at Tiruvāṇbūr situated in the Paiyyūriḷangōṭṭam.[1]

Nandipottarasar, Caḷukkiarasar, and Āḷuva-arasar are now to be identified. Two or more Nandipotarasars are known to Pallava history. There is Nandipotarasar, the Pallava ruler who won the victory at Teḷḷāru. The date of this ruler is not known.[2] Then there is the Pallava king Nandipotavarmā, who was involved in a struggle with the Western Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya II.[3] An incident in connection with this Pallava king Nandipotavarmā, who is also called by some Nandivarmā II Pallavamalla, will help us to elucidate the above identification of the Āḷuva-arasar. Scholars are uncertain as to whether Nandipotavarmā was defeated or killed by Vikramāditya II.[4] Whatever may be the interpreta-

1. Rangachari, *Top. list*, II, Nl. 205-206, p. 1074.
2. *Ep. Rept.* for 1913, p. 89.
3. Pathak, *E. I.* IX. pp. 205-6.
4. There are two copper-plate grants which are the source of information for this question—the Vokkelēri plates dated in A.D. 757, and the Kendūru plates issued by Vikramāditya II's son and successor Kīrtivarmā II. Rice, who had discovered the Vokkelēri plates, gives us conflicting opinions concerning Nandipotavarmā. In one connection he asserts that "Nandipotavarman is explicity related to be the name of the Pallava king who was slain in battle in the Udāka province by the Cālukya king Vikramāditya," when all the royal insignia fell into the hands of the conqueror, who made a triumphant entry into Kañci but without plundering it (*Mys. Inscr.* Intr. pp. lvi, 300). But in another connection Rice writes that Nandipotarasar was merely beaten by the same Western Cālukya monarch at the beginning

tion given to the Vokkelēri and the Kendūru plates concerning the fate that overtook Nandipotavarmā at the hands of Vikramāditya II, it is permissible to identify the Nandipotarasar of the Mallam inscription with the same Nandipotavarmā who was beaten by Vikramāditya II. But Caḷukiarasar mentioned in the Mallam plates could not have been Vikramāditya II, but he was probably Vijayāditya Satyāśraya. We base our remarks on the following assumptions :—Vikramāditya II's enmity to the Pallavas is well known from the Vokkelēri and the Kendūru plates. It is unlikely, therefore, that he ordered a Pallava ruler whom he hated as one "who had obscured the splendour of former kings of his (Vikramāditya's) lineage",[1] to give a grant to a god. We have to suppose, therefore, that the event mentioned in the Mallam plates took place in the reign of his father and predecessor Vinayāditya. For Vinayāditya Satyāśraya's reign was peaceful, and

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of his reign, *i.e.*, in about A.D. 733. (*E. C.* X Intr. pp. xvii, seq.) The same is repeated in *My. & Coorg.* pp. 54, 65.

Fleet, who noted the same Vokkelēri plates, is likewise uncertain as to the fate that befell Nandipotavarman. In one place he writes that Vikramāditya II "slew the Pallava king named Nandipotavarman..." (*Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 29, 1st ed., Bombay, 1882). But in another work he says that when Vikramāditya reached Tuṇḍākaviṣaya, he merely attacked and put to flight the Pallava Nandipotavarmā, who, according to Fleet, waa the son of Hiraṇyavarmā. (*Bom. Gaz.* I. P. II, p. 327) K. B. Pathak, who edited the other document Kendūru plates, opined that Nandipotavarmā was merely put to flight by the Western Cālukya ruler. (*E. I.* IX. pp. 205–6). The Rev. Henry Heras merely follows Pathak. *Studies in Pallava History,* pp. 51–54. B. A. S.

1. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 29 ; Pathak, *ibid,* pp. 205–6.

he maintained the supremacy acquired by his father and by his grand-father in the south.[1]

Now, from the records already cited, we know that it was Vijayāditya Satyāśraya's father Vinayāditya Satayāśraya who had twice been requested by the Ālupa king Citravāhana I to make grants to worthy Brahmans in the Eḍevoḷal-*viṣaya* in the Banavase country in A.D. 692 and A. D. 694. The two grants had been made when the royal camp was in Citrasedu in the Toramara-*viṣaya* and in Karañjapatra in Hareṣapura. From these two records it is certain that the Ālupa king was prone to make requests to his sovereign the Western Cālukya monarch. We have to suppose that as he had petitioned Vinayāditya Satyāśraya to make grants of land to learned Brahmans on two differnet occasions, he made a third request to Vinayāditya Satyāśraya's son and successor Vijayāditya, who seems to have been on friendly terms with his neighbouring rulers including the Pallava kings.[2] If this is allowed, then, the Caḷukkiarasar mentioned in the Mallam plates would be Vijayāditya Satyāśraya, and the Āḷuva-arasar, Citravāhana I. In that case, the Mallam inscription must have been inscribed before the defeat of Nandipotavarmā at the hands of Vikramāditya II.[3] But the occasion which made Citravāhana I

1. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 29.
2. *Ibid,* Vijayāditya Satyāśraya was also accustomed to move about his Empire. See *ibid,* pp. 28–9.
3. Dubreuil gives three Nandivarmās in his genealogical list of the Pallavas. The dates given to Nandivarmā II, who is the one referred to above, *viz.* A.D. 717–779, do not agree with our surmise. *Ancient History of the Deccan,* p. 70. (Pondichery, 1920).

go over to Mallam in the Guḍūr tāluka will remain for the present unsolved.

5. THE COḶAS AND TUḶUVA

In the first quarter of the eleventh century A. D., a well known Tamil general seems to have subdued Tuḷuva. This is gathered from a record of Rāja Rāja Coḷa, whose great general Pañcava Mahārāya is credited with the conquests of many countries among which Tuḷuva and Koṅkan are mentioned. The inscription which informs us this is dated A. D. 1012. It further relates that having obtained the rank of *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* for Bengirimaṇḍala, and Gangamaṇḍala, Pañcava Mahārāya "seized Tuḷuva and Koṅkaṇa, pursued after Maleya, pushed aside and passed over Cera, Telugu and Raṭṭiga, as if in sport"[1].

Whether the reference in the above inscription is to an actual invasion of Tuḷuva by the Coḷas, or whether it points to a temporary occupation of that district cannot be made out with certainty. In all likelihood it was the latter that was the result of an expedition which, while directed mainly against Karṇāṭaka proper, swept over certain parts of Tuḷuva leaving traces of Coḷa influence here and there. The following considerations will make it clear that it was a temporary occupation of Tuḷuva. The fact that no Ālupa name figures in the genealogical account of the Tuḷuva rulers after Kundavarmarasa II (A.D. 967),

1. *E. C.* III. Sr. 140, p. 33.

strongly suggests that it was during the times of his successor that the Coḷa menace passed over Tuḷuva. But the pointed reference to the Coḷa danger in the inscription of the next prominent Ālupa king Bankideva Ālupendradeva I proves that it was more than a passing expedition which the Coḷas had sent to Tuḷuva, and that it was an Ālupa king who received Tuḷuva honour.

We have given above the *birudas* of Bankideva Ālupendradeva I. The Someśvara temple stone inscription found in Mūḍukēṟi in Bārakūru, in addition to the *birudas*, seems to refer to a Coḷa raid in the following terms:—"...*ṟē mēle* (*va*)*ṅda Cōḷana daṇḍam...Beṅkoṇḍa yultitta Komara daṇḍa*..."[1] This and the explicit reference in the preceding lines to the fact that he established his authority in the Tuḷu-*viṣaya* (*Tuḷu-viṣayadoḷ nijājneyam nilisi*) proves beyond doubt that Bankideva Ālupendra deva I was responsible for the re-establishment of Ālupa authority which had been to some extent shattered by the short-lived Coḷa occupation of Tuḷuva. Indeed the unique *biruda* given to him in the above record as well as in another one also found in Bārakūru, *viz.*, that he, after having re-established his authority in Tuḷuva, ruled over all the seven Male and the Seven Kombu (*Maleyēḷum* [*Kombu*]*m-naḷinale-ēlu-Male pā*[*ḷ*]*ipar ellamam nija svāmi S'rī-Banki-Āḷupendra-dēvar*), implies that he carried out successfully the Ālupa arms far into the Koṅgudeśa bordering on the Tamil land.

1. *136 of 1901 ; S. I. I.* VII, No. 327, p. 176, ll. 7–8.

In this connection it is interesting to observe that the Coḷas have left some traces of their occupation in Tuḷuva. For instance, in Bārkūru we have a quarter called Cōlkēṛi (Coḷa street). How this street came to be called by that name is inexplicable. Another reference to the Coḷas is found in the history of Hāḍu-haḷḷi or Hāḍaḷḷi or Sangītapura, the capital of the Sāluvas, which was within Tuḷuva in the olden days. Legend relates that a king of the Coḷamaṇḍalam lost all his children by snake-bite, and coming to the village of Hāḍaḷḷi, his queen was delivered of a son who was immediately bitten by a snake. Just then a Brahman, skilled in the use of *mantras* for curing snake-bites, forced the snake to suck back the poison, whereupon the child recovered. The Coḷa king built the temple of Coḷīśvara at Bhaṭṭakaḷa to commemorate that event.[1]

The inter-connection between the people of the Tamil country and the Tuḷuvas during these ages is further borne out by the history of the immigrant classes of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam among whom the Tuḷuva Vellāḷers figure prominently. These Tuḷuva Vellāḷers formed by far the greater body of the settlers who were induced to remain and bring the whole of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam province under cultivation. Special previleges were given to the Tuḷuva Vellāḷers, *e.g.*, the *kāṇiyam*, *mēriś* (*mirāśi*), and other rights, still enjoyed by their descendants. It was Ādoṇḍai Cakra-

1. Burgess-Cousens, *Revised List of Ant. Remains*, p. 194. Hāḍaḷḷi lies 11 miles E. N. E. of Bhaṭkaḷ.

varti who conferred these privileges on them. Of those who held the *mirāśi* rights down to the other day, the Tuḷuva Vellāḷers formed the majority.[1]

The legendary notices of the Coḷa interference in Tuḷuva affairs are less reliable than the information supplied by the inscriptions. The success of the Tuḷuva arms under Bankideva Ālupendradeva in the Seven Male and the Seven Kombu may have been partly responsible for a recrudescence of Coḷa aggression in the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D. This is inferred from a record dated A.D. 1086 which relates that Rāja Kesarivarmā Kulottunga Coḷa Deva's great conquests extended as far as the middle Sayyam (Sahya) where furious rutting elephants were captured.[2] More details concerning the subjugation of middle Sayyam are not available. The Ālupa ruler, who was a contemporary of Kulottunga Coḷa Deva, according to our estimate, was Udayādityarasa Pāṇḍya Paṭṭiga Deva Oḍeya.

6. THE PĀṆḌYAS OF MADURA AND THE ĀLUPAS

The Pāṇḍyan accounts inform us that one Neḍuñjceḷiyan or Neḍuñjeḻiyan, styled by some the II of that name, led a victorious expedition into the Cera land, and that he captured the sea port of Mutthu Vellil from a tribe called "Tholuvar", together with the famous emporium of Śaliyur in the Gulf of Mannar.[3]

1. Ellis, cited by Wilson, *Mac. Coll.*, I. pp. 190-191.
2. *E. C.* IX. Cp. 76, p. 147.
3. Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils 1800 Years ago*, p. 84.

The name "Tholuvar", is strikingly similar to the name Tuḷuvar but nothing beyond this can be said concerning the extension of the Pāṇḍya arms into Tuḷuva. The figure of Neḍuñjeḻiyan himself is still enveloped in mystery.[1] And nothing definite is known of the activities of the early Pāṇḍyan rulers.

When we come to the ninth century A.D., however, we meet with a few details concerning the Pāṇḍyan kings and Tuḷuva. The Vēḻvikkuḍi plates relate that Arikesari Asamasamam Māṟavarman conquered the Kerala country several times at the strongly fortified town of Puliyūr. The same grant informs us that his son Śaḍaiyan Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra, who had the title of *Madu-Karnāṭaka*, at the great city called Mangaḷāpura where the peacock danced with the cuckoo near tanks perfumed with opening flowers, attacked and destroyed the Maraṭṭas.[2]

The age of the Pāṇḍyan ruler Śaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra is unsettled.[3] If Arikesarivarman Parānkuśa Māṟavar-

1. It is surprising that one does not find the name Tholuvar in Mr. Nilkantha Sastri's book *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*. On the different Neḍuñjeliyans, read *ibid*, pp. 21, 26–28, and *ibid*, (n.) 29, 35, 253.

2. Krishna Sastri, *E. I.* XVII, pp. 291, 298.

3. Mr. Nilakanta Sastri writes thus:—"He must have succeeded his father at the end of the seventh century A.D. or early in the eighth." (*The Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 55). The date given to this ruler as well as to his father Arikesarivarman Parānkuśa, who "must have come to the throne some time after the middle of the seventh century "670–710 A.D." (*ibid*, p. 51)—these statements are purely imaginary. First, we shall take the argument which Mr. Sastri utilizes to arrive at the date A.D. 670–710 for Arikesarivarman Parānkuśa. This is based on the date given to Parānkuśa's father Śendan or Jayantavarman. "The

man is to be placed in A.D. 783, his son Śaḍaiyan Kōcc-aḍaiyan Raṇadhīra may reasonably be assigned to A. D. 800. What precisely is meant by the peacocks which danced with the cuckoos cannot be made out. Probably there is some reference here to the emblems and

rule of Śendan or Jayantavarman who succeeded his father Mārva-varman may be taken to have extended over, say, A.D. 654-670". *Ibid*, p. 50. Thus Mr. Sastri starts with a guess and ends in a conjecture ! The erroneous nature of Mr. Sastri's conclusion will be evident when we determine the date for Arikesarivarman Parānkuśa Māravarman. About this ruler Mr. Sastri writes thus:—"There is good reason for identifying this Arikesari Parānkuśa Māravarman with the celebrated Kūn Pāṇḍya of legend, and the contemporary of the Śaiva saint Tirugnānasambandar". *Ibid*, p. 53. He bases his conjectures on the *Periyapurāṇam*. "These indications derived from the stories handed down in the *Periyapurāṇam* seem to confirm the system of chronology we have adopted for the Pāṇḍyas of this period." *Ibid*, p. 54.

But the *Periyapurāṇam* is not the only authority on which one may base one's remarks. There are the Jaina and the Kannaḍa writers to be consulted before we can postulate any such theory like the one maintained by Mr. Sastri. Even if we accept Mr. Sastri's conjecture that Arikesarivarman Parānkuśa was no other than king Kūn Pāṇḍya of the legend, we arrive at the following:—Kūn Pāṇḍya was one of the names of the Pāṇḍyan ruler called Kubja Pāṇḍya, Kundumara, or Dīrghamara, or Sundara Pāṇḍya. This ruler was the husband of Queen Maṅgāyī Akkā of Madhura, the daughter of the Coḷa king Inu-Kulottuṅga Coḷa. (Here we may by the way note that Mr. Sastri admits this:—"...there is nothing improbable in the story that the Pāṇḍyan queen of this period was a Coḷa princess." *Ibid*, p. 54). Kūn Pāṇḍya was called Sundara Pāṇḍya on his being healed and converted from Jainism into Śaivism.

Now, Piḷḷe Nāyanār was a Śiva-*vipra* (*i.e.*, an Ārādhya Brahman) of Śrikalinagari. He had converted king Inu-Kulottuṅga Coḷa into Śaivism, and had won victories over the Jainas and the Buddhists at Tirumarkkada and Tiruvalava. Then under the name of Jñanasa-mandhar—the Tirujñānasamandhar of the Tamil texts—he had gone to the court of Queen Maṅgāyī Akkā of Madhura where, as related above, he converted Kūn Pāṇḍya into Śaivism from Jainism. The

flags of the Ālupa rulers about which no direct evidence is forthcoming in history. The late Mr. Krishna Sastri rightly identified the Maṇgaḷāpura of the above inscription with Mangalore in Tuḷuva.[1]

But the word Marattas deserves to be explained. This could not have referred to the Marāṭhas of later

18,000 Jainas whom he had defeated were impaled on red hot *śūlas* which Kulacchāri, the Queen Maṅgāyī Akkā's Śaiva guardian, had prepared. Piḷḷe Nāyanār or Jñānasambandhar was, we may incidentally note, the teacher of Vāgīśa or Tiruvāgīśa. These details are gathered from the Kannaḍa works *Cenna Basava Purāṇa* (55, 33, 34), the *Basava Purāṇa* (50, 25, 4 ; 11, 15, 16 ; 9, 48), the *Prauḍha Rāya Carite* (Ch. 18), and *Rājaśekharavilāsa*, (I, 77, 78-88), which range from A.D. 1369 till A.D. 1655. (*Karnāṭaka Kavi Carite,* I. p. 424 ; II. pp. 305, 307, 442). It may be objected that their evidence is, therefore, not of much use in determining the date of Kūn Pāṇḍya. But it may be observed here that these Kannaḍa authors faithfully preserved the traditions current in their times, and that, therefore, some reliance may be placed on their statements.

Having learnt something about Kūn Pāṇḍya and the great saint Jñānasambandhar from the Kannaḍa sources, we may now turn our attention to the Jaina writers for determining the date of that ruler. Kūn Pāṇḍya was the contemporary of Jinasenācārya, the author of *Bṛhadharivaṁśa* of Śaka 705. (*Mys. Archl. Rept. for 1925*, p. 102). Therefore, Kūn Pāṇḍya may definitely be placed in A.D. 783.

Mr. Sastri says that Arikesarivarman Parānkuśa Māravarman was the same as the "celebreted Kūn Pāṇḍya of legend, and the contemporary of the Śaiva saint Tirugnānasambandhar." *The Pāṇḍya Kingdom* p. 53, op. cit. If that is, so, then, on Mr. Sastri's own estimate we may place Arikesarivarman Māravarman in A.D. 783. Therefore, the whole edifice which Mr. Sastri has built concerning what he calls "the Age of the First Empire" collapses. We thus find that Mr. Venkayya's assertion (*Ep. Rept. for 1907*, para. 20) that Arikesari Parānkuśa may be assigned to the eighth century A.D.. is more correct. On p. 51 n. (1). Mr. Sastri has vainly endeavoured to demolish Venkayya's arguments. B. A. S.

1. *E. I.* XVII. p. 298. Mr. Nilakanta Sastri follows him. *Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 55.

history. The identification of the Maraṭṭas can only be solved when we examine the Tuḷuva-Rāṣṭrakūṭa relations. The part played by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas will presently be explained. Here we may note that in the reign of Prabhūtavārṣa Govida III, the Rāṣṭrakūta king, an Ālupa feudatory was punished with the forfeiture of a part of his territory. The reason is obvious: on the failure of the Ālupa ruler (Citravāhana II) to carry out the imperial order against Śaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa viceroy, no doubt at the instance of the emperor, became angry and sent a general against the Ālupa king. What exactly were the reasons which made the Ālupa king give lukewarm support to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa cause, we are unable to determine. It may be that the hostility of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to the Western Cālukyas between whom and the Ālupas there had been such good relations for centuries, had something to do with failure of the Ālupa ruler to carry our the imperial commands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch. Whatever that may be, Śaḍaiyan Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra, who had attacked and destroyed the Maraṭṭas, *i. e.* the Mahā-Rāṣṭrakūṭas, in the city of Mangaḷāpura, seems to have secured the title of *Madu-Karnāṭaka* for having defeated an essentially Karnāṭaka army in a town that was under a Karnāṭaka dynasty.

We thus find that the age we have assigned for Śaḍaiyan Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra agrees perfectly well with the date of the Ālupa king Citravāhana II-*viz.*, A.D. circa 800. Hence the episode of Śaḍaiyan is valu-

able in bringing order out of what was nothing but chaos in the history of the Pāṇḍyan rulers Arikesari Parānkuśa Māṟavarman and his son Śaḍaiyan. The following synchronism may here be noted :—

Pāṇḍya	Ālupa	Rāṣṭrakūṭa
Arikesari Parānkuśa Māṟavarman (A.D. 783)	Vijayāditya (A.D. 750–770)	Dhruva Nirū-pama I (A.D. 750)
Śaḍaiyan Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra (circa A.D. 794–800)	Citravāhana II (circa A.D. 800)	Govinda III Prabhūtavarṣa (A.D. 794–814)

Moreover, the Vēḻvikkuḍi grant is also important in determining the date when Mangaḷāpura became a provincial capital. We remarked above that Kundavarmarasa II had the image of god Lokeśvara installed at Kadirikā in A.D. 967. The Vēḻvikkudi plates enable us to assert that Mangaḷāpura was a great city in A.D. 800. It must have been selected as the provincial capital in the days of Kundavarmarasa II for political reasons enumerated elsewhere in this treatise.

7. THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬAS AND THE ĀLUPAS

The age of Tamil aggrandizement in Tuḷuva was eventful so far as the history of the Ālupas was concerned. This brings us to the elucidation of the happenings in A.D. 800, concerning the Ālupa ruler Citravāhana II. A few words about the Rāṣṭrakūṭas are

necessary in order to understand better the spirited resistance made by the Ālupa ruler. In the eighth century A.D. the Rāṣṭrakūṭas led by Dhruva Nirūpama, father of Prabhūtavarṣa Govinda III, had caused consternation in ihe Karnāṭaka kingdom by imprisoning the Ganga king Śivamāra, and by extending the Raṣṭrakūṭa arms into the Pallava, Gauḍa and Mārwār territories.[1] Dhruva Nirūpama had but carried out the imperialistic designs of his father Kṛṣṇa I Kannara Akālavārṣa, who had broken the power of Western Cālukyas.[2] We have seen that the Ālupas had been the feudatories of the Western Cālukyas for nearly two centuries. It is but natural that the Ālupas should have resisted the claims of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas when the latter now proclaimed their suzerainty over the Cālukya empire.

This alone explains the following stone epigraph, found in the *basti* Hittalu, Māvaḷigrāma, Sohrab taluka, Mysore State, which pictures Citravāhana II as a rebel. The incription is not dated. It relates that when Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarasa was ruling the whole world bounded by the four oceans under the shadow of his sole white umbrella, and Rājāditya was ruling the Banavase country as far as the ocean, Citravāhana ruling the Āḷuvakheḍa Six Thousand , not listening to orders, Kolli Pallava Noḷamba being angry, at the bidding of Noḷambarāditya, that Kākarāsa arose, and throwing the

1. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, pp. 68-9. Read also Altekar. *The Rastrakutas and their Times*, p. 54.
2. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.*, p. 33.

Perruggunji fort into confusion, the brave warriors of both the armies eagerly came out, and "bow closing with bow, horse with horse, a most exciting battle arose. Seeing Citiavāhana on the right hand fighting as if overpowered, he ordered Kulamudda (called in another record *rājapuli* [royal tiger], and son of Āridara Poleyamma of Māyile), saying 'you go and fight on this hand', who, accepting it as a favour, closed in, fought, brought down the enemy's pride, put them to headlong flight, and defeated that hand. He himself and many ohers shooting arrows and approching close, were caught up as in a cage of arrows and fell, as Bhīṣma fell, without touching the ground."[1]

The identification of the Rājāditya mentioned above enables us to fix the date of Citravāhana II who was his contemporary, and incidentally to substantiate our surmise concerning the date assigned to the Pāṇḍyan king Śaḍaiyan Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra. Rājāditya Rāja Parmeśvara is said to have ruled over Banavase Twelve Thousand under king Jagatunga. This record is not dated.[2] But we know from other records that Jagatunga was the name of Prabhūtavarṣa Govinda III

1. *E.C.* VIII. Sb. 10, pp. 2–3, text, p. 5 ; Sb. 6, p. 2. Dr. Altekar distorts Āḷvakheḍa into Alurkheda of which he makes Citravāhana "Commissioner" ! And he assigns this record to A.D. 797. ***Rastrakutas and their Times***, p. 174. Concerning Kulamudda we may note that both Āridara Poleyamma and after him Kulamudda are mentioned under Ereyammarasa who was placed over the Banavasenāḍ in circa A.D. 800 in the reign of Govinda III. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 9, op. cit. B. A. S.

2. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 22, p. 5.

whose earliest date is A.D. 794.[1] We know too from the Manne plates dated A.D.802 that in the early years of Govinda III's reign, he was too much engrossed, first, in quelling a confederacy of twelve kings headed by Stambha or Kambha or Śauca Kambhȧ Deva, Raṇāvaloka, and then in interfering in the affairs of the Gangas, and, finally, in driving away the Gujjara, in receiving the submission of Mārasrava in the Vindhyas, in encamping on the Tungabhadrā on the island of Rāmeśvaratīrtha where the Pallava king paid up in full the tribute that was in arrears, and in witnessing there sports with boars.[2] It cannot be that Govinda III thought of punishing the Ālupa ruler when his mind was thus distracted by more urgent needs. Hence during the first five or six years of his reign, it is probable that neither Govinda III nor his viceroy Rājāditya placed over Banavase Twelve Thousand turned his attention to the affairs in the Ālupa kingdom. We may, therefore, assign the inscription relating to the viceroyalty of Rājāditya over that province to A.D. 800. The statements that he was ruling "the Banavase country as far as the ocean[2]", and that Citravāhana, who is said to have ruled over the Āḷvakheḍa Six Thousand, and who "not listening to orders", headed a rebellion, clearly prove the subordinate position of the latter. Rice is, therefore, justified in assigning this inscription to A.D. 800.

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1. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 67.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 69-70.

But Rice supposes that Rājādityarasa was the son of Kolli Pallava Noḷamba, the Kolliyarasa of the Gānjam plates.[1] And he also asserts that Noḷambarādityarasa was advised by his father Kolli Pallava (in the exercise of his paternal authority) to attack Citravāhana, and to reduce him to obedience.[2] But this is a gratuitous assumption, since there is nothing in the inscription to show that Kolli Pallava Noḷamba advised his son Rājāditya to punish Citravāhana. If any supposition can be hazarded at all, it is the one we have ventured to give above concerning the attack on Mangaḷāpura by the Pāṇḍyan ruler Śaḍaiyan Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra, and the failure on the part of the Ālupa king Citravāhana II to carry out the imperial orders at the bidding of the Banavase viceroy Rājāditya.[3]

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1. *E.C.* IV. Intr. p. 10. But see *E.C.* III. Intr. p. 3 where Rice makes Kolli Pallava Noḷambārāditya himself !

2. *E.C.* IV. *ibid*.

3. We may mention here a copper plate grant found at Kaḍaba. It was issued from Mayūrakhaṇḍi and is dated Monday the 24th A.D. 812 ; and it refers to the grant made by the same Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Govinda III, at the request of a Ganga chief Cāgiraja to a Jaina sage Arakīrti, disciple of Vijayakīrti. The only point that may be noted so far as the history of Tuḷuva is concerned, is the fact that the above grant was found at Kaḍaba which was one of the four famous centres of Brahmanism in Tuḷuva, and which then must have formed a part of Tuḷuva. Now it is in the Tumkur district of the Mysore State. *I. A.* XII. pp. 11, 13 ; XXIV. p. 9 ; *E. I.* IV. pp. 332-40 ; Kielhorn, *List.* No. 66, p. 11 ; Rangachari, *Top. List.* II. No. 300, p. 876. There is also a placed called Kaḍaba in the Puttūr tāluka, South Kanara. B. A. S.

8. THE ŚĀNTARAS AND TUḶUVA

The following *viragal* was found in Udayāvara: *svasti Sri S'āntararaāḷu Medumānan illi eridu vīldān* [1]. It merely relates that Medumānan, the *āḷu* or servant (*i. e.*, soldier) of Śāntara, having fought fell in Udayāvara. This hero memorial stone has to be explained from the point of view of Ālupa history.

The *vīragal* in question cannot be dated to the end of the seventh century A.D., since it does not contain the earliest variant of the name Śāntara-*Cānta* [2]. But it has to be referred to about the ninth century A. D. when Jinadatta Rāya founded the Śāntara kingdom. The following arguments will make our point clear:—

With Jīnadatta Rāya the Cāntas or the Śāntaras, who were of the Ugra-*vaṁśa*, worshippers of the goddess Padmāvatī, boon lords of northern Madhura, appear for the first time in the Nagar tāluka with Paṭṭi Pombuccha as their capital [3]. Now, we know that till the end of eighth century A. D., that city was under the Ālupas. The fact that Jīnadatta Rāya made it his capital suggests that he wrested it from the Ālupas somewhere in the ninth century A. D. [4]. Not content with making Paṭṭi Pombuccha their own, the Śāntaras made an attack on the capital of Āḷvakheḍa itself-Udayāvara-thereby showing the vigour which characterized the Śāntaras and the utter helplessness of the Ālupas. This supposition of ours is proved by the

1. *108 of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 294, p. 146.
2–4. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 138.

non-appearance of the name Paṭṭi Pombuccha-henceforth lost to the Ālupas—in the Ālupa records after the ninth century A.D. It is not surprising that Paṭṭi Pombuccha was lost to the Ālupas: the Tamil menace from the south, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa trouble in the north, and the aggressive designs of Jīnadatta Rāya from over the Ghats—all these explain the blank in the history of the Ālupas after Citravāhana II for about 120 years.[1]

To this period of confusion (A. D. 800–A. D. 920) may be assigned another undated *vīragal* which was found in the Durgā temple at Hosahoḷalu near Bārakūru. It narrates the following:—*svasti S'rī-Bārakanūralu* (*Tu*) *yyana* (*ta*) *mmaṇana kāḷagaḷ* (*du*) *ṭṭa* (*kāram*) *nūṅki sattaṃ Ariya* (*cu*)-(*Āycevu*) *ṇḍana* (*va*) *ra maidunaṅga Āriya Cāvuṇḍa maidunaṅgaḷu Mallaṇa duṭṭa-kāra kal-naṭṭu vageyu.*[2] The *vīragal* informs us that in the fight with wicked people (*duṭṭa kāram*), (Tu) yya's brother (Mallaṇa ?) fell. The worthy (Āriya-Ārya) Ayceuṇḍa's brother-in-law the worthy Cāvuṇḍa erected the *vīragal*, and gave war-relief (*kal-naṭṭu*) to the relatives of the deceased.[3]

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1. The aggressive nature of the Śāntara attacks is seen in many records of the times. Thus, an inscription dated about A.D. 930 or earlier, relates that under Bīra Noḷamba of the Pallava-*kula*, "rising up against Śāntara", Baṭṭamarasa died fighting. *E. C.* X. Sp. 64, p. 281. The date given to Jīnadatta Rāya—*circa* 8th century A.D.—by Rice (*E. C.* VIII. p. 8) has, therefore, to be abandoned. B. A. S.

2. *181 of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 388, p. 245.

3. On *kal-naṭṭu*, see *E. C.* XII. Mi. 71, p. 111. This is dated *circa* A.D. 920.

The following may be noted in regard to the above *vīragal*:—Bārakūru is called merely *S'rī-Bārakanūr* which is undoubtedly the oldest and the most correct rendering of the name, the variant Bārahakanyāpura being a later invention. The name Bārahakanyāpura, as we have already remarked, appears only in the reign of king Dattāḷpendra (A.D. 959). Hence this *vīragal* has to be assigned to an earlier age.

Evidence from the writings of Arab travellers and from epigraphs confirms our assertion that Bārakanūr was the earliest and the most trustworthy form of the name. Rashīd-ud-Dīn, who completed his work *Jami-ut-Tawārīk* in A. D. 1310, notices the following important ports of Tuḷuva:—"Of the cities of the shore the first is Sindabūr, then Fakanūr, then the country of Manjarūr...".[1] Although Rashīd-ud-Dīn wrote in the first quarter of the fourteenth century A. D., yet his book may be considered for all practical purposes, as a work which presents "a picture of the Mussulman knowledge of India at the end of the 10th century".[2] Rashīd-ud-Dīn's Fakanūr is a correct rendering of the Bārakanūr of the above *vīragal*. The testimony of this Arab traveller may be taken to prove that to the foreigners Bārakūru was always known by its real name Bārakanūr, and not by its later variant Bārahakanyāpura.

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1. Elliot-Dawson, *History of India as told by her own Historians*, I. p. 68 ; *JRAS* for 1870, pp. 342-345.
2. Elliot-Dawson, *ibid*, p. 42.

Three inscriptions dated A. D. 1129, A. D. 1140, and a third one dated about A. D. 1141, to be cited in a later context in connection with the conquest of Tuḷuva by the great Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, give uniformly the name of the city as Bārakanūr. This proves beyond doubt that in the first half of the twelfth century, and earlier perhaps, Bārakanūr was the popular name of the city.

The wicked people (*duṭṭa-kāram*) have now to be identified. They were no other than the Śāntaras whose *āḷu* had already caused some commotion, as narrated above.

In this connection we may note that one of the *birudas* of Kundavarmarasa, as given in the inscription on the pedestal of the Lokeśvara image at Kadirikā dated A.D. 967, already cited in the earlier pages, is the following:—*dattāṃ bhuvā* (*vam*) *nirākṛtya balāt viśvāsa-ghātinaṃ rājyam sva-bhu*(*ja*)*vīryeṇa gṛhītaṃ yena māninā.*[1]. The treacherous enemy referred to in the above passage could have been only the Śāntaras, who may have taken shelter in the Ālupa kingdom under pretexts not known to us. Since they had caused trouble both in Udayāvara and Bārakūru, it is possible that the Ālupa ruler shifted his capital to Mangaḷūru which was far removed from the Śāntara attack.

If the above considerations are admitted, then, the *vīragal* under review may be assigned to the middle of the ninth century A.D.

1. *27 B of 1901*, op. cit.

The importance of the above two *vīragals* and the Kadirikā record is, therefore, not only that one of them gives us the true name of a provincial capital of the Ālupas, but that they prove that in the ninth century A.D., the Śāntaras had extended their influence to Udayāvara, Bārakūru, and perhaps even to Mangaḷūru as well.

The Śāntaras having thus proved dangerous, a remedy had to be discovered by which the Ālupas could put an end to their depredations. This they found in marriage alliances. The dynastic connection between the Ālupas and the Śāntaras is best seen in reference to the two Ālupa rulers Raṇañjaya and Bankideva. From the genealogical list of the Śāntaras as given by Rice we take the following:—One of the Śāntara kings who created the Śāntalige Thousand into a separate kingdom was Hiraṇyagarbha Vikrama Śāntara, *Kandukācārya*, *Dānavinoda*. He is placed after many sons who had ruled after Raṇakeśin. Hiraṇyagarbha married Lakṣmī Devī, daughter of the Banavasi king Kāma Deva. Their son was Cāgi Śāntara who married the daughter of Āḷva Raṇañjaya, called Eñjala Devī. Long after Cāgi Śāntara had ruled over the Śāntaḷige Thousand, there came Ammaṇa Deva who married Hōcala (Hoysala) Devī. By her he had two children—a daughter named Bīrabbarasi, and a son called Tailpa Deva. Bīrabbarasi was given in marriage to Banki Āḷva ; Tailapa Deva married Banki Āḷva's younger sister called Mankabbarasi. Tailapa's second

queen was Kaleyabbarasi, daughter of the Ganga king Pāleya Deva. By her Tailapa Deva had three children-the eldest Bīra Deva, also called Biruga and Vīra Śāntara; the second Śingi Deva; and the third named Barmma Deva. Biruga Vīra Śāntara married three wives—the first named Bijjala Devī, daughter of the Noḷamba Narasiṅga Deva, the second Acala (or Būcala) Devī, daughter of the king Āḷva, and the third known as Vīra Mahādevī, younger sister of Caṭṭaḷa Devi, and daughter of Rakkasa Gaṅga.[1]

We are concerned here with the identification of Āḷva Raṇañjaya, Banki Āḷva, and the Āḷva king whose daughter Acala (Būcala) Devī was given in marriage to Biruga Vīra Śāntara (*Aḷvara magaḷ Acala Dēviyaru...*). The date of the last named Śāntara ruler may be settled thus:—we have nine inscriptions of a Trailokyamalla Vīra Śāntara Deva ranging from A.D. 1060 to A.D. 1070.[2] He is to be identified with Biruga Vīra Śāntara. His first two sons were called Bhujabala and Nanni. Now a Bhujabala occurs in a record dated A.D. 1066, and a Nanni in A.D. 1077.[3] An inscription of about A.D. 1070 records the death of Vīra Śāntara.[4] Another inscription mentions the father of Bhujabala with the titles Bīra Deva, king Biruga.[5]

1. Rice, *E.C.* VIII. Intr. p. 6. seq. See also Nr. 35, Tl. 192, Sa. 159, of A.D. 1077, 1103, and 1159 respectively, pp. 122–3, 133–138, 203.
2. *E.C.* VII. Sk. 63, p. 54. See also *ibid* Sk. 46, Sk. 62, pp. 50, 53-4; *E.C.* VIII. Nr. 47, 48, 63, 70, 71, pp. 150–151, 155, 159.
3. *E.C.* VIII. Nr. 59, p. 154; Nr. 35, p. 133.
4. *Ibid*, VII. Sk. 62, p. 53.
5. *Ibid*, VIII. Nr. 38, p. 143.

One of the queens of Biruga Vīra Śāntara was Bijjala Devī, the daughter of Noḷamba Narasinga Deva. The latter is mentioned as ruling over Kadambaḷige Thousand in A.D. 1051, and over the Kogali Five Hundred together with the Kadambaḷige Thousand in A.D. 1054.[1] These records clearly prove that Narasiṅga Deva and Biruga Vīra Śāntara were contemporaries.

Birgua Vīra Śāntara's date may also be determined from the point of view of his third queen Vīra Mahādevi. She is called the younger sister of Caṭṭaḷa Devī, daughter of Rakkasa Gaṅga. Here the epithet *daughter* should be understood as *grand daughter*. The Gaṅga king Śrīpuruṣa slew a Kāḍuveṭṭi in battle in about A.D. 750, and Rakkasa Ganga's grand daughter Caṭṭala Devī was married to a Kāḍuveṭṭi in about A.D. 1050 when she obtained the title of *Kāḍava Mahādevī*.[2] The Caṭṭala Devī mentioned in the above grant could only have been the same Caṭṭala Devī spoken of in the Śāntara genealogy. This again conclusively proves that the date assigned to Biruga Vīra Śāntara—A.D. 1060- is correct.

On the strength of the above deductions we may place queen Acala Devī's father Āḷva ten years before

1. *E. C.* XI. Hk. 65, p. 123 ; Jl. 10, p. 85.

2. *Ibid*, X. Intr. p. xxi ; *Ibid*, VIII. Nr. 35, p. 133, seq. Rakkasa Ganga's date is A.D. 984. A record of his reign relates that Puḷiga ruled over the Noḷambavāḍi Thirty-two Thousand, under Rakkasa Ganga, in *circa* A.D. 985. (*E. C.* X. Sp. 58, p. 280). This damaged record proves that the Noḷambavāḍi was under Rakkasa Ganga. The enmity of the Śāntaras and the Noḷambas may have been responsib le for the dynastic alliance between the former and the Gangas who were the enemies of the Noḷambas. Read Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, pp. 56, 57, 139. B. A. S.

the first date of Biruga Vīra Śāntara, *viz.*, in A.D. 1050. The Āḷva was no other than Banki Āḷva who married Bīrabbarasi, and who gave his younger sister Mankabbarasi in marriage to his own brother-in-law Tailapa Deva. According to our calculations, he could have been no other than Bankideva Ālupendradeva I. We may note here that Bīrabbarasi became the chief queen of Bankideva Ālupendradeva:— *ā Bīraladevī Bankiyāḷvaṅge mahā-deviy-ādaḷ.*

A difficulty arises here : if Āḷva, the father of Acala Devī, was the same as Banki Āḷva, the brother of Mankabbarasi, how can the marriage of Biruga Vīra Śāntara with the same Ālupa ruler's daughter be explained ? Such marriages are permissible by what is known as *sōdarike*, *viz.*, the marriage of one's own daughter with one's own nephew.

We may mention here one detail found in the Someśvara temple inscription of Bankideva Ālupendradeva, cited already in the previous pages. This defaced and undated inscription contains the following:— "..*tyāga-(da) kaṇiyum-āgi Sāntaḷi sāyiramam eka c(ch)attra-cchāyayim rājyam-geyyuttam Koṅkaṇa-bhayaṅkaram Malepa(kū)..*"[1] What precisely is meant by *kaṇiyum-āgi* and by the word Malepa, and how far the assertion that the Śāntalige Thousand was under the sole umbrella of Bankideva Ālupendradeva, we are unable to say.[2] But it is probable that the Ālupas under Bankideva Ālupendradeva

1. *136 of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 327, p. 178.
2. *Supra* Ch. III. Sec. 5.

were becoming powerful not only to ward off the aggressive designs of the Coḷas,, but also to cast over the Śāntaḷige Thousand their sway for some time. Indeed, the *birudas* of Bankideva Ālupendradeva given in an earlier connection, strengthen the belief that that ruler had ushered in a new era in the history of the Ālupas. The Śāntara-Ālupa alliance was meant perhaps to guard the interests of both against the Hoysalas, who had by this time assumed the *role* of imperialists. Only in this way can we explain the word Malepa occurring in the above inscription.

The date of Bankideva Ālupendradeva and of his contemporaries Biruga Vīra Śāntara and Narasiṅga Deva being thus settled, we may now proceed to work backwards in order to reach the date of Āḷva Raṇañjaya whose daughter Eñjala Devī was given in marriage to Cāgi Śāntara (*ātaṅgam Āḷvara* [*Ra*] *ṇañjayana magaḷ Eñjala Deviyaram*). Between Cāgi Śāntara and Biruga Vīra Śāntara we have seven Śāntara rulers. If we assign twenty years to every one of them, we reach A. D. 920 for Cāgi Śāntara, and, therefore, for Āḷva Raṇañjaya.[1]

1. This date may be verified by examining the date of Adiyūr Śāntivarmā, the father of Jakkala Devī who was given in marriage to Vīra Śāntara, the son of Cāgi Śāntara. If we identify the Śāntivarmā mentioned above with the Śāntivarmā spoken of in connection with the brave deeds of one of his subjects, then, Vīra Śāntara may be placed in *circa* A.D. 940. Śāntivarmā would then have to be placed in A.D. 940 and not in A.D. 991, as done by Rice, *My. & Coorg*. p. 186.

We do not know whether the event mentioned in the following undated inscription has to be referred to the times of Āḷva Raṇañjaya.

After the dynastic alliance with the Śāntaras, the name Pāṇḍya appears more frequently among Ālupa names. We have seen that Pṛthvīsāgara (A.D. 730-750) had the name *Uttama Pāṇḍya*. How the Ālupa rulers from Pṛthvīsāgara onwards came to append the surname Pāṇḍya is a detail which cannot be satisfactorily explained for the present. It cannot be that the Ālupas borrowed that name either from Śāntaras. who do not figure at all in the eighth century in the neighbourhood of Tuḷuva, or from the Pāṇḍyas of Madura, who had no direct dealings with the Ālupa rulers in that age.

The most substantial gain which the Ālupas received from the dynastic connection mentioned above was the friendship of the Śāntara rulers who now appear more frequently on the scene in Tuḷuva. We shall restrict ourselves to three stone inscriptions which enable us to assert that the Śantaras had planted firmly their feet on Tuḷuva soil. The first of these records was found in the Pañcalingeśvara temple at Kōṭakēṟi in Bārakūru. We give the inscription in full since it has to be located in Ālupa history.

This record narrates that when Satyavākya Koṅguṇivarmā Dharma Mahārāja, boon lord of Kuvalālapura, lord of Nandagiri, śrīmat Permmānaḍi was ruling, (he) gave the *kalnāḍ* of Beḷgali to Kankayya for piercing Bāva, the *nāḷ-prabhu* of Āḷvanāḍ who had attacked the Gaṅga seat (*āsana*). (*E. C.* V. Ag. 35, p. 251). The inscription is undated, but Rice has assigned it to about A.D. 930. It cannot be made out whether the Āḷvanāḍ refers to Āḷvakheḍa Six Thousand, or to the territories of the other minor families whose name also ended in Āḷva. Neither is more information forthcoming about the person called Bāva who attacked the Gaṅga seat. B. A. S.

It opens with figure of a *cakra* and with *svasti*, and proceeds to narrate the title of the chieftain thus :— *samadhigata pañca-mahāśabda mahāmaṇḍaleśvaram-Uttara-Madhura-adhīśvaram Paṭṭi-Pombuccha-puravar-adhīśvaram mahā-ugra-vaṁśa-lalāmam Padumāvati-Deviya lu(a)bdhavara-prāsāda-sādhitam vipuḷa-tulā-puruṣa-hiraṇya-dāni-dāna Vāna-ra-dhvajamam mṛga-rāja-lāñcchanam Keśava-(yira)ritya sa-kaḷa-jana-stutya nīti-śāstra-ni(ratarum) Kaṅduka-ācārya-mandā radhairyanum (śrīmū)rtti-Nārāyaṇa Kīrti-pārāyaṇaṃ śrīmatu Viśvanātha-dēvara-dibya śrī-pāda-padma-āradhyakarum para-baḷasādhakarum-appa Pailana-baḷiya Vīra Jagadevarasaru śrīmatu Paṭṭamahādeviyarum Pāṇḍya-devarasarum sthira-si-mhāsanadim sukha-saṅkathā-vinodadim rājyam geyuttam-irdda kāladalli Bārahaknyāpurada haravariya nagira hañjamāna-vo-lagadōḷ-irdda-ā sannidhānadalu Kabūra-haravariyoḷage śrīmatu Mārkaṇḍeśvara dēvara vāmabhāgada Mahādevarige naivēdya-kke eradu koṭṭa bhūmi hullu...kuva gadde nālgaṇḍugedalu bitt-uva bede-geṇalu mūḍe 90...*[1]

The Government Epigraphist (Mr. Venkoba Rao) wrote the following in connection with the above record :—"A certain Pāṇḍyadevarasa has been mentioned as a joint ruler with Jagadevarasa; but we cannot say who these chiefs were."[2]

Our concern lies in identifying the Vīra Jagadevarasa mentioned in the above inscription together with the queen and the ruler Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva, and in fixing the inscription in Ālupa history. We shall first begin

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1. *175 of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 380, pp. 235–6.
2. *Ep. Rept. for 1926–7*, pp. 108–9.

with the *birudas* given to the chieftain Vīra Jagadevarasa. He has a string of *birudas* of which we select the most representative ones: *samadhigata pañca-mahāśabda mahāmaṇḍaleśvaram, Uttara-Madhurādhīśvarum, Paṭṭi-Pombuccha-puravar-adhīśvarum, Mahā-Ugra-vaṁśa-lalāmam Padumavātī-dēviya-labdha-vara-prāsāda-sādhitam. ... Vānara dhvajamam, mṛga-rāja-lāñcchnamam...para-baḷa sādhhakarum.* These were essentially Śāntara titles.[1]

Now, we have many Jagadevas in Karnāṭaka history. Of these we identify the Vīra Jagadevarasa mentioned in the above Kōṭekēṟi record with the Jagadeva spoken of in an inscription dated A.D. 1104 as having attacked Dorasamudra, and as having been driven off by Ballāḷa Rāya I and by his brother Biṭṭiga Deva in the same year.[2] He is the same Jagadeva who is described as one of the feudatories of the Western Cālukya monarch Jagadekamalla II. He appears in A.D. 1149-50 as governing from Setu which Rice has located in Kanara (*i.e.*, Tuḷuva). Obviously after the disaster which he suffered at Dorasamudra in A.D. 1104 when his attack on the Hoysala capital had failed, and his treasury together with the central ornament of his necklace had fallen into the Hoysala hands, he had moved down to Tuḷuva where he secured the alliance of the Ālupa ruler Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra and established a principality at Setu.[3]

1. Cf. The Śāntara titles in *E. C.* VIII. Nr. 35, p. 133 Seq. *Mys. & Coorg.* pp. 138, 140.

2-3. Rice, *My. & Coorg.* pp. 99, 140. Fleet makes him ruler of Paṭṭi Pombucchapura. *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 53. (n), 66. For other

It may be noted that in the above inscription from Kōṭekēṛi Vīra Jagadevarasa, who had secured (completely) the right to use the five great instruments (*pañca-mahā-śabda*), who was a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, chief lord of northern Madhura, boon lord of Paṭṭi Pombucchapura, ornament of the great Ugra-*vaṁśa*, one who had by the boon obtained from the goddess Padmāvatī having completed the *tulā-puruṣa*, *mahā-dāna*, and *hiraṇyagarbha* gifts, one who had the monkey-flag and the lion crest, *Keśavayarita* (?), Kaṇḍukācārya, Mandāra in firmness, in fame Nārāyaṇa, one whose praise was resounded, worshipper at the lotus feet of Viśvanātha, subduer or foreign enemies, and one who belonged to the *Pailana-bāḷi* (?), was not ruling from Bārahakanyāpura. On the other hand, it is distinctly said that Paṭṭa Mahādevī and Pāṇḍya Devarasa were seated on the firm throne at Bārahakanyāpura, ruling the kingdom of the world listening to the pleasant stories relating to morality and *dharma*.

The Pāṇḍya Deva mentioned in the above inscription was no other than the Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva who reigned from A. D. 1113 to A. D. 1155, and two of whose inscriptions were found in the Pañcalingeśvara temple at Kōṭekēṛi in Bārakūru. One of these records also mentions the *mūla-sthāna* of the god Mārkaṇḍeśvara of the same locality. And the Paṭṭa Mahādevi (crowned queen) spoken of in the above

Jagadevas in A.D. 1095, 1160, 1175, 1180, 1189 and 1216, see *E. C.* VIII. Sa. 66, 87, 91-93, 95, 125, 131, pp. 104-118. B. A. S.

inscription of Vīra Jagadevarasa was the same Pāṇḍya Mahādevī mentioned in the same inscription, where she is distinctly said to be governing Pannirpaḷḷi-*ā ūran-āḷva Pāṇḍya Mahā-dēviyar.*[1]

The Kōṭekēṛi inscription under review is, therefore, important, from three points of view:—Firstly, it proves beyond doubt that Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendra's crowned queen was a Śāntara princess with the cognomen of Pāṇḍya. Here we have another link in the Śāntara-Ālupa alliance.

Secondly, it introduces a Śāntara figure whose exact relationship with the Śāntara princess cannot be determined. That he was indeed a chieftain who had pretensions to a territorial rule, and that he gave a grant of land to the god Mahādeva in Bārakūru, there cannot be any doubt.

Thirdly, the evidence of the above inscription demolishes the assertion of Rice that "The extension of the (Śāntara) kingdom below the Ghats probably took place in the fifteenth century when the kings had the title (Mg. 42) *ari-rāya-gaṇḍara-dāvaṇi* (cattle-rope to the champion over kings)" [2]. The appearance of the Śāntaras in Tuḷuva below the Ghats may be dated to the first half of the fourteenth century A. D. In fact, as will be presently shown, by the first half of the fourteenth century A. D., the Śāntaras had secured an unassailable position in Tuḷuva. We may note here,

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1. *171 of 1901* ; S. I. I. VII. No. 376, pp. 231–232, 11. 16–17.
2. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.* p. 140.

however, that the *biruda ari-rāya-gaṇḍara-dāvaṇi*, which Rice supposes was used by the Śāntaras in the fifteenth century, was similar to the title assumed by Kāltide, son of Vijaṇa Nāyga, during the troublesome times of the Ālupa king Raṇasāgara. The Śambhukallu inscription which supplies us wih the details already narrated in the preceding pages, while relating the political history of the Ālupas, gives Kāltide, among other *birudas*, the following one—That he was one who applied a cattle rope to the array (of his enemies)—*vikraman aṇiyu dāvaṇam-oḍḍuvōn*. [1]

For reasons to be stated in a later context in connection with the Ālupas and the Hoysalas, the epigraph of Vīra Jagadevarasa may be assigned to the year A. D. 1114 when the Āḷvakheḍa Six Thousand people committed havoc in the territory of the Hoysals necessitating the extension of the Hoysala arms into Tuḷuva. This would mean that the visit of Vīra Jagadevarasa took place a year after the accession of Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva, *i. e.*, in A.D. 1114.

The appearance of Vīra Jagadevarasa, the Śantara chieftain, in Bārakūru on the occasion when Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva and his crowned queen were seated in public audience in Bārakūru(*Bāra-kanyāpurada haravariya nagira hañjamāna vaḍḍōlagadōḷ-irdda-ā sannidhānadalu*), was not accidental. If our identification of Vīra Jagadevarasa of the Kōṭekēṟi inscription with Jagadeva who raided Dorasamudra is correct, then,

1. *94 af 1901* ; *E. I*, IX. pp. 17–18, op. cit.

his presence in Bārakūru is easily explained. This was the age when the Hoysalas had swept over the Karnāṭaka. We shall explain how they proved a great danger to the Ālupas. It was to protect the Tuḷu country against the aggressive designs of the Hoysalas that Pāṇḍya Cakravartin not only cemented the Ālupa-Śānatara alliance by marrying a Śāntara princess, but also by witnessing a grant of land to the god Mahādeva in Bārakūru by the Śāntara chief Jagadeva. Indeed, it is not improbable that the Ālupas had helped the Śāntaras in founding a principality on this side of the Ghats within the limits of Āḷvakheḍa Six Thousand as a barrier between themselves and the imperial Hoysalas.[1]

Political necessity, therefore, was one of the causes which brought about the Śāntara-Ālupa alliance. Outside this there does not seem to have been anything common between Ālupas who claimed a Lunar descent and the Śāntaras who belonged to the Ugra-*vaṁśa*. Nevertheless the dynastic relationship between the two houses may have been responsible for the firm hold which the Śāntaras had in Tuḷuva. When we come to the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., we see the Śāntaras well established in the eastern part of Tuḷuva. We gather this from the stone inscription in

1. The exact relationship between Vīra Jagadevarasa and the Śāntara queen of the Ālupa ruler cannot be determined from the epigraph. Perhaps he was her father. But this is only a supposition which is based on the order in which the three names appear in the inscription; first that of Vīra Jagadevarasa, then that of the queen, and lastly that of the Ālupa ruler. B. A. S.

the Gurugaḷa *basti* at Hiriyangaḍi near Kārkaḷa in Tuḷuva. This is a Jaina inscription which begins with the usual Jaina invocation and gives the following *birudas* to the ruler Lokanātha Devarasa:—

Samasta-bhuvanāśrayam S'rī-pṛthvīvallabham mahārājādhirājam rāja parameśvaram paramabhaṭṭārakam śamadhigata-pañca-mahāmaṇḍaleśvaram Mattara (Uttara ?) Madhurādhiśvaram Paṭṭi Pombuccha-puravar-adhīśvaram mahā-Ugra-vaṁśa-lalāmam Padmāvatī-dēvi-labdha-vara prāsāda-āsādita vipuḷa-tulā-puruṣanam Parīśva(Pārśva)-dēvara-dibya-śrī-pāda padma-ārādhakanum-appa śrīmatu-rāya-rāja-guru-maṇḍala-ācāryarum rāya-jīvarakṣapāḷarum Ballāḷa-rāya-citta-camatkārarum mantravādi-makara-dhvajarum-appa śrīmatu Cārukīrti paṇḍita-dēvara dibya śrī-pāda-padma-āradhakanum-appa para-baḷa-jagad-daḷa śrīman mahāmaṇḍaleśvara śrī Lokanātha-dev-arasaru pṛthvī-rājyam-geyyuttam-iralu. The phrase *pṛthvī-rājyaṃ-geyyuttam-iralu* used in regard to the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Lokanātha Devarasa suggests that he was ruling perhaps in an independent capacity. This supposotion is strengthened by the absence of the name of the suzerain in the epigraph.

The inscription is dated *S'aka-varṣa 1256 neya Bāhva saṃvacc(t)sarada Phāḷguna S'uddha pañcami Buddha vāradandu* which corresponds to A.D. 1335 February Tuesday the 28th, the week day not corresponding.[1]

The epigraph records a gift of land to the Śāntināthadeva *basti* in Kārekaḷa (Kārkaḷa) built by Kumu-

1, Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, IV. p. 272. Here the Nija Phālguṇa has been taken into consideration. B. A. S.

dacandra Bhaṭṭāraka Deva, chief disciple of Bhānukīrti Maladhāri Deva, by Vasa Siddala Devī, the crowned queen (*paṭṭada rāṇi*) of Śrīmatu Bommi Devarasa, and by the elder sisters of Lokanātha Devarasa, by name Bommaḷa Devī and Somala Devī, in the presence of Allappa Adhikāri, and all the important citizens of the locality. The gift of land (specified in detail) was made on the birthday of Lokanātha Devarasa (*S'rī-Lokanātha-dēvarasara vaḍḍantiya dinadalu.*)[1]

From the above the following genealogical descent of the ruler Lokanātha may be gathered :—

Bommi Deva = Vasa Siddala Devī

Bommaḷa Devī	Somala Devī	Lokanātharasa

It cannot be made out in what manner Lokanātharasa was connected with Vīra Jagadevarasa mentioned above. But that they belonged to the same Śāntara stock there cannot be any doubt. The following difference, however, may be noted in their *birudas*:—

Firstly, Vīra Jagadevarasa calls himself merely one who was entitled to the use of the *pañca-mahā-śabda* and a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*. But Lokanātharasa styles himself *samastabhuvanāśraya*, *śrī-pṛthvīvallabha*, *mahārājādhirāja*, *rājaparameśvara*, and *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*. Hence, Lokanātharasa evidently enjoyed greater independence than Vīra Jagadevarasa.

And, secondly, both call themselves lords of northern Madhura, boon lords of Paṭṭi Pombucchapura,

1. *71 of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 247, pp. 124-5.

crest-jewels born in the Ugra-*vaṁśa*, and those who performed many gifts of gold. But whereas Vīra Jagadevarasa was the disciple of Viśvanātha Deva, and of the *Pailana-baḷi* (?), Lokanāthrasa was the disciple of Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Deva one of whose titles was *Ballāḷa-rāya-citta-camatkāra* (*One who charmed the mind of Ballāḷa Rāya*).

Once again we may be permitted to reiterate the similarity between the titles assumed by Lokanātharasa and the Ālupa king Kulaśekharadeva III.[1] The suggestion that the Śāntara ruler was in some manner dynastically connected with the Ālupa king is irresistible.

In neither of the two records—the one hailing from Kōṭekēṟi and the other from Hiriyangaḍi—is the capital of the Śāntaras distinctly mentioned. Kārkaḷa may have been the capital under Lokanātharasa. But the earliest appearance of a Śāntara capital is met with only in the first quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. The stone inscription which gives us this and other details was found in Koraga at Maraṇe in the Kārkaḷa tāluka. It is dated Śaka 1331 Sarvadhāvi Puṣya Śu. 10, Thursday which corresponds to A.D. 1408, December the 27th Thursday.[2] The record was issued when Vīra Bhairava Kṣamāpāla and his son Pāṇḍya Bhūpāla were ruling from the capital Kervāśe. Evidently Pāṇḍya Bhūpāla was associated with his father as a *yuva-rāja*.

1. *Supra*, Ch. II. Sec. 7.

2. *530 of 1928-9* ; *Ep. Rept.* for 1928-9, pp. 59, 10. According to Swamikannu's Tables, Śu. 10. corresponds to December Friday the 28th, the week day not corresponding. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, V. p. 19.

That the rulers were of the Śāntara family is proved by the *birudas* assumed by the king Vīra Bhairava Kṣamāpāla—*lord of northern Madhura, boon lord of Paṭṭi Pombucchapura, worshipper of the goddess Padmāvatī, one who had the banner of the monkey god and the insignia of a lion, one who belonged to the Ugra-vaṁśa and to the family of Jīnadatta.*

The Koraga inscription records a grant of land issued from the capital Kervāśe by king Vīra Bhairava Kṣamāpāla, at the instance of Vasanta Kīrti Rāuḷa of the Balātkāragaṇa, for offerings to the image of Pārśvanātha and for feeding ṛṣis in the *basti* at Bārakūru built by the king at Coḷiyakēṛi in that city. The Madras Government Epigraphist (Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer) has identified the Pāṇḍya Bhūpāla of the above inscription with the Vīra Pāṇḍya who built the famous Gomaṭa statue at Kārkaḷa in A.D. 1432.[1]

A passing note may be made of the later Śāntara kings of Tuḷuva. One of them was Abhinava Pāṇḍya Deva Oḍeya of the family of Jīnadatta mentioned in a

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1. *Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 80. The reference is given to *63 of 1901*. Two objections to the above identification are the following:— In the Maraṇe record Paṇḍya Bhūpālā's father Vīra Bhairava Kṣamāpāla is mentioned as a ruler of the Ugra-*vaṁśa*. In the Gomaṭa statue record (*63 of 1901*) dated A.D. 1432 February the 13th, Vīra Pāṇḍya's father Bhairava is said to have belonged to the Lunar race. Further, the preceptor of Vīra Bhairava Kṣamāpāla was Vasantakīrti Rāuḷa of the Balātkāragaṇa; whereas the preceptor of Bhairava of the Gomaṭa statue record was Lalitakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka of Panasoge of the Deśiyagaṇa. (*63 of 1901*; *E. I.* VII, p. 109; *I. A.* XXIX, p. 119, seq.) B. A. S.

stone record dated Śaka 1378 (A.D. 1556-7), found in Hiriyangaḍi in Kārkaḷa.[1]

The continual recurrence of the name Pāṇḍya in the Ālupa and other records must have led the reader to enquire whether the Ālupas, the Śāntaras, and the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas had anything to do with the Pāṇḍyas of Madura. The Madras Government Epigraphist (Mr. Venkoba Rao) after noting the similarity between the Lunar race of the Ālupas and that of the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas, remarks that the latter "also had family traditions similar to those of the Pāṇḍyas proper". Then, commenting on the *biruda* of Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1083-1124)—*Irukkavēḷa*—, he opines that that title was also the name borne by members of the ancient family of "Koḍambāḷūr chiefs figuring in the Śaṅgham works, who had their headquarters at Koḍaṁbāḷūr (Koḍaṁbai) in the Pudukkōṭṭai State", and who also belonged to the Yādava clan. Mr. Venkoba Rao's conclusion is the following:— "A consideration of all these facts (given above) leads to the conclusion that the Ucchaṅgi Pāṇḍyas had some sort of connexion with the Koḍaṁbāḷūr Yādava chiefs ; but we have no data to definitely posit if this consanguinity dated only from the time of the victories at Mangalore, Vātāpi and Adhirajāmangala noted above, or whether the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas, and also the Ālupas, belonged to one of the eighteen Yādava clans who are believed to have migrated from the north in the Puranic age under

1. *70 of 1901; **Ep. Rept.*** for 1926-7, pp. 108-9.

the leadership of the pioneer coloniser, sage Agastya (*Vēḷir-varaḷāru*, p. 8), and to have settled all along the west coast down to the southern corner of the Travancore State, where the Āy chiefs of Āykkuḍi of the 9th century A.D., Kōkkarunandaḍakkaṉ and Vikramāditya Varaguṇa, claim to belong to the Vṛishnikula (*Travancore Arch. Series* I, p. 191)." [1]

To state that the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas "had some sort of connexion with Koḍambāḷur Yādava chiefs", and to draw the inference that these and the Āy chiefs of Āykkuḍi were of one stock because the Karnāṭaka rulers had intimate dealings with the Pallavas, is to mistake fact for fiction and to postulate conclusions that have no basis in history.

To start with, we may observe on what sure ground the lineage of the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas and that of the Madura Pāṇḍyas together that of the Koḍambāḷūr chiefs and of the Pallavas, may be said to rest. The Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas called themselves originally *Lords of Gokarṇapura*, and *Protectors of Konkaṇarāṣṭra* and later on as *Lords of Kañcipura*. They had the fish crest, and one of them had the title of *Irukkavēḷa*.[2] But this is of no avail in tracing a common descent between the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas and the Tamil rulers. For the Tamil titles as well as the Tamil emblem were assumed by the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas after inflicting a crushing defeat on the Tamil kings and generals. The *biruda* of *Lord of Kañcipura* was adopted by the Pāṇḍyas

1. *Ep. Rep. for 1926-7*, p. 108. 2. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, pp. 149-50.

in consequence of their having defeated the Coḷas.[1] In like manner we may assume that the title of *Irukkavēḷa* was perhaps borne by Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya after defeating a Koḍambāḷūr chief. As to the typically Madura Pāṇḍya emblem of the fish crest, we shall not be wrong in supposing that that *biruda* was borne by the same Ucchangi Pāṇḍya feudatory after winning a victory over the Madura Pāṇḍyas. He is credited with the conquest of many countries among which Drāviḷa and Andhra appear in A.D. 1128.[2]

That the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas assumed the name of the ruler whom they subdued and showed particular favour to the subjugated territory, is further proved by the name *Cedi Rāja* borne by the Ucchangi ruler Pāṇḍya, son of Mangaya or Āditya Deva, who had subduded the Kaḷacuriya king of Cedi or Bundelkhand. The same Pāṇḍya ruler is stated in one inscription to have been "permanently partial to the Pāṇḍya country", thereby suggesting that he probably made common cause with them for purely political reasons. In fact, the statement in the inscriptions that the blows of the bracelets of Āditya Deva's son Pāṇḍya resounded on the conch shell on the top of Purandhara's head, and that he set up his fish crest on the great rocks

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1. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, pp. 149–150. Cf. the Hoysala Vinayāditya inscribing the word *Rakkasa Hoysala* on his flag after defeating the Gangas. *E. C. VI.* Mg. 13, p. 61. This refers to a victory, and not, as Rice supposes, to "connection with the Ganga King Rakkas." *My. & Coorg.*, p. 98.

2. *E. C. XI.* Dg. 90, p. 68. See also Dg. 3, p. 24.

on the chief mountains are to be understood in the sense that they describe his military achievements and nothing more.[1]

As regards the alleged Yādava descent common to the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas and Koḍambāḷūr chiefs, it may be noted that no tangible conclusion can be drawn from it. Diverse feudatory families with nothing common between them styled themselves as having belonged to the Lunar race. Thus, for instance, both the Ucchangi Pāṇḍyas and Hoysalas claimed to be of the Yādava-*vaṁśa*. But it is wrong to infer that they had a common origin. The Yādava claims of all or most of the ruling families of southern and western India, especially of the mediaeval times, are wholly inadmissible. We have shown from the history of the Ālupas themselves that they were perhaps of the Nāga origin. The suggestion that the Ālupas and Ucchaṅgi Pāṇḍyas belonged to one of the eighteen Yādava clans, who are supposed to have been introduced by the sage Agastya, is entirely gratuitous. Had the Ālupas the least pretensions to the Yādava descent or had they been connected in some way with the sage Agastya, we would have had that fact mentioned in any one of the Ālupa records, or in those of the Karnāṭaka monarchs who had intimate relations with the Ālupas. But the inscriptions of neither the Ālupas nor Karnāṭaka rulers contain any hint in regard to Agastya and the Yādava descent of the Ālupas.

1. Read, *Mys. & Coorg.* pp. 149–150; *E. C.* VII. Intr. p. 26; *E. C.* XI. Intr. pp. 16–18.

Mr. Venkoba Rao postulates certain theories in the same *Report for 1927*, concerning the name Pāṇḍya among the Ālupas. "On the analogy of a time honoured convention which existed in those days, namely, that a feudatory generally added the name of his suzerain to his personal name, in token of his subordinate status, we have to assume that either the Ālupa chieftains of the locality began to use Pāṇḍya surnames as expressive of their vassalage to them, or that the introduction, if new, of Pāṇḍya names was the result of some possible marriage relationship between the Ālupas and the Paṇḍyas at this period. This will have to be confirmed only by future finds." The writer then connects the name Uttama Pāṇḍya met with in the Ālupa records with Melai-Koḍumaḷūr in the Rāmnāḍ district which was rechristened Uttama-Pāṇḍya-nallūr "from some Uttama Pāṇḍya". He then proceeds directly to deal with the temple of the god Pāṇḍyeśvara found in a suburb of Mangalore[1].

The tradition of appending the surname of a suzerain by a feudatory was well known both to the Karnāṭaka and Tamil peoples. But to assert that the Ālupas took the name from some Pāṇḍyas (of Madura?) is erroneous. Expecting a few notices of the Pāṇḍyas of Madura as related above, and a few more to be given in the next chapter, there is nothing to suggest that the Ālupas were subservient to the Madura Pāṇḍyas in any period of their history. We meet with the name Uttama

1. *Ep. Rept. for 1926-27*, pp. 107-108.

Pāṇḍya for the first time only in connection with Pṛthvīsāgara who bore that surname as well as the name *Vijayāditya*. There is no evidence to prove that that Ālupa ruler was in any way connected with the Madura Pāṇḍyas. It is futile, therefore, to trace the Ālupa surname Uttama Pāṇḍya either to the Pāṇḍyas of Madura or to the name Melai-Koḍumaḷūr *alias* Uttama-Pāṇḍya-nallūr. We have seen that it was with Pṛthvīsāgara that the tradition began of associating the Ālupas with the Yadu-*vaṁśa*. Udayāvara passed through a critical period when Pṛthvīsāgara became king. It is no wonder that he assumed the surname *Vijayāditya* and *Uttama Pāṇḍya*, and thereby connected himself with the Pāṇḍyas of the epics to whom his adherents must have traced his descent. Indeed, there seems to have been a strong tendency among the Ālupa rulers to style themselves after the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*. This accounts for the name Śvetavāhana, Vijaya(āditya), and Dhanañjaya among the Ālupas.[1] Only in this manner can we explain the name Pāṇḍya appearing in the Ālupa records.

9. THE KADAMBAS AND THE ĀLUPAS

Territorial contiguity and political status were perhaps responsible for the close association of the Ālupas with the Kadambas since earliest times. Tradition, as we shall narrate in the next chapter, connects Mayūravarmā, the first great historical figure in

1. *527 of 1928-9; Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 80.

Kadamba history, with Tuḷuva. Historically speaking, however, the Halmiḍi stone inscription (Belūr tāluka, Hassan district, Mysore State), discovered in 1935 by Mr. B. Rama Rao of the Mysore Archaeological Department, carries not only the Ālupa genealogy one step further than Māramma Āḷvarasar, but enables us to assert that Tuḷuvanāḍu and the Kadambamaṇḍala began to have intimate relationship from about the fifth century A.D.[1].

The Halmiḍi stone inscription is being edited by Dr. Krishna of Mysore in the *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Depaatment*. A transcript of the record being unfortunately not available, we shall have to be content with the paper which Mr. Rama Rao read at the *Eighth All-India Oriental Conference* in December 1935. The epigraph in question is of first-rate importance from the point of view of the Ālupa history as well as from that of the Kannaḍa language. It is in old Kannaḍa excepting the invocatory verse which is in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit verse is in praise of Viṣṇu. The characters of the record, according to its discoverer Mr. Rama Rao, belong to the fifth century A.D. This assumption in regard to the date of the inscription is further borne out by the reference to Mṛgeśa, the Kadamba king, Paśupati, a prince or

1. The assertions of Mr. Moraes that Kadambamaṇḍala or Vanavāsimaṇḍala was ruled over by the Ālupas throughout the period of the Cālukya predominance, and that under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas too it continued to be governed by the Ālupas for well nigh half a century till about the year A.D. 800 (*Kadamba-Kula*, p. 81) are incorrect. B.A.S.

general, and the Bhaṭāri-*kula* which names have been mentioned in stone inscriptions assigned to *circa* A.D. 450 and found in the Prāṇeśvara temple at Tālgunda.[1]

The Halmiḍi stone inscription records a battle in which the Sendrakas, the Bāṇas, and the Pallavas took part, and registers a gift of two villages named Palmiḍi (mod. Halmiḍi) and Mūḷivaḷḷi (mod. Malēnahaḷḷi) as *bāḷgalcu*(war-relief) to Vija-arasa by a Kadamba chief of the Bhaṭāri-*kula*. In this connection the name Āḷuva (ka ?) appears as one of the allies on the side of the Kadamba chief[2].

We may incidently note here that the village Palmiḍi mentioned in this record was no other than the same Paḷmiḍi said to have been in the Sendraka-*viṣaya*. which was given as a gift to Bhavasvāmi by the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarmā, as is related in the Beṇṇūr plates assigned on palaeographical grounds to A.D. 420.[3] Under what conditions this village of Palmiḍi was transferred from the possession of Bhavasvāmi to that of Vija-arasar is not known. But the Beṇṇūr plates confirm the historicity of the village of Palmiḍi and its importance in the Kadamba times.

1. *My. Archl. Rept. for 1911*, p. 35.

2. I regret very much that beyond this I am unable to comment on the Halmiḍi record. A short account of this fine discovery appears in the *Summaries of the Papers* read at the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference, pp. 99–100. But a cursory examination of the characters of the inscription which Mr. Rama Rao so kindly gave me for perusal in Mysore at the Conference convinced me that his opinion in regard to the age of the characters was quite valid. B. A. S.

3. *E. C.* V. Bl. 245, p. 276.

The Halmiḍi record is doubly important. Firstly, it establishes beyond doubt the antiquity of the Kannaḍa language. And, secondly, it carries the Ālupa name to the fifth century A.D. The plain name Āḷuva given in this important Kadamba record obviously has to be referred to a ruler who preceded Māramma Āḷvarasar whom we have assigned to about A.D. 575. The Ālupa ruler mentioned in the Halmiḍi inscription could not have been the later Āḷuvarasar who, according to our calculations, succeeds Māramma Āḷvarasar. The exact identity of the Āḷuva king of the Halmiḍi record cannot be determined at the present stage of our investigations.

A stone inscription found in the Mahālingeśvara temple in the Baṇṭra village, Puttūru tāluka, is of particular interest in asmuch as it not only shows that a part of Tuḷuva, probably that adjoining the slopes of the Western Ghats, was under the Kadambas but also gives us the name of an altogether new figure in the history of the Kadambas. The characters of this stone record are assigned to the eighth century A.D. The ruler named is Nṛpamallarāja, while the Katamba (Kadamba) king called Rācamallan-Dugarāja, brother of Viḷārittaḷiyarasa and of Narasingan-Dugarāja, is also referred to in the same epigraph. The inscription probably registers an agreement pertaining to the enjoyment of lands.[1]

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1. *351 of 1930-31*; *Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle for 1930-31*, p. 49.

The name Nṛpamallarāja is most unlike any Ālupa name we have met with hitherto. Whether this ruler is to be fixed in the gap after A.D. 800 and before A.D. 920 is doubtful for the present. Likewise is it not possible to decide in what manner he was connected with the Ālupa house. As regards the other names, Rācmallan-Dugarāja, Viḷārittaḷiyarasa and Narasingan-Dugarāja, we may observe the following:— The fact that the first one is called a Katamba shows that they belonged to the Kadamba family; and the fact that the stone inscription was found within the limits of Tuḷuva indicates that the Kadambas about this time had some relations with Tuḷuva, the exact nature of which cannot be determined for the present. The names Rācmallan-Dugarāja, and Narasingan, it may also be noted, are met with in the history of the Gangas of the main line.[1] But we must leave this question here for want of more data, noting however that Rācmallan-Dugarāja does not figure in any known Kadamba record discovered hitherto.

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1. There were three Rācmallas in the history of the Gaṅgas :— Rācmalla I, son of Nītimārga who seems to have come to the throne in A.D. 870. *E. C.* I. Coorg, No. 2 ; *My. Arch. Rep. for 1930,* p. 145. Nītimārga himself was the son of Rācmalla I whose dates are not known. Rācmalla III was also called Narasiṅga Rācamalla. *E. C.* VIII, Nr. 35, p. 135 ; Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 50. The name Dugarāja recalls the Gaṅga name Dugamāra, whose other name was Ereyapa. This Gaṅga ruler was king over Koḷāla and the adjoining nāḍs in the Gaṅgavāḍi in A.D. 767. *E. C.* X. Intr. p. xi. He was the third son of Śrīpuruṣa. *E. C.* X. Intr. p. viii ; *Mys. & Coorg.*, pp. 39, 55 ; *My. Arch. Rept. for 1929,* p. 103-104. In later Gaṅga history we have Narasiṅga, brother of Erega. *E. C.* VIII. Intr. p. vi. B. A. S.

When we come to the later half of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., we find the Kadamba rulers, who were in some manner allied to those of the earlier stock of Banavase, engaged in bringing Tuḷuva within their sphere. The founder of this line of the Kadambas of later times was Barma Deva, whose son was Boppa Deva. The son of the latter was Soyi Deva one of whose generals was Vikramāditya. The defaced inscription dated Śaka 1099 Jyeṣṭha Śu. Daśami Ādivāra (=A.D. 1177 May the 9th Monday the week day not corresponding), which contains these details informs us that general Vikramāditya was placed over the Banavasenāḍ and that the kings of Hayve, Koṅkaṇa, the celebrated Gaṅgavāḍi, and Tuḷu gave tribute to him.[1]

How far general Vikramāditya's claims to have levied tribute from Tuḷuva were valid, and whether the reference is to the Ālupa king or to the Śāntara chiefs who may have had their principality on the outskirts of Tuḷuva, as mentioned above, it is not possible

1. Rice assigns this record to A.D. 1237 which is altogether inadmissible. For the date is clearly given in the original. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 384, p. 68; Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.* IV, p. 356. On Soyi Deva read Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, Mr. Moraes makes Barmarasa and his grandson Soyi Deva rulers of Nāgarakhaṇḍa. (*Kadamba-Kula*, pp. 234, seq.) Why he doubts their Kadamba claims (*ibid*, p. 235) cannot be made out. In *circa* A.D. 1182, they are called rulers born "in the lotus line of the Kadambas," (*E. C.*, VII. Sk. 197, p. 125), and in A.D. 1171 Soyi Deva is styled "the glory of the *Kadamba-kula*" (*E.C.* VIII. Sb. 345, p. 60). Mr. Moraes has nothing to say about Soyi Deva's general Vikramāditya who is alleged to have levied tribute from Tuḷu. B. A. S.

to say for the present. But the Ālupa ruler who was a contemporary of general Vikramāditya was Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I whose times, indeed, were pregnant with trouble for the Ālupas.

For we have already seen that under the Western Cālukya monarch Someśvara IV, his general Kāma Deva also called Kāva Deva, viceroy over Banavase Twelve Thousand and other provinces, as is related in an inscription dated A.D. 1189-90, levied tribute from the Tuḷu country.[1]

A third incident in the reign of Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I relates to the battle on the plain of Birusa in which the Ālupas seem to have given a good account of themselves. This is gathered from an illegible inscription which may be assigned to the year A.D. 1220, of the times of the Kadamba Cakravartin Malli Deva. The inscription relates the following:—"When...Malli-devarasa was ruling...when Sāreya Bhairava Ñāyaka had proved superior to the Āḷvas in battle, the Āḷuva Sankeya Nāyaka slew the whole of Bīṟeya Deva's force. So that both armies applauded, he fought in the plain of Birusa, and in Basavaḷi was united to the celestial nymphs who bore him away."[2]

This epigraph needs some comment. There is nothing in it to justify the words "was ruling a peaceful

1. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 86, op. cit.

2. The date A.D. 1200 given to this by Rice is purely hypothetical. *E.C.* VIII. Sb. 188, p. 30. It is possible that we may have to refer this inscription to the second year of the reign of Malli Deva or hereabouts. B. A. S.

kingdom" inserted by Rice while translating this record. If Malli Deva's sixth year was A.D. 1224, as the Kuppagaḍḍe stone inscription informs us,[1] then the first year of his reign may be taken to be A.D. 1217-8. It has been wrongly inferred from the above record that "Sāreya Bhairava Nāyaka who was evidently the head of the new dynasty, attempted at this time to overthrow the Āḷuva family, the constituted authority in the province, and carve for himself an independent kingdom. From the name Bhairava we may conclude that this Sāreya Bhairava was one of the Śāntara chieftains of Kārkaḷa. Possibly this was the old family of the Śāntaras, who finding it impossible to retain their power in the struggle for supremacy that was being carried on for a century round their original home migrated westwards and attempted to wrest the power from the Āḷuva rulers".[2]

The above statements are a conglomeration of conjectures. Sāreya Bhairava Nāyaka was not related in any way to the Bhairava chieftains of Kārkaḷa ; he did not attempt to overthrow the Ālupa dynasty at this time ; the Śāntara family did not migrate westwards from their "original home" -which in itself is an indefinite phrase- ; and there is nothing to show that the record under discussion can in any way to be taken to

1. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 180, p. 29. Cf. Elliot, *Carnata-deśa Inscriptions*, II, pp. 601–604 cited in Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.*, p. 594 (2nd ed.) ; Moraes, *Kadamba-Kula*, p. 148, n. (1).

2. Moraes, *ibid*, p. 150.

prove that the Śāntaras intended to wrest political power from the Ālupas.

All that the epigraph records is a spirited battle in which the Āluvas under their leader Saṅkeya Nāyaka showed their traditional courage which, as pointed out elsewhere in this treatise, had earned from their opponents the name of *submarine fire the Tuḷuva forces*. The original runs thus:— *Sāreya Bhairava Nāyakan Āḷva migil-āgi raṇadoḷ-iriyalu*. This has been incorrectly translated by Rice as "when Sāreya Bhairava Nayaka was greatly slaying (?) the Āḷvas in battle."[1] There is nothing in the inscription to show that Sāreya Bhairava Nāyaka was the head of the new dynasty, and that he intended to carve out a new principality for himself. On the other hand, his master was Bīṟeya Deva whose forces the gallant Āḷuva Saṅkeya Nāyaka slew, although the latter lost his life in the encounter. This Bīṟeya Deva was not a Śāntara but a chieftain of Candāvūru who is mentioned as *one entitled to the band of five chief instruments*, and *an elephant-goad to hostile kings* at the end of a grant recorded in the reign of the Yādava (Seuṇa) king Simhaṇa, and assigned to about A.D. 1215.[2] Whether he is to be identified with Kumāra Bīrarasa, about whom we shall presently say a few words, is doubtful. But Candāvūru seems to have given some trouble to the Ālupa rulers, as will be pointed out in a later context.

1. In the transliteration Rice adds the following words which are not to be found in the original : *adan āntu vīram*. *E.C.* VIII. p. 65.
2. *Ibid*, Sb. 276, p. 48.

Sixteen years later in A.D. 1216, April the 27th Wednesday, another great battle was fought also within the limits of Tuḷuva. The stone inscription which gives us these details was found at Kuppagaḍḍe near the temple of Gaṇapati, Sohrab tāluka, Mysore State. It describes a battle fought near the village of Parige. That the Kadamba Cakravartin Kāva Devarasa took the initiative is evident from the statement that his generals Keśavadeva, Bommeya and others marched on Bāḷeyamakki and Sōde (...*Kāvadevarasaru Keśavadeva Bommeya mukhyavāgi palarum nāyakarum Bāḷeyamakki Sōdiya mēle daṇḍam bīḷa pēḷal*...). These places which are now outside Tuḷuva, the former near Bāḷehonnūr in Koppa tāluka, and the latter twelve miles north of Śirśi in the North Kanara district, were then within Tuḷuva. In this battle of Parige, we may incidentlly note, Masaṇa, a servant of Bitteya Hebbāruva, met with a heroic death.[1] The Kāva Deva referred to in this record was no other than the Kadamba Cakravartin Kāva Deva who ruled from A.D. 1219 till A.D. 1231.[2]

Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendra I's last date is A.D. 1215. It is possible that the battle of Parige may

1. *Mys. Archl. Rept. for 1929*, pp. 148, 268, 269.

2. *Ibid*, p. 148. Rice places a Kadamba Cakravartin Caṅdāvūru Tailapa Deva's son Kāva Deva, called Kadamba Rudra, in *circa* A.D. 1000. *E. C.* VIII. Sa. 30, p. 96. Mr. Moraes conjectures that Kāva Deva "probably came to the throne in or about A.D. 1260" ! *Kadamba-Kula*, p. 154. Parige, it may incidentally be added, seems to have been within the jurisdiction of the Ālupas since the days of Citravāhana II. It is mentioned in the epigraph which describes his rebellion. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 10, p. 3, op. cit.

have been fought during the last year of his reign. In any case it is evident from the above that his reign was full of trouble for the Ālupa people.

We may observe here the activities of the daughter of a Kadamba king in Tuḷuva. A stone inscription found in the Amṛteśvara temple at Tiruvailu in the Mangalore tāluka, dated Śaka 1312 Śukla, Meṣa 1 (which is evidently a mistake for 11), Monday (A.D. 1389 April the 5th Monday),[1] relates that under the Vijayanagara monarch Harihara Mahārāya, Mallarasa was the governor placed over the Maṅgaḷūrurājya. The epigraph records a *sarvamānya* gift of land by Padumala Devī, daughter of Kāma Deva of the Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba-*vaṁśa*, to the temple of Amṛtanātha Deva at Ōmañjūru for worship and offerings to the god and for the maintenance of a feeding *satra*. It is interesting to observe that the management of the gift was left in the hereditary charge of three members of the Bhaṭṭitilla family.[2]

Who this Kāma Deva was, cannot be determined. As already mentioned, we have had an Ālupa Kāma Deva whose inscription was found in the Durgā Parameśvarī temple at Iruvaila in the Kārkaḷa tāluka.[3] The relationship between the two cannot be made out.

1. Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.* IV. p. 380. Śaka 1311 = Śukla, and Śaka 1312 = Pramoda.

2. *465 of 1928-9.* On the Kadamba rulers connected with the legend of Mukkaṇṇa, see *infra* Chapter IV.

3. *477 of 1028-9*, op. cit.

Turning to another Kadamba line, we find the following in an inscription discovered in the temple of Narsimha in North Kanara. It deals with the conquests of Jayakeśin I who is said to have assembled the Kadambas, conquered the Ālupas, established the Western Cālukyas in their kingdom, caused the Cālukyas and the Coḷas to become friends at Kañci, and made Gopakapaṭṭaṇa (Goa) his capital. This inscription of the Kadamba king of Goa is dated Kaliyuga 4270 (A.D. 1169-70).[1]

The Kadamba king mentioned here could only have been the Jayakeśin of Koṅkan spoken of by Bilhaṇa in his *Vikramānkadevacarita* as having brought presents to the Western Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya VI. The Ālupa lord in the above record may be identified with Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendra Deva I on the following grounds:—

If we are to trust the above inscription which describes the glorious conquests of Jayakeśin I, then, we are to suppose that the subjugation of the lord of the Ālupas took place either in A.D. 1169-70 or earlier. Jayakeśin I is represented as ruling over Gopakapaṭṭaṇa in A.D. 1070-1.[2] But as a feudatory of the Western Cālukya king Someśvara I, he figures as lord of the Koṅkan in A.D. 1052-53.[3]

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1. *J. Bom. RAS* IX. pp. 262-282; Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* pp. 90-91 (1st ed.); 444 (2nd ed.); *Ep. Rept.* for 1925-26, pp. 93-4. Mr. Moraes's remarks that the Ālupas were "refractory mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras" about this time (*Kadamba-Kula*, p. 183) are groundless. B. A. S.

2. *431 of 1926.*

3. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 90 (1st ed.); 567 (2nd ed.).

When did Jayakeśin conquer the lord of the Ālupas? It is reasonable to suppose that the conquests mentioned in the inscription from North Kanara took place in A.D. 1169-70. Now, according to the Ālupa genealogy given above, Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradava I reigned from A.D. 1113 till A.D. 1155. We have seen too that at first he had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Western Cālukyas, and that he later on had assumed independence. It may be presumed that he continued to be an independent king till the last year of his reign (A.D. 1155). We cannot place the subjugation of the lord of the Ālupas in the reign of Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva, since the date A. D. 1169–70 is far removed from the last year of that Ālupa ruler. If we accept it, however, it would mean that Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva reigned for fifty-seven years (A.D. 1113–A.D. 1170) which is impossible. Hence the only alternative is to suppose that the subjugation of the lord of the Ālupas took place in the reign of the next Ālupa ruler Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I whose earliest date is A.D. 1176. If this is accepted, Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I's first regnal year would be A.D. 1170.

A word may be said in regard to this Ālupa king. He had to meet with the opposition of the Karnāṭaka and Koṅkan rulers on five different occasions. That he continued to rule for forty years and that he transmitted to his successor Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva I the *sthira-siṁhāsana* of Bārahakanyāpura, inspite of all

these dangers, is in itself the best proof of his ability both as a ruler and a soldier.

10. THE KAḶACURIYA, THE KĀKATĪYA, AND THE HOSAGUNDA SCHEMES IN TUḶUVA

Before we pass on to the topic of Hoysala aggrandizement in Tuḷuva, it may be worth while to see in what manner the Kaḷacuriyas, the Kākatīyas, and the Hosagunda rulers were connected with Tuḷuva.

Of the general Keśimayya, in the reign of the Kaḷacuriya monarch Bijjaḷa, it is said in an epigraph dated A.D. 1157 that he conquered Saṅka Male.[1] We do not know whether the name Saṅka Male can be referred to its namesake in Tuḷuva. The Saṅka Male figures in Tuḷuva folksongs called Pāḍadānas,[2] and it is also the name given to the locality where the Madananteśvara (now rechristened Veṅkaṭaramaṇa) temple of Manjeśvara stands. How Ālupa Jagadevarasa was involved in the conflict between Vīra Śāntara, a feudatory of king

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1. Rice, *Mys. Inscr.* p. lxxiii, 155. There is a *Daṇḍanāyaka* Keśirāja or Keśimayya who is described in A.D. 1147-8 as governor over the Belvoḷa 300, the Palasige 12,00, and the Pānugal 500, under the Western Cālukya Jagadekamalla II. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 53. It cannot be made out whether the two Keśirājas were the same. We have here to observe that a Kaḷacuriya general the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Bijjaḷa under the Western Cālukya Taila III, misused the trust reposed in him and was responsible for the downfall of the Western Cālukyas. Fleet, *ibid*, p. 54. It may be that the *Daṇḍanāyaka* Keśirāja of A.D. 1147-8 went over to the Kaḷacuriya side in the reign af Taila III. B. A. S.

2. *Infra*, Ch. VI. Sec. 6.

Bijjaḷa, and Bīrarasa of Hosagunda in A.D. 1164, has already been described in an earlier context.

The Kākatīya king Pratāpa Rudra is said to have subdued Mahārāṣṭra, Kaliṅga, Saurāṣṭra, Gurjara, Varahāṭa, Karnāṭa, Drāviḍa, and Tauḷa(va). He is represented as the lord of all the above countries. He had an army nine lakhs strong. This is related in a record dated about A.D. 1234.[1]

Pratāpa Rudra's claims for lordship over Tuḷuva as well as over the incredibly large army given above may be dismissed as bombast. The record which gives us the above details is an epigraph of doubtful authenticity. It must be admitted that the Āḷupa records are silent for nearly forty years till the accession of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva I. But that is no justification for admitting the claims of Pratāpa Rudra of having subdued Tuḷuva. All that may be said on behalf of the Kākatīya ruler is that the inscription merely echoes the glory of his general Proḷarāja who is credited with the capture of the Western Cālukya king Taila III.[2]

With the Hosgunda rulers, however, Tuḷuva had more intimate relations. The Hosagunda chieftains were of the Śāntara stock with their chief town first at Kallise, and then at Hosagunda which they made their *rājadhāni*. We have already discussed the importance of the Siddheśvara temple *vīragal* which describes the

1. *E.C.* XII. Tm. 14, p. 5. The original of this inscription is not forthcoming. *Ibid*, p. 5. n. (1).

2. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts*, p. 54.

aid Ālupa Jagadevarasa gave his ally Vīra Śāntaradeva in A.D. 1164 against Bīrarasa of Hosagunda. In A.D. 1229 on the death (*atītam appa*) of Kumāra Bammarasa, Kumāra Bīrarasa is said to have ruled the Śāntalige Thousand in peace and wisdom. The following are some of the *birudas* given to him:—*satya-Ratnākara s'araṇāgata-vajra-pañjara s'rī-Billeśvara-dēvara dibya-śrī-pāda-padma-ārādhakarum appa.*[1] These *birudas*, among others, are given to Kumāra Bīrarasa in an inscription which Rice has assigned to about A.D. 1221. That the date assigned to it is inadmissible will be evident from the following considerations:— In this later inscription we have an extra *biruda* pertaining to Tuḷuva which is not met with in the preceding record, *viz.*, that Kumāra Bīrarasa was a "Shaker of the Tuḷu Raya (*Tuḷu-Rāya gampaṇācārya*).[2] Evidently the second inscription has to be referred to a later age (*circa* A.D. 1248), when Kumāra Bīrarasa had interfered in Tuḷuva affairs.

One of the *birudas*—*śrī-Billeśvara dēvara dibya-śrī-pāda-padmārādhakarum appa*—is, however, applied to a Bīradevarasa in A.D. 1254 (January the 29th), when he marched with full military equipment (*sakala sāmagra sahitam*) against Idu Sāvanta of Bidirūru, and plundered all his valuables. Dr. Krishna has identified Bidirūru mentioned here with Bendore or Nagar of later history.[3] But Bidirūru is the name of Mūḍubidre in

1. *E. C.* VIII. Sa. 146, pp. 121, 326.
2. *Ibid*, Nr, 8. p. 127.
3. *My. Archl. Rept.* for 1929, pp. 146-8, 274.

Tuḷuva, near where there is still a prominent household called the Idu-*bīḍu*. But we are unable to say in what manner Bīrarasa was connected with Kumāra Bīrarasa.

In A.D. 1255 Kumāra Bīrarasa had one of the *birudas* given above slightly modified. He is called this year "Promoter of the Tuḷu kingdom (*Tuḷu Rājya samuddharaṇam*)."[1] As yet no mention is made of the capital (*rājadhāni*), although the *nelevīḍu* has been mentioned, as will be related presently.

It is only in A.D. 1275 that Bammarasa Deva, who was evidently the son of Bīrarasa, is called *the establisher of the Tuḷu Rāya* (*Tuḷu Rāya pratiṣṭāpanācārya*), *boon lord of Paṭṭi Pombucchapura*, *master of the western ocean*, and is stated to have been in the capital (*rājadhāni*) of Hosagunda.[2]

The genealogy of these Śāntaras of Hosagunda is given in a later record dated A.D. 1287 which continues to prefix the same *biruda* (*Tuḷu Rāya-sthāpanācārya*) to the next chieftain Tammarasa.[3]

Tammarasa's son was Bīrarasa, who is mentioned in a record dated 1294 of the reign of the Yādava ruler Rāmacandra. Bīrarasa Bommarasa is also called *Tuḷu Rāya pratiṣṭhāpanācārya* in this record.[4]

1. *E. C.* VIII. Sa. 150, text pp. 121, 328.
2. *Ibid*, Sa. 134, p. 119.
3. *Ibid*, VII. Sk. 312, pp. 153, 352.
4. *Ibid*, VIII. Sb. 502, p. 84. Dr. Krishna discusses a damaged *vīragal* found at Naḍakalasi describing the death of Bīrarasa Bammarasa and of Soyi Ballahadeva, the latter being the son of Īśvara Deva

The genealogical descent of the Hosagunda rulers as gathered from the above inscriptions is as follows :

Jīnadatta's line
|
Vīra Śāntara
|
Others
|
Colama
|
?
|
King Bīra (A.D. 1229 - A.D. 1255)
|
Brahma or Bammaraṣa (A.D. 1275)
|
Tammarasa (A.D. 1287)
|
Bīrarasa Bammarasa (A.D. 1294)

We do not know what precisely were the circumstances which secured for Hosagunda chieftains the *biruda Tuḷu rāya pratiṣṭhāpanācārya*. There is no evidence to prove that it refers to the Ālupas. It is true that there is a gap in the Ālupa history between A.D. 1215 and A.D. 1254 when Bīraraṣa of Hosagunda administered his chiefship. But the reference seems to be to the activities of the Śāntaras of Hosagunda

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of the Sinda family. The *vīragal* contains only the cyclic year Kīlaka. Dr. Krishna has assigned this *vīragal* to A.D. 1188-9 (*My. Archl. Rep.* for 1930, p. 217) on the strength of another record noticed by Rice in the *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 276, p. 47, and assigned by him to *circa* A.D. 1180. But since we know that Bīrarasa Bammarasa's date is A.D. 1294, the above *vīragal* has to be placed in about A.D. 1308, and the supplementary grant edited by Rice to the middle of the 13th century A.D. (*circa* A.D. 1294). B. A. S.

round the principality of Setu or Setuvinabīḍu (south-west of Sāgara), where they set up one of their own as a chief or helped one of their allies to secure a footing. Our surmise is proved by the activities of the first prominent Hosagunda ruler Bīrarasa. In a record dated A.D. 1248 he is given most of the titles mentioned above but not that referring to Tuḷu, thus showing beyond doubt that Bīrarasa did not come into contact with Tuḷuva till A.D.1248. The interest of the epigraph lies in the fact that it gives Bīrarasa's residence (*nelevīḍu*) at Kallise. This shows that the Śāntara chiefs had not yet made Hosagunda their *rājadhāni*. The record relates that when "Bīrarasa went to Setu, and captured Malisāle, Mudiga son of Mandasāle Bīroja's son Baṅkoja and Bāgiyabbe, broke down both Setu and Kaṭāra", but died in the attempt.[1]

In the reign of the next Hosagunda chieftain, too, Setu was attacked. We prove this from a much-damaged inscription assigned to A.D. 1275 which informs us that Bellarasa Bammarasa's son Kāḷarasa "...Hearing that report the *Mahāmaṇḍleśvara* Ketarasa joined the Tuḷu camp (*Tuḷu kaṭakavam*), and running about in the temple of Setu, was fighting, when Kāḷarasa, entering with his whole army, and attacking the men who were on foot, stopped them, knocked them down", but died nobly in the fight.[2] If the Tuḷu camp is thus associated with

1. *E.C.* VIII. Sa. 129, p. 118.

2. *Ibid*, Nr. 26, p. 131. Kāḷarasa was a Kundanāḍ and Koḍanāḍ chief mentioned in A.D. 1218. *Ibid*, Sa. 15, p. 94.

the temple of Setu, it may reasonably be assumed that Setu was within the influence of the Ālupa rulers whose direct dealings with the Hosagunda chieftains are unfortunately not discernible in the epigraphs.[1]

11. THE HOYSALAS AND THE ĀLUPAS

The Ālupas, who had managed to preserve their integrity even under the Western Cālukyas, suffered great hardships, especially in the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D., when one of the most famous of Karnāṭaka sovereigns sweept over the land in a series of brilliant campaigns. Yet when the Hoysalas were but a rising family, struggling against the designs of an unknown enemy, they seem to have found a home in Tuḷuva. This accounts for the tradition according to which Vinayāditya Tribhuvanamalla Poysala Deva, whose earliest date is A.D. 1047, retired to Tuḷuva for some unknown reasons.[2] If this tradition is accepted, the event may be said to have happened before Bankideva Ālupendradeva I's accession to the throne.

That the Ālupas continued unmolested in the reign of Vinayāditya Deva's eldest son and successor Ballāḷa Deva I is proved by an inscription dated A.D. 1101, and again by another record of A.D. 1104, both of which narrate that the boundaries of the Hoysala kingdom were

1. On Setu, read, *E. C.* VII. Hl. 54 dated A.D. 1254, p. 171, where Babbara Bāba figures; *E. C.* VIII. Intr. p. 11; Nr. 9, 11, 12, 19 ranging from A.D. 1278 to 1320, pp. 127–129.

2. Wilson, *Mack. Coll.* I. p. cix; Rice, *Mys. Gaz.* II. p. 207 (1st ed.).

the same as those under Vinayāditya Deva, *viz*., Āḷvakheḍa, Bayalnāḍ, Talakāḍ, and Sāvimale.[1]

But the good relations which existed between the Ālupas and the Hoysalas till the days of Ballāḷa Deva I were disturbed by an incident which we have already mentionee in an earlier context. This is the attack which the Śāntara chief Jagadeva made on Dorasamudra and his subsequent defeat and retreat. Jagadeva was repulsed by all the brothers—Ballāḷa Deva I, Biṭṭi Deva, the future Viṣṇuvardhana, and Udayādityarasa.[2] The Śāntara chief, who had dared thus to attack the Hoysala capital, had gone to Tuḷuva, given one of his near relatives in marriage to the Ālupa king Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva I, and had founded a principality at Setu probably with the aid of the Ālupa king.

There was another cause of enmity between the Hoysalas and the Ālupas. The latter had always sided with the Western Cālukya feudatory (the Śantara chief mentioned above) in Tuḷuva. The Hoysalas, who had acknowledge the suzerainty of the Western Cālukyas till the days of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, had shaken it off under him.[3] The subversion of the Ālupas, who had been on

1. *E.C.* V. Intr. p. xii; Bl. 199, p. 108; *E.C.* VI. Cm. 160, p. 56. An undated inscription records a grant by Boppa Deva, the general of Viṣṇuvardhana Hoysala Deva. It narrates that Viṣṇuvardhana's father Tribhuvanamalla Gaṅga reigned over the whole territory bounded by Koṅkan, Āḷvakheḍa, Bayalnāḍ, and Sāvimale, punishing the wicked and protecting the good. *My. Arch. Rept. for 1925*, p. 40. This does not refer to Viṣṇuvardhana's father Ereyanga, who never had the title of Tribhuvanamalla Gaṅga, but to Vinayāditya. B. A. S.

2. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.* p. 99; Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* p. 66.

3. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.* p. 96.

friendly terms with the Western Cālukyas for quite a long time, was but one step in the imperial scheme of the Hoysalas.

Add to these there was another grave reason why the Hoysalas turned their mind towards the Ālupas. The people of Āḷvakheḍa caused havoc in territories within the jurisdiction of the Hoysalas. This is gathered from a record dated A.D. 1114 which informs us that when Viṣṇuvardhana Deva was ruling the Gaṅgavāḍi Ninety-Six Thousand, and......Śeṭṭi Gāvuṇḍa was holding the office of *gāvuṇḍa* in Karividi Hirūr, the Āḷvakheḍa people took prisoners in the Thousand (the name of which is not specified). At this Śeṭṭi Gāvuṇḍa fought with the people of Āḷvakheḍa with daggers in front of Jayisiṅgāḍu. He recovered the cows by the might of his arm, fought the Ālupa people who had commited the cattle raid, but died in the attempt.[1] This cattle raid must have precipitated the Hoysala advance into Tuḷuva.

Finally, there was the fact that the Hoysala themselves were of an inferior stock. They were essentially of Malepa origin,[2] while the Ālupas were a family of considerable antiquity. It was but natural that the new dynasty should have evinced a desire to subvert a more ancient family, especially when the latter were hindering their expansion in the south-west of the Karnāṭaka.

1. *E. C.* XII. Tp. 81, p. 59.
2. Saletore, *The Wild Tribes*, p. 79 seq.

Viṣṇuvardhana took the initiative. He first turned his attention to the Śāntara chief Jagadeva, and then to the Ālupa king who had given shelter to the Śāntara enemy. The subversion of the Ālupa kingdom was such an important political achievement that it was remembered with pride for ninety-four years (A.D. 1117 till A.D. 1208). Indeed, for over three generations very few accounts of the military prowess of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva were emboided in epigraphs without mention being made of the conquest of Tuḷuva.

The subjugation of the Śāntara chief Jagadeva, therefore, was but the prelude to the Hoysala scheme of aggrandizement in Tuḷuva. The following will prove that Viṣṇuvardhana Deva first broke Jagadeva and then turned his attention to the latter's ally and relative the Ālupa king Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva. At first only the subjugation of the Śāntara chief is mentioned in epigraphs. But in a particular year the Tuḷu kings are said to have been subdued. And in the inscriptions of the succeeding years, the whole of the Tuḷu country is described to have been conquered by Viṣṇuvardhana Deva.

The fact that Viṣṇuvardhana broke the power of the Śāntara chief Jagadeva is proved by a copper-plate inscription dated A.D. 1117 which describes, among other military achievements of the great Hoysala soldier, the following:— that he was a Bhairava in destroying the armies of Jagadeva (*Jagat-deva bala viḷaya Bhairavanum*). The statement which precedes this, *viz.*, that

Viṣṇuvardhana Deva was an adept at the game of war in overthrowing the Tuḷu kings (*Tuḷu nṛpāḷa hṛdaya vidaḷana prakaṭa raṇa kaḷiyum*) is to be understood in the sense that the above-mentioned chief Jagadeva was assisted by the Tuḷu (*i.e.*, Ālupa) king, who must have already strengthened his Śāntara alliance prior to the event in question. Only in this way can we understand the term "armies" of Jagadeva referred to in the record.[1]

There is another consideration which justifies our assumption relating to the overthrow of the Tuḷu kings and to the armies of Jagadeva given above. This can be best understood by discussing the date of the subjugation of Jagadeva by Viṣṇuvardhana Deva. We place this event after A.D. 1117 according to the following considerations.

Vīra Jagadeva's attack on Dorasumdra took place in A.D. 1104. The Ālupa people committed havoc in the Hoysala territory in A.D. 1114 when the Śāntara chief had visited Bārakūru and given a grant of land to a temple in that city. That Viṣṇuvardhana Deva could not have undertaken the subjugation of Jagadeva till A.D. 1116 is clear from the trend of events in the Hoysala capital. There that ruler, who seems to have ascended the throne in about A.D. 1104, was being con-

1. *My. Ins.* p. 263. Rice correctly states in his *Intr.* that Viṣṇuvardhana subdued the Kadamba king Jayakeśin, and then Jagadeva who is described in his record, as ruling in Tuḷuva. *Intr.* p. lxxvii. By Tuḷuva is here meant the territory round Setu. B. A. S.

verted from Jainism into Vaiṣṇavism under the influence of the great reformer Rāmānujācārya. Indeed, it was only in A.D. 1116, as Rice rightly remarks, that Viṣṇuvardhana Deva entered on a series of brilliant campaigns beginning with the conquest of Talakāḍ (A.D. 1116).[1]

It was in the year A.D. 1117 that Viṣṇuvardhana Deva overcame the Śāntara chief Jagadeva, for in the list of the conquests of his great general Puṇisa, who had conquered the Nīlādri and Maleyāḷa, as given in a record dated A.D. 1117, no mention is made of Tuḷuva.[2] Yet we presume that it was in the same year that the Hoysala monarch overthrew Jagadeva and his ally the Ālupa ruler. For in a record dated in that year (A.D. 1117) the glory of the Hoysala monarch is sung, and it is related that bursting the heart of the Tuḷu kings in the game of war, he swept over other regions in a career of conquests.[3]

Now, when was the subjugation of the Ālupa king Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva effected, and who was the Hoysala general who is credited with the conquest of the Tuḷu country ? Since Jagadeva's subjugation is to be placed in A.D. 1117, we have to presume that the overthrow of the Ālupa ruler followed in the same year or immediately afterwards. That Viṣṇuvardhana Deva subdued that Ālupa ruler will be proved from a later

1. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.* p. 99.
2. *E. C.* IV. Ch. 83, p. 10.
3. *Ibid*, V. Bl. 58, pp. 56-57. Cf. *My. Ins.*, p. 263, op. cit.

record dated A.D. 1162 of the times of Narasimha Deva I which describes graphically the conquests of his great father. We believe that the subjugation of the Ālupa ruler was effected between the year A.D. 1117 and A.D. 1120 on the strength of the epigraphs which mention the conquests of the Tuḷu country by Viṣṇuvardhana Deva. Thus, an inscription dated about A.D. 1120 informs us that that Hoysala monarch "took by the might of his arm the Tuḷu country". In the same inscription he is styled "a submarine fire to the ocean the Tuḷuva forces".[1] Another inscription assigned to about A.D. 1125 relates that Viṣṇuvardhana Deva took the Tuḷu country (*Tuḷudeśam*) among other countries.[2] In A.D. 1131 the Hoysala monarch is called "a dragger along of the Tuḷuvas."[3] An epigraph dated A.D. 1133 informs us that he brought into subjection the whole of the Male and the whole of the Tuḷu country.[4] In a record of the next year (A.D. 1134) he is called "The capturer with a frown of the Tuḷu country." [5]

Inspite of the statements made in some of the above inscriptions that the great Hoysala monarch had captured the whole of the Tuḷu country, it is permissible to assume that he did not annihilate the Ālupa power. This is attested to by the following considerations:—

1. *E.C.* XI. Tp. 58, p. 54.
2. *Ibid,* IV. Ng. 28, p. 117.
3. *Ibid,* II. No. 53, p. 131 (1st ed.).
4. *Ibid,* V. Bl. 124, p. 81.
5. *Ibid,* XII. Gb. 34, p. 24.

Firstly, in some of the inscriptions of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva himself, Tuḷuva is not included in the list of the conquests made by that monarch.

Secondly, one inscription specifically states that he captured only as far as Bārakūru, while the others give the Bārakanūru Ghat (*i.e.*, Bārakūru itself) as the western boundry of his empire.

And, thirdly, the inscriptions of his son and successor Narasimha Deva I speak of Āḷvakheḍa as the western boundry of the Hoysala empire. Moreover, a Hoysala general had to be sent again to check the growth of the Ālupas in the reign of that same monarch.

In one record dated about A.D. 1120, and in others dated A.D. 1135, A.D. 1139 and A.D. 1141, Tuḷuva is not included in the list of countries conquered by Viṣṇuvardhana Deva. These epigraphs belong to his reign, and their evidence, therefore, cannot be doubted.[1] Even in a later record dated A.D. 1160, which recounts all his conquests, no mention is made of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva's having conquered Tuḷuva.[2] We may cite here a later record dated A.D. 1170 of the reign of Narasimha Deva I which does not add Tuḷuva in the list of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva's conquests.[3] The statement made in another epigraph of the same Hoysala ruler Narasiṃha Deva to the effect that Āḷva sank down before Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, as will be mentioned presently, only serves to

1. *E.C.* III. Sr. 43, p. 15; II. No. 56, p. 143, No. 144, p. 187 (1st ed.); VI. Kp. 80, p. 15. Kd. 96, p. 17.
2. *Ibid*, VI. Kd. 67, pp. 12-13.
3. *Ibid*, Kd. 30, p. 6.

strengthen our assumption concerning the integrity of the Ālupa kingdom.

Two records which also belong to Viṣṇuvardhana Deva's reign, dated A.D. 1129 and A.D.1140 respectively, inform us that the Bārakanūru Ghat was the western boundry of the Hoysala empire.[1] An inscription dated A.D. 1141, which was the last year of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, clearly tells us that the strong-armed Hoysala Deva (*i. e.*, Viṣṇuvardhana) conquered (only) as far as Bārakanūru on the west ([*paḍuva*] *lu Bārakanūru muṭṭe*).[2]

The name of the general who brought Tuḷuva under the Hoysala power is now to be found out. It is not disclosed in any of the inscriptions of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva himself. But an inscription of Ballāḷa Deva II dated A.D. 1183 informs us that Boppa Daṇḍādhipati having brought the Malenāḍ, the Tuḷunāḍ, the beautiful Coḷamaṇḍala, and the territory up to the Peddoṟe as the northern boundry into subjection to the king Viṣṇu, acquired the name of *drōharagharaṭṭa* (A Grind stone to Traitors), because of the might of his arms with which he slew those who attacked him in the battle.[3]

That Āḷvakheḍa remained in tact inspite of the glorious military achievements of the Hoysala monarch

1. *E. C.* Mg. 22, p. 62, Kd. 79, p. 15.
2. *Ibid*, VI. Kd. 102, p. 19.
3. *Ibid*, V. Bl. 137, p. 91. An inscription dated A.D. 1136 (of the times of Narasiṁha Deva ?) relates that Ballāḷa Camūpa (also called Baḷḷu and Vaḷḷu) caused the Coḷa country to tremble, and took tribute from Tuḷuvalapura. *E. C.* VI. Kd. 35, p. 7. Tuḷuvalapura does not refer to Tuḷuva here. B. A. S.

and his able general is proved by the inscriptions of the ruler who succeeded Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, and by the fact that another Hoysala general was sent against the Ālupas in A.D. 1155. One of the boundries of the kingdom of Narasiṁha Deva, as given in an inscription dated A.D. 1143, was Āḷvakheḍa in the west.[1] The reason why Narasiṁha Deva sent one of his generals against the Tuḷuva ruler is to be found in the repeated attempts which the Ālupa king Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva I made to assert his independence. An inscription dated A.D. 1155 relates that Cokimayya, also called Bokimayya and Bokaṇa, who was the great minister and general, and senior master of the robes, brought into subjection the Tuḷu country. Bokaṇa was like a mirror to the goddess of victory in all the earth.[2] The recrudescence of the Ālupa danger in the reign of Narasiṃha Deva I and the consequent succeess which his great general won over the Ālupas was perhaps the reason why in about A.D. 1160, and again A.D. 1163, that Hoysala ruler is called "a submarine fire to the ocean the Tuḷuva forces". [3]

We may cite here a few instances of the popularity of the conquest of Tuḷuva by Viṣṇuvardhana Deva in the reign of his son Narasiṁha Deva I. An inscription dated A.D. 1160 narrates that "the door of the Ghats was closed" by king Viṣṇu.[4] The reference here is

1. *E. C.* V. Ak. 55, p. 130.
2. *Ibid*, Hn. 69, p. 21.
3. *Ibid*, II. No. 137 (a), p. 181, (1st ed.) ; XII, Tp, 66, p. 56.
4. *Ibid*, II. No. 138, p. 183, (1st ed.).

obviously to the extension of the Hoysala arms to the Bārakanūru Ghat. The valiant Viṣṇuvardhana Deva took with a frown (*bhrūbhaṅgadim*) the Tuḷu country along with Cakragoṭṭa and other centres. So is related in another record of Narasiṁha Deva dated A.D. 1162.[1]

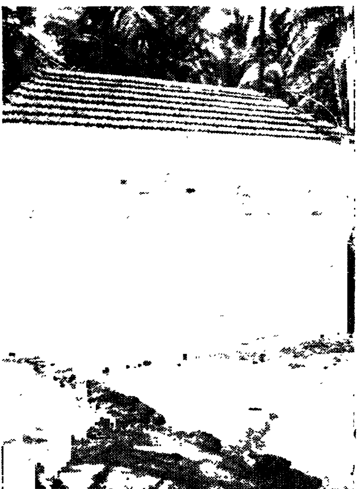
The same inscription graphically describes the conquests of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva and proves our assertion that he had only vanquished the Ālupa ruler. It describes how when he sounded the war drums, Cera's chest split open like a door broken into two, Āndhra's stoutness was reduced by the beating of himself, and Āḷva sank (*Ceram-ede-havane pāridud Āndhran ubbegam baḍutave kandidam kusidan Āḷvaran ālisi poyva bhēriyam*).[2] This epigraph conclusively shows that the Ālupa king was neither killed nor driven to the forest, but that he merely submitted to the Hoysala monarch.

Another inscription dated A.D. 1162 speaks of Nṛpa Kāma Hoysala's son capturing Tuḷunāḍu. As Rice has shown, the reference here is to Viṣṇuvardhnana Deva himself.[3]

It is interesting to observe here that the memory of Narasiṁha Deva was perpetuated in Tuḷuva by the construction of a well known fort and town. This was the famous Jamālābād fort (twenty miles east of Mangalore) of the eighteenth century. Concerning its early history Buchanan noted the following:— That

1-2. *E. C.* IV. Hs. 137, p. 96, text p. 270.
3. *Ibid*, V. Intr. pp. x-xi ; Ak. 142, p. 176.

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The Būḍu of the Eḍambūru Ballāḷa

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The graves of Kōṭi and Cennaya at Eḍambūru

Photo by B. A. S.] [Copyright

according to the tradition of locality (at Jamālābād), a Brahman named Narasinga Rāya, the founder of a dynasty which governed the whole of Tuḷuva immediately after that of Mayūravarmā became extinct, built a town on the banks of the river here, and called it Narasinga Angaḍi after his own name. Towards the foot of the rock, at present occupied by the fortress, he erected a citadel and this was the residence of the family of which Buchanan found no traces in any other place.[1]

Narasiṁha Deva's son by Mahā Devī was Ballāḷa Deva II, who proved to be a second Viṣṇuvardhana. Even in the reign of his father, Ballāḷa, then known by the name Baḷḷu, is credited with a victory over Tuḷuva. The inscription records that Tuḷuva losing his power ran away (*Tuḷuvam aḷavigett-ōḍidan*). In the same epigraph the title "submarine fire to the Tuḷuva army" is given to Ballāḷa.[2] In A.D. 1173 the inscriptions merely repeat the great deeds of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva concerning Tuḷuva, and have nothing to say concerning Ballāḷa Deva's relations with that province.[3] Then, again, in A.D. 1174, the same is repeated but this record adds that when Ballāḷa mounted his horse for his expedition of victory, Tuḷuva losing his confidence ran away.[4]

1. Buchanan, *A Journey*, III. p. 68. Later tradition evidently made the Hoysala Narasimha a Brahman. But the Hoysalaṣ were never Brahmans. For a description of the fort at Jamālābād, read Sturrock, *S. C. Manual*, I. p. 79, n. (12). B. A. S.

2. *E. C.* IV. Ng. 30, pp. 119, 339.

3. *Ibid*, VI. Kd. 4, p. 2; Kd. 136, p. 26.

4. *Ibid*, V. Ak. 138, p. 173.

But in the list of conquests given in the next year (A.D. 1175) no mention is made of Tuḷuva.[1] Viṣṇuvardhana Deva's prowess relating to Tuḷuva is sung in A.D. 1178, A.D. 1179, and in about A.D. 1180.[2]

Notwithstanding the few notices relating to Ballāḷa Deva's campaign against Tuḷuva, we may presume that he left Āḷvakheḍa intact under the Ālupa ruler Bhujabala Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I. It is true that in a record assigned to *circa* A.D. 1178 Ballāḷa Deva is said to have covered up with smoke Pānugal and the mountainous Āḷvakheḍa.[3] And again in A.D. 1182 he is called by the phrase "submarine fire to the ocean Tuḷuva."[4] But the fact of Bārakanūru having been the western boundary of Ballāḷa Deva's empire on the west, as recorded in an epigraph dated A.D. 1178, and confirmed by another inscription of A.D. 1184,[5] clearly demonstrates that the Ālupas continued undistributed in their kingdom. It is possible that at the end of Hoysala campaign about which we do not know anything for the

1. *E. C.* III. My. 8, p. 1.

2. *Ibid,* IV. Ng. 70, p. 130; Ng. 15, p. 115; VII. Sh. 40, p. 18. This last epigraph dated in about A.D. 1180, deserves a passing note. When Rice at first included Tuḷuva-Rājendrapuram among the conquests of Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, he assigned the inscription to about A.D. 1160 *E. C.* III. Sr. 74, p. 25. But another version of the same fact clearly says that Tuḷuva and Rājendrapuram were captured. This inscription is assigned to about A.D. 1180. *E. C.* VII. Sh. 40, p. 18. B. A. S.

3. *Ibid,* V. Cn. 220, p. 220.

4. *Ibid,* II. No. 124, p. 174. (1st ed.).

5. *Ibid,* VI. Cm. 21–22, p. 37–8; *ibid,* IV. Ng. 32, p. 120. This latter record deals with Vinayāditya Hoysala, and sings also Viṣṇuvardhana Deva's praise.

present, the Ālupa ruler was merely made to pay tribute to the Hoysala monarch. The records of the reign of Ballāḷa Deva II ranging from A.D. 1190 to A.D. 1208 ascribe to him the honour given to him in A.D. 1164, *viz.*; that on his mounting his horse for war, Tuḷuva, disgracing his power, ran away (*Tuḷuvan aḷavigeṭṭ ōḍidan*), and repeat the eulogy bestowed on Viṣṇuvardhana Deva when the latter had subdued Tuḷuva.[1] Tuḷuva is not mentioned in the list of conquests given in epigraphs dated A.D. 1193 and in about A.D. 1194.[2]

In the same year (A.D. 1194), however, the Ālupas caused a disturbance in the Hoysala territory. The inscription which describes this informs us that "along with Āḷuva Nāyaka, putting a stop to the riot, Jatanayya son of Jakka Gauḍa, son of Eca Gauḍa of Beratiyakeṟe, fought in Musuvana-kaṭṭa" and died.[3] The result of this raid is unknown. But in A.D. 1196 the traditional *biruda* "a submarine fire to the ocean the Tuḷuva army" is given to Ballāḷa Deva II.[4]

A further proof of the existence of the Ālupas as a power in the reign of the next Hoysala king Narasiṁha Deva II is given in a record of A.D. 1278 which makes Āḷvakheḍa the western boundary of the Hoysala empire.[5]

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1. *E.C.* IV. Ng. 93, p. 137; VI. Kd. 77, p. 14; XII. Tp. 128, p. 67. VI. Kd. 117. p. 21.
2. *Ibid*, VII. Sk. 105, p. 77, III. Sr. 44, p. 10. The latter is dated by Rice in A.D. 1195. In view of the troubles in A.D. 1194 or thereabouts, it may not be wrong to date it in that year. B. A. S.
3. *Ibid*, VI. Kd. 81, p. 15.
4. *Ibid*, II. No. 130, p. 177. (1st ed.).
5. *Ibid*, V. Cn. 204, p. 213.

A critical stage in the history of the Ālupas is reached with the accession of the last great Hoysala monarch, Vīra Ballāḷa Deva III. Seven stone inscriptions of this monarch and of his chief queen have been found in Tuḷuva itself, while four more concerning his dealings with this province have been found on the Ghats. Before we proceed to deal with these eleven epigraphs, we may observe that Vīra Ballāḷa Deva III's interference in Tuḷuva affairs was not altogether unjustifiable. The Hosagunda rulers, as we have already described above, were playing the part of king-makers ; and they were the feudatories of the Yādavas (Seuṇas) who were the traditional enemies of the Hoysalas. The Yādava advance to the south could be checked only when their powerful feudatories, the Hosagunda chieftains, were thwarted in their designs. And this could be successfully done by controlling the affairs in Tuḷuva and establishing the Hoysala authority in that province on a firm basis. This explains the gradual disappearance of the Ālupas and the absorption of their principalitty first in the Hoysala empire, and then, in that of their successors, the Vijayanagara monarchs.

The seven stone inscriptions found in Tuḷuva proper, dealing with Vīra Ballāḷa Deva III, are the following:— the Mūḍubidre Guru *basti* stone inscription; the Kānteśvara temple stone inscription, both in the Kārkaḷa taluka; two stone inscriptions found in the Mahiśāsuramardhini temple at Nīlāvara in the Uḍipi tāluka ; the Someśvara temple stone inscription dis-

covered at Mūḍukēṟi in Bārakūru ; the stone epigraph found in Baiḷūru in the Uḍipi tāluka : and the Gubbukōṇe Gopālakṛṣna temple stone inscription found at Kanyāṇa, Kundāpūru tāluka.

Of these the Mūḍubidre Guru *basti* stone inscription is important from the Hoysala point of view. For in this record the future Vīra Ballāḷa Deva is associated with the town of Mūḍubidre. The inscription narrates, among other things, that Śrī Vīra Ballāḷa Deva was ruling the kingdom of the world (*S'rī-Vīra Ballāḷa Devarugaḷu pṛthuvī-rājyam-geyyutt-irdda*). He is mentioned as the son of Śrī Vīra Narasiṁha Adhīndra Deva (Narasiṁha Deva III), who is given the following *birudas*- *śrī-Mañjunātha-dēvara dibya-śrī-pāda-padma-ārādhakaram para-baḷa-sādhakarum appa śrīmat Pāṇḍya-cakravartin Basava S'ankara-rāya-gajānkuśa huli-rāya gaṇḍa-bhēruṇḍa śrīmat pratāpa-cakravarti Hoyisaṇa śrī-Vīra Narasimhādīndra.*

We may observe here that of these titles *Pāṇḍya cakravartin* is the same *biruda* which Bankideva Ālupendradeva had assumed in A.D. 1302, while *Pāṇḍya-cakravartin arirāya-Basava-S'ankara* had been borne by Soyideva Ālupendradeva in A.D. 1315, and again in A.D. 1324. Gopīśvara Rāya had borne the *biruda* of *arirāya-Basava-S'ankara* in A.D. 1332, while Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva in A.D. 1346 had also the same *biruda* in addition to his other *birudas Pāṇḍya-cakravartin arirāya gajāṅkuśa*. The *biruda Pāṇḍya-cakravartin* alone may be said to have been the legitimate title of the Ālupas. As to how the titles *arirāya-Basava-S'ankara* and *arirāya-Gajānkuśa* came to

be assumed by them, and how these two titles came to be borne by the Hoysala prince Ballāḷa cannot be made out for the present.

The Mūḍubidre stone inscription is dated only in the cyclic year Vis(ś)u and the 15th Thursday. The cyclic year Vṛsa agrees with Śaka 1203, and the date corresponds to Thursday the 9th January A.D. 1281.[1]

Since Vīra Ballāḷa is represented as ruling the kingdom of the world, and since the record was found at Mūḍubidre, it may reasonably be inferred that prince Ballāḷa in A.D. 1281 was placed by his father Vīra Narasiṁha Deva III as viceroy over Tuḷuva with his headquarters at Mūḍubidre. Ten years before Vīra Ballāḷa Deva came to the throne, therefore, he had seen State service in Tuḷuva.

The Mūḍubidre record gives us the following information :—Hariyapa Daṇṇāyaka, the brother-in-law of Devapa Daṇṇākaya Mādaḍharu, son of Hosabaḍaharu, *Adhikāri* Deva Āḷuva, Salikeyara, Ballāḷas, eight respectable Śeṭṭis (or heads of the commercial guilds) of Mūḍubidre, and others, having decided among themselves (*tammoḷ-ēkastar āgi*), caused a decree to be signed which we have already noticed in the previous pages of this treatise.[2]

1. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* IV. p. 164.

2. *43 of 1901*, *S. I. I.*, VII. No. 213, pp. 108-9, op. cit. *Supra* Ch. III. Sec. 10, C. Dr. Venkata Ramanayya asserts that Vīra Ballāḷa III in A.D. 1297 conquered "one of the numerous Āḷupa Chiefs that were ruling on the west coast" about this time. *Vijayanagara-The Origin of the City and the Empire*, p. 67, and *ibid*, n. (1). (Madras, 1933). The reference given is to *E. C.* IV. Ng. 95 and *Mys. Arch.*

Here we have to relate the events which happened in A.D. 1300 and after, since they will explain Vīra Ballāḷa Deva's attitude towards Tuḷuva. A stone inscription found at Baradavaḷi, Sāgar tāluka, and dated A.D. 1300, narrates that Vīra Ballāḷa Deva having taken Hosagunda, captured Kōṭi Nāyaka and carried off his elephant, marched in the next year against Gangeya Sāhaṇi, and encamped at Śirśi. He then plundered Kaḍabalalu. This seems to have led to a coalition of the Kadamba Cakravartin (Kāva Deva ?) and the Cāḷukya Cakravartin, whose praise is given. Jagadalāḷa Gangeya Sāhaṇi, the great minister of Kāva Deva, however, sent for the "brave lion" Madi Gauḍa, who pierced the horse of the enemy, destroyed them and "broke Ballāḷa Deva's army" but died in the encounter.[1] Vīra Ballāḷa Deva, therefore, failed in this attempt to crush the Hosagunda rulers, who were the traditional enemies of the Hoysalas.

He made another attempt in A.D. 1303 to subvert them. In that year he is represented as marching with his whole army and encamping at Banavase. This time, too, he took the field against "the world-renowned Gangeya Sāhaṇi". The inscription discovered at

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Rept. for 1918, p. 47. But the former reference is wrong, for Ng. 95 is an undated inscription assigned by Rice to *circa* A.D. 1142. It records merely the construction of a Jinālaya by a citizen. *E. C.* IV. p. 138. There were never "numerous Āḷupa Chiefs" on the western coast. Evidently Dr. Ramanayya confounds the Ālupas of Tuḷuva with the "numerous" chiefs who bore a similar name but on the Western Ghats ! B. A. S.

1. *E. C.* VIII. Sa. 45, p. 98.

Rāvaṇakān, Sāgar tāluka, records the battle of Sirise (Śirśi) in the Kadaṃbalaligenāḍ, and the heroic deeds of Rāṇavagga Bīra. Vīra Ballāḷa Deva evidently was successful in this encounter.[1]

The two campaigns at Śirśi had grave effects on the history of Tuḷuva. Śirśi in those ages belonged to Tuḷuva. That the Tuḷuvas were in some way implicated in the affairs that led to the two encounters at Śirśi there cannot be any doubt. Indeed, the following epigraph dated A.D. 1319 January, Tuesday the 2nd,—sixteen years after the second battle at Śirśi,—clearly suggests that the Tuḷuvas had invited disaster on themselves. For this stone epigraph found at Hanagavāḍi, Honnāḷi tāluka, gives an account of the measures which Vīra Ballāḷa Deva's generals took to assert the Hoysala authority in Tuḷuva.

The cause of the trouble was following : a leader called Basava Deva of Candāvuru below the Ghats (*i.e.*, in Tuḷuva) had rebelled against the Hoysalas for some unknown reasons. At this Sankiya Sāhaṇi, the brother-in- law of the senior house (palace) minister (*hiriya maneya pradhāni*) Baiceya Daṇṇāyaka, was directed to march against Basava Deva. Candavūru was destroyed, and Sankiya Sāhaṇi proceeded against Muṭla......which he besieged. In the battle of the Ghats, as it is called in the record, the Tuḷavas were destroyed. The most

1. *E. C.*, Sa. 101, p. 110. A record dated A.D. 1317 informs us that Vīra Ballāḷa Deva gave a grant to some one. It mentions Gaṅgeya Daṇṇāyaka as the son of Āḷuva Daṇṇāyaka, one of the royal *Daṇḍanāthas* of the court. *E. C.* IX., Ma. 59, p. 58. B. A. S.

remarkable incident in the battle, it may be observed, was the heroism of *Mahāsāmanta Sāmantādhipati* Sangiya Nāyaka, who died in the battle.[1]

The other inscriptions found in Tuḷuva are also to be referred to the reign of the same Hoysala monarch. The first of these was found in the Mahiśāsuramardhini temple at Nīlāvara in the Uḍipi tāluka. It is dated Śaka 1255, Āṅgirasa, Phāḷguna, Ba. 10, Mīna, 16, Thursday which corresponds to A.D. 1333, March the 11th Thursday. The inscription records a gift of lands in Niruvāra (*i.e.*, Nīlāvara) by the fourteen members of the assembly of the village to the temple of Durgā Bhagavatī. The gift was made with the permission of Vayijapa Daṇṇāyaka and other officers and in the presence of the chief queen Cikkāyi Tāyigaḷu.[2]

Another record also discovered in the same temple but dated Śaka 1257, Bhāva, Dhanus, 2(8), Vaḍḍavāra which corresponds to A.D. 1334, December the 24th Saturday, gives the name of the queen as Bukkāyi Tāyi. The village (assembly) of Niruvāra (seems to have made a similar gift).[3]

1. *E. C.* VII. Hl. 117, pp. 178, 423. The date given is *Śakavaruśa* 1248 *neya Kāḷāyukta Samvatsarada Śu. 10 Sōmavāra.* But the cyclic year for Śaka 1248 was Kṣaya, while for Śaka 1240 it was Kāḷāyukta. The date intended was probably A.D. 1319 January the 2nd Tuesday, the week day not corresponding. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* IV, p. 240.

2. *492 of 1928-29*; *Ep. Rept.* for 1928-9, p. 54. (Śaka 1255 = Śrīmukha ; Śaka 1254 = Āṅgīrasa). But Phālguṇa Bahuḷa 10 = March the 12th Friday. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* IV. p. 268.

3. *493 of 1928-9* ; *Ep. Rept.* for 1928-9, p. 54.

But the correct name of the chief queen of Vīra Ballāḷa Deva was Kṛṣṇāyi Tāyi. This is gathered from a stone inscription found in the Someśvara temple at Mūḍukēṛi in Bārakūru. It styles her as the senior crowned queen (*paṭṭada piri-arasi K[ṛ]i[ṣṇ]āyi Tāyi*). The *Mahāpradhāna* Vayijapa Daṇṇāyaka during the ministership (*pradhānikeyalu*) of Ajjaṇṇa Sāhaṇi, in the presence of the senior crowned queen Kṛṣṇāyi Tāyi, made some (specified) endowment for the customary procedure of the god Somanātha (*Somanātha dēvara bēhara naḍavaḍe*). The co-operation of the three Śeṭṭis or the heads of the commereial guilds of the three streets of Bārakūru (*mūru kēriya mūvāru S'eṭṭikāraru*), and of the 150 citizens and of others (*?nūru aivattu eḷame muntāgi*) was also obtained while making the endowment.

The above inscription is dated *S'aka varuṣa 1258 neya Dhātu saṁvatsarada Vaiśākha S'uddha 1 Meśa māsa 16 neya S'anivāradandu* which works out correctly to A.D. 1336 April (Dhātṛi) the 13th Saturday.[1]

The sixth stone inscription which falls within the reign of the Hoysala monarch Vīra Ballāḷa Deva III was found at Bailūru in the Uḍipi tāluka. It is dated Śaka

1. *122 of 1901*; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 312, p. 163; Swamikannu, *ibid*, IV. p. 274. The opinion of Rangachari that the record of A.D. 1331 "Shows that the Ālupas were overthrown by the Hoysalas in the government of the District" *Top. List.*, II, p. 861) is erroneous. We have seen that epigraphical evidence proves that the Ālupas continued to rule even under the Vijayanagara monarchs as feudatories till A.D. 1441 ! Neither the Hoysala nor the Vijayanagara rulers were indiscreet enough to overthrow an ancient family that had governed the district for centuries. B. A. S.

1257 (A.D. 1335-6), and it narrates that the queen Kikkāyi Tāyi granted the *samudāya* tax of the village of Bailūru (for the offerings of the god?) to Vāsudeva Mudali. The *Mahāpradhāna* Baicapa Daṇṇāyaka and the *nakhara hañjumāna* or the corporate assembly of Bailūru are also mentioned in this record.[1]

And yet another stone inscription of this queen has been found in Tuḷuva. It was discovered in the Gubbukōṇe Gopālakṛṣṇa temple at Kanyāṇa in the Kundāpūru tāluka. It is dated only in the cyclic year (Śarva) dhārin, Mithuna, Friday, which agrees with Śaka 1270 (A.D. 1348 June), the other detail being insufficient to verify the date. In this the ruler is given the following *birudas*:—*Pāṇḍya Cakravartin*, *arirāya-Basava S'aṅkara* and *rāya-gajāṅkuśa*. And the queen is represented as making a gift of land to Aṇṇa Hebbāruva.[2]

We may be permitted to refer here to the remarks of the Madras Government Epigraphist (Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar) concerning this Kanyāṇa stone inscription. He writes thus:—"As the present inscription makes no mention of Vīra Ballāḷa, while giving all the regal titles to his queen Kikkāyi, it must be understood that subsequent to his demise which is known to have taken place in A.D. 1342 (Rice, *Mysore and Coorg.*, p. 108), his queen ascended the throne and was alive in the year Sarvadhārin which corresponds to Śaka 1271, *i. e.*, A.D. 1348. The same queen figures in an in-

1. *583 of 1929-30.*
2. *360 of 1930-31.*

scription of Harihara II from Śriṅgeri (*Ep. Carn.* Vi. Sg. 1) dated three years earlier than the above epigraph, *viz.*, in Śaka 1268, Pārthiva, with the same *birudas* and supplementing a grant of land made by the king to the teacher Bhārati Tīrtha, thus showing the subordinate position of the last Hoysala rulers to the rising Vijayanagara power.[1]

The above form a string of blunders. It is incorrect to assert that consequent on the death of Vīra Ballāḷa Deva III his queen ascended the throne. For this violates all the known facts concerning that ruler and his son and successor Virūpākṣa Ballāḷa IV. The latter came to the throne on the death of his father in A.D. 1343.[2] Secondly, the cyclic year Sarvadhārin given in the above Kanyāṇa record agrees with Śaka 1270 and not with Śaka 1271 the cyclic year of which was Virodhin.[3] Thirdly, it was not Harihara Rāya II who made the gift to Bhārati Tīrtha Śrīpāda, as recorded in the famous Śringeri *maṭha* inscription,—which we have referred to in this treatise—, but it was Harihara Oḍeya I who, along with his brothers, went to the Śringeri *maṭha* in A.D. 1346. Further, none of the inscriptions under review, including the one as Śringeri, gives the titles *Pāṇḍya cakravartin*, etc. to the queen Kikkāyi Tāyi. They were assumed either by Vīra Ballāḷa Deva III or by the Ālupa ruler Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva II.

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1. *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle for 1930–31*, p. 49.
2. Saletore, *S. P. Life*. I. p. 7., and *ibid*, n. 6; 11, seq.
3. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* IV. pp. 298–300.

The fact that no ruler is mentioned in the record from Kanyāṇa is significant : it shows us that on the death of Vīra Ballāḷa III, his queen came to the court of her brother Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva II. We have seen elsewhere that Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva II lived till A.D. 1366. The Kanāyaṇa record, therefore, has to be assigned to his reign. And, finally, the last of the Hoysala kings were never subordinate to the rising Vijayanagara family.[1]

A few observations may be made concerning the senior crowned queen Kṛṣṇāyi Tāyi. She figures in five inscriptions hailing from the Kundāpūru, Uḍipi and Kārkaḷa tālukas. In all the five she is associated with the most prominent citizens who made gifts to temples in Tuḷuva. It is not improbable that the senior crowned queen was herself a Tuḷuva princess. This explains why she appears five times in the records of Tuḷuva.

A striking coincidence in support of our assumption is to be found in the fragmentary record already cited in the previous pages. This record dated A.D. 1346 was found in the Śriṅgeri *maṭha* and it deals with the Ālupa king Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva. In this inscription the queen is called Śrī Kikkāi Tāyi. Evidently there is some error here : the name Kikkāyi Tāyi has been wrongly inserted for that of Kṛṣṇāyi Tāyi. But how the scribe came to mix up this name with that of Vīra Pāṇḍya

1. For a further discussion on this subject, read, Saletore, *ibid*, p. 11 seq.; *I. H. Q.*, VIII, pp. 294, seq.

deva, two of whose *birudas–Pāṇḍya-cakravartin* and *arirāya Basava S'aṅkara*—were also borne by Vīra Ballāḷa Deva III, cannot be made out, except on the supposition that queen Kṛṣṇāyi Tāyi was the sister of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva. The fact of Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva's having made a grant to the same religious centre (Śringerī *maṭha*) in the very same year (A.D. 1346) when the five famous brothers, the founders of the empire of Vijayanagara, also had made a grant to the same institution, seems to point to the remarkable spirit of co-operation that prevailed amongst the new-comers and the Ālupas.[1]

The battles of Śirśi and of the Ghāts led to a crisis in Tuḷuva. This is proved by the personal visit which Vīra Ballāḷa Deva paid to the general in Bārakūru in Śaka 1260 (A.D. 1338). The Someśvara temple epigraph found at Āladahaḷḷi, Arsiyakere tāluka, relates that when the monarch "paid a visit to the Bārakūru army, on his ordering Aṅkeya Nāyaka, son of the *great master of the robes* Honneya Nāyaka of Bāgivāḷa in Kumāravṛtti-ya Kūsu of the old Nirguṅdanāḍ, saying— 'Remain in Bārakūru', he replied— 'I will stay, Sire' (*iddhenu Jīyā!*)! At which being pleased the monarch granted to him Āladahaḷḷi, a hamlet of Bāgivāḷa, as a *kodagi*."[2]

1. Dr. Venkata Ramanayya admits that Kikkāyi Tāyi was an Ālupa by birth. But his statement that she bore the *birudas Pāṇḍya-cakravartin, Basava-Śaṅkara,* and *rāyagajāṅkuśa* (*Vijayanagara—The Origin of the City and the Empire,* p. 134) is incorrect. Queens never bore, except in one solitary instance of a Kākatīya princess, the *birudas* of men ! B. A. S.

2. *E. C.* V. Ak. 183, p. 185. Dr. Ramanayya has totally mis-understood the attitude of Vīra Ballāḷa III towards Tuḷuva. He main-

To this year A.D. 1338 is to be assigned the damaged and undated Kānteśvara temple stone inscription of the same Hoysala monarch. The following *birudas* are given to the ruler in this epigraph found in the Kārkaḷa tāluka:—*samasta bhuvana-vikhyāta*, *mahārājādhirāja*, *arirāya Basava-S'aṅkara*, *śrimat pratāpa cakravartin Hoysala Vīra Ballāḷa Deva.* The inscription contains the cyclic year Bahudhānya incorrectly written as *...madhyāna* (*Sam*) *vatsara*. The contents of this record have already been discussed in an earlier connection.[1]

The last of the Hoysala monarchs, therefore, took a personal interest in the Tuḷuva affairs. When we remember that his senior crowned queen was a Tuḷuva princess, this solicitude for the welfare of the province is not unintelligible. But nothing can be gathered from the epigraphs concerning the result of this royal visit to Bārakūru in A.D. 1338. To his successors--the rulers of Vijayanagara-, however, was transmitted an equally lively interest in the affairs of Tuḷuva. Strictly speaking this part of the narrative falls outside the scope of the present work. But so that we may note the position of the capital Bārakūru which Vīra Ballāḷa Deva visited, even after the advent of the Vijayanagara

tains that the Hoysala ruler went to Tuḷuva to meet "the only foe" he had on the western coast—Harihara Rāya I, one of the founders of Vijayanagara! Ramanayya, *ibid*, p. 134. This is mere imagination. B. A. S.

1. *57 A of 1901*, *S. I. I.* VII. No. 232, p. 118, op. cit., Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, IV. pp. 28, 278.

monarchs, we may be permitted to review briefly the epigraphs which deal with this capital of the Ālupas.

The Vijayanagara viceroys continued to govern Tuḷuva from the same city of Bārakūru. This is proved by an inscription found in that city of the times of Harihara Rāya II, in which it is related that, while that monarch was in his *nelevīḍu* of Dorasamudra (*śrī-vīra Harihara Mahārāyaru Dorasamudrada nelevīḍinoḷage*), his viceroy, the servant at his feet, *Mahāpradhāna* Mallapa Oḍeyar was in the *rājadhāni* of Bārakūru governing the Tuḷu, Hayve, and Koṅkan kingdoms.

The date of the above record is given thus :—*S'aka var(u)ṣa 130(9) sandu 10 neya Vartamāna (Prabhava) samvatsarada Āśādḥa S'udha 1 Sōmavara* which corresponds to A.D. 1387 Monday the 17th June.[1]

The importance of Bārakurū is apparent from a stone inscription found in a ruined *basti* leading to the Coḷikēṟi in Bārakūru. It is dated *S'aka 1321 neya Varta-*

1. *154 of 1901*; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 347, p. 203. Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.*, IV, p. 376. Here comes a figure which cannot be satisfactorily identified. A stone inscription found in Mīyāra in the Kārkaḷa tāluka, mentions a Vīra Camṇarasa. It records a *sarvamānya* gift of land by Kōṭi Śeṭṭi *alias* Binnāṇi, and others, for offerings to the temple of Mahādeva at Mīyāra. The date of the record is given as Śaka 1307 Krōdhana Kārtika 1, Sunday which works out correctly to A.D. 1385, October the 29th Sunday. (*531 of 1927-8* ; *Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 59). Who this Vīra Camṇarasa Oḍeya was, cannot be made out. Two copies of a copper-plate grant found in the Subrahmaṇya temple at Kukke in the Puttūru tāluka, represent Mādhava Rāya as lord of Gōvapura. His gifts to some Brahmans for the worship of the god Subrahmaṇya are recorded in the grant. The grant is dated Kali 4488, Śaka 1309 (A.D. 1386), and contains many chronological details. *387 of 1927-8* ; 2 *of 1928-9* ; *Ep. Rept.* for 1928-9, p. 82.

māna (*Pramādi*) *samvatsara S'ravaṇa S'u. 1* Friday which corresponds to A.D. 1399 July the 4th Friday.[1] It represents the *Mahāpradhāna* Nāgarasa Oḍeya in Bārakūru. That viceroy together with the sixteen śeṭṭis of the ten streets of Bārakūru (*Bārakūru-hattu kēri hadināru maṅdi śeṭṭikāraru*), the 770 *eḷemes* or nobles (? *ēḷu-nūṛu-eppattu yeḷeme-vōḷagadavaru*), the prominent citizens (? *hañjamānada halaru*), the sixty Ballāḷas, the representatives of Mūḍila Niḍambūru, the Nāḍavas, the Nāyakas of the four *grāmas* and of the four *nāḍus* (not named), and others, made a stone grant.[2]

1. Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.* IV. p. 401.

2. *154 C of 1901*; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 350, p. 207. An inscription dated A.D. 1372 mentions the death of Āḷuva *Mahāprabhu* Tavanidhi Brahmā's wife Lakṣmī Bommakkā. Another record dated A.D. 1379 mentions the death of the Āḷuva *Mahāprabhu* Head Jewel of the (Āraga) Eighteen Kampaṇa Tavanidhi Bamma (*i.e.*, Brahmā) Gauḍa himself. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 199, 196, pp. 31–32. Evidently the name Āḷuva was still held in high esteem outside Tuḷuva in the fourteenth century A.D. B. A. S.

CHAPTER IV

VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

Summary :—1. The story of Mayūravarmā according to Tuḷuva traditions as embodied in the *Grāmapaddhati*. 2. The division of the land into thirty-two *grāmas*. 3. The usage at Kōṭa and a picture of the General Assembly. 4. Punishments. 5. The origin of the story of Mayūravarmā. Its Buddhist source. The story outside Tuḷuva. The story in epigraphs and its popularity in the twelfth century A.D. 6. Historicity of the families mentioned in the *Grāmapaddhati*. 7. Criticism of the *Grāmapaddhati*. Its date. 8. The story of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya. Three versions of the story. 9. Criticism of the story and the determination of the date of the introduction of the *aḷiya santāna* law: the *aḷiya santāna* law was legalized in Tuḷuva only in the fifteenth century.

1. THE STORY OF MAYŪRAVARMĀ

Tuḷuva tradition is embodied in a work called *Grāmapaddhati* and in folk-songs styled Pāḍadānas. Of these shall we deal here with the former. The *Grāmapaddhati* ascribes the division of the land into *grāmas* or villages to Mayūravarmā, and the introduction of the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu*, or the law of inheritance through the nephew, to Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya. The story concerning the remarkable figure of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya generally follows that of Paraśurāma in most of the versions of the *Grāmapaddhati*. This work is, according to Tuḷuva notions, a part of *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. A minute examination of all the details given in the *Grāmapaddhati* which differs both in style and matter

in different parts of the district, is outside the limits of the present treatise. It is a work of considerable length with digressions which, although interesting, are beside our purpose. We shall, therefore, restrict ourselves to those few points in the *Grāmapaddhati* which are necessary for a proper understanding of the history of ancient Tuḷuva.

In most versions of the *Gārmapaddhati* Mayūravarmā is abruptly introduced many years after Paraśurāma. He is said to have belonged to the Solar race and to have been the son of Hemāngada and Suśīlā. One version says that Vasu, the father of Suśīlā, was the son of Kadamba who is said to be the son of Parameśvara and Pārvatī.[1]

Other versions give an interesting but by no means convincing account of the origin of Mayūravarmā. These relate that king Maṇivarmā ruled over Banavasi, and that his sons were Kanakvarmā and Vīravarmā. Once king Śibi of the Pāṇḍyadeśa suddenly invaded Tuḷuva, and imprisoning Maṇivarmā ruled over the land. At this Maṇivarmā's queen fled with her two children to a town called Vārakūla (Bārakūru). Here they witnessed a strange phenomenon. On Hemāngada having died issueless, the royal elephant wandered over the streets with a garland in its trunk in search of a king. The two lads were surprised at this but were told by Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya, who had made Bārakūru his abode, the following:—That the elephant

1. *The Puttige Version*, Adhyāya 2, vv. 9–14.

would garland only those who belonged to the four *varṇāśramas*, but not to those who professed the Jaina creed; that in the north-east of the city of Bārakūru there was a mango tree on which lived a peacock (*mayūra*) who was guarded by its old friend a black serpent; and that the elephant would select only him who could kill the peacock and drink its blood. On hearing this, Vīravarmā killed the peacock and was duly garlanded by the elephant.[1]

He was then only fourteen years old. The people acclaimed him as Lokāditya Mayūravarmā. His spiritual adviser Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya taught him how to govern, and particularly instructed him to win the sympathy of the Jainas who had become powerful in the land. It was also at the suggestion of the same ascetic that Lokāditya Mayūravarmā brought Brahmans from Ahicchatra.

This version next mentions particularly the following:—that Lokāditya Mayūravarmā lost the favour of his elder brother Kanakavarmā who, disgusted with Vīravarmā for having killed the peacock, left Bārakūru with an army and went to Banavasi which he conquered. Here Kanakavarmā ruled like a devout Jaina.

On Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya telling Lokāditya Mayūravarmā that his land was unholy because there were no: Brahmans in it, the ruler went to Ahicchatra and brought

1. This is known as *pañcadivyādhivāsa* which is mentioned in the *Jātaka* stories. For detailed references see Penzer's note on *ibid*, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, *V pp*. 175–77; *VII*. p. 218.

Brahman colonists. He stationed them in the following thirty-two *grāmas*;—

Locality	*No. of Grāmas*
Kadambakānana	3
Gokarṇa	4
Skandapura on the bank of the Śuktimatī	2
Gajapurī on the southern bank of the Sītā	2
Ajapurī	4
Near Ananteśa	10
On the north bank of the Netrāvatī ...	7
Total ...	32

The Mangalore version adds here that Lokāditya Mayūravarmā after assigning the thirty-two *grāmas* to the Ahicchatra Brahmans, placed at their disposal Nāyar people from Malabar to aid them in the conduct of their agricultural operations.[1]

1. *The Puttige version*; *The Mangalore version*. Traces of the Nāyar settlements in Tuḷuva are still seen. There is a tank of the Nāyars called *Nāyar-kere* in the Kappeṭṭu-*grāma* of Uḍipi. The stones of this tank were removed to build the famous Madhva-*sarovara* in the same town (of Uḍipi). In Niṭṭūru in the same tāluka, about one hundred yards to the south of the Niṭṭūru household, there is a Nāyara-*maṭha*. In Brahmāvūru in the same taluka are a few Nāyar families, ten in all; these are the Rokkenāyar, Eḷenāyar, etc.

Mayūravarmā abdicated in order to do penance, as the whole world was pervaded by Kali. He left the kingdom and the little prince Candrāngada in the charge of the ministers, and retired to the forest. The Brahmans of the thirty-two *grāmas* met together and deliberated thus:— "This kingdom is now without a ruler, the ministers being all powerful. Let us return to the much-longed-for Ahicchatra." So saying they left Tuḷuva and went back to the land of their birth. And their servants, who are mentioned in Puttige version as the natives of Gorāṣṭra, forsook their fields, and remained outside their villages.

2. DIVISION OF THE LAND INTO THIRTY-TWO *GRĀMAS*

On his accession to the throne, Candrāngada enquired after the Brahmans, who had been brought by his father Śikhivarmā or Mayūravarmā,and was told that they had left Tuḷuva for Ahicchatra. Candrāngada himself went to Ahicchatra, and asked them why they had left his district (*viṣaya*), and assured them that he would redestribute the households and *grāmas* and grant

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In Mūlki in the Mangalore tāluka, is a Nāyar temple of the god Tiṣṭava. One species of land tenure in Tuḷuva noticed by Sir Thomas Munro is the Nāyar-*gēṇi*. This is specially found in and near Bārakūru. Munro reckoned this kind of tenure to be more secure than the *śuddha-mūla-gēṇi* or tenure by simple purchase. Read *Selections from the Records of the Collectorate of South Canara, Letters of Sir Thomas Munro relating to the Revenue Administration of Canara.* Among the Muṇḍāla Holeyas of Tuḷuva is a song concerning the Nāyar people. Cf. Saletore, *I. A.*, LVI, p. 76. B. A. S.

them the right of tonsure(*grāmeṣu gṛhabhedāni cūḍām tathaiva-ca cihnnam kariṣyāmi*). He then divided the *grāmas* and households in the following manner:—

The sixteen Western *Grāmas*	The sixteen Eastern *Grāmas*
1. Kārevūru (Tārevūru) (4 households, according to the Puttige version; but 8 in other versions)	1. Śrīpāḍi (5 households)
2. Varkāḍi (Orkāḍi) (8 households)	2. Voḍila (Baḍilu, Coḍir) (2 households)
3. Maraṇe (2 households)	3. Nāḷa (Nāla) (2 households) (Omitted in the Puttige version)
4. Kolavināḍu (Koḷanāḍu) (2 households)	4. Kārandūru (Kārandāru) (2 households)
5. Pāḍi (4 households)	5. Ujjre (Ujjari) (16 households in the Puttige version; 8 in other versions)
6. Koḍila (Kūḍalu, Kuḍila) (4 households)	6. Kunyamārga (Kunnimārga, Kuñjamārga (8 households)
7. Magebailu (Mogebailu) (4 households)	7. Kokkaḍa (Kokkōḍu) (4 households)
8. Nīrumārga (Nīrmārga) (6 households in the Puttige version; 8 in others)	8. Rāmiñjūru (Rāmiñja, Rājakuñja) (2 households in the Puttige version; 7 in other versions)
9. Mittanāḍu (Mittunāḍu) (4 households)	9. Pude (4 households)

10. Śrīmantūru (Sīmantūru) (9 in the Puttige version; 8 in others)	10. Balapa (Belapa; but in the Puttige version Ballamañje) (3 households)
11. Tenagaḷe (Kenakaḷa, Tenakaḷa) (4 households in the Puttige version; 8 in other versions)	11. Ernāḍu (Puttige version gives it as Baināḍu) (4 households)
12. Śivabeḷḷi (Śivabelki) (120 households in the Puttige version; 6 in other versions)	12. Iḍekeḍu (Iḍake) (6 households)
13. Brahmapura (Ajapuri) (8 in the Puttige version; 4 in other versions)	13. Kemiñie (Kemiñja) (1 household)
14. Niruvāra (Nīlāvara) (8 in the Puttige version; 4 in other versions)	14. Pāliñje (Pādiñje, Pāviñje) (2 households)
15. Kūṭaka (Kūṭa, Kūṭe) (8 households)	15. Śiriyāḍi (Śiripāḍi in the Puttige version) (5 households)
16. Talapāḍi (Kandāvara, Skandapura) (2 households)	16. Koḍipāḍi (7 in the Puttige version; 5 in other versions)
N.B.—The Puttige version adds Ōmañjūru *grāma* with 9 households.	*N.B.*—The Puttige version omits the names of Nāḷa *grāma* and Ernāḍu *grāma*.[1]

In the western *grāmas* there were 206 households; in the eastern 73 households; and between these two classifications there were 21 *grāmas* which belonged to

1. *The Puttige version*, Ch. 30. Reference to *Sahyādrī-kaṇḍa*, Ch. 30 is given here.

what were called the *avāntarabheda*. This term was evidently given to the secondary households. Thus in all there were, according to the Puttige version, 300 households, and 326, according to the other versions.

These households were divided into the following sections:— those of the *Agnihotris*, the *Smārtas*, the *Bhaṭṭas*, the *Tantris*, the *Paṇḍitas*, the *Pakṣanāthas*, the *Ballāḷas*, the *Grāmaṇis*, and the *Adhivāsis*. A detailed account of these will be given in the appendix.

Of the Mūla or original Brahmans, the *Grāmapaddhati* mentions the following:— Nāyaka, Kiṇi, Poi, Prabhu, Bhakta, Bāḷiga, Śyānubhoga, and Bhaṇḍāri, who are styled Brahmans of the Koṅkaṇadeśa.

The story of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya is then narrated in most of the versions of the *Grāmapaddhati*, but is not to be found in the Puttige version.

The division of the land into *grāmas* together with the households was one feature of the village organization of ancient Tuḷuva. Another feature which may be noted is the prominence which was given to usage; while a third feature was the conduct of business in the General Assembly. The importance of usage is best seen in the history of Kōṭa *grāma*. It is true that some of the usages mentioned in the *Grāmapaddhati* have now become obsolete. But all the same it is interesting to observe that there were sixteen *maryādegaḷu* or usages in Kōṭa. They were the following:—*pakṣakavāṭa*; *bhāvige jōḍu kambha* (double pillars for the well); *naḍe-maḍi*; *naḍe-vādya*; *beḷu-koḍe*: (white umbrella), *aidu-*

mole dana (a cow with an udder that has five teats); *hagalu dīvaṭige* (a torch by day-light); *aṭṭa muridu bidda akki* (rice that has fallen down from the ceiling); *iḷidu hōda heṇṇu* (a girl who has passed puberty); *katri vīḷya* (betel leaf offered with arms crossing each other, *i.e.*, the right arm brought to the left side, the left, to the right); *manege suttu pāgāru* (a wall round the house): *kauḍige mane* (?); *eḍa-muḍi* (?); *madana-kai* (a crutch-like stand); and *mukha-maṇṭapa* (?).[1]

The *Puttige version*, however, has the following to give concerning the sixteen *maryādegaḷu* which it calls *kaṭṭaḷegaḷu*:— *aṭṭa-muridu, aimoleti, tappu gaṇṭi, keṅgoda, jōḍu mara kūpa, tulā śraṅkhala, gamana śriṅga vādya, naḍe-maḍi, dīvaṭige, pakṣakavāṭa, tōraṇa, dīpa-mālā-sthambha, dōḷā mañca, eddu banda heṇṇu, ratṇa kambaḷi, cchatra.*[2]

Important centres were likewise established for other purposes. Thus Kāṇgōḍu (Kāñjinōḍu) and Kāsaragōḍu were the *kōḍus*; Kelavanāḍu (Kolanāḍu) and Nalvattanāḍu were the *nāḍus*; Baindūru (Baidūru) and Bhaṭṭakaḷa were the *bīḍus*; Kaḍari (Kaḍkari=Viṭṭhaḷa) and Kārkaḷa were the *divānas*; Ciṭṭupāḍi and Niḍambūru were the *pakṣanāthas*; the (capitals of the) Cauṭas and the Bangas were the *dharma-sthānas*; Bārakūru and Mangaḷūru (Manga Kadamba) were the *simhāsanas*; Kadare (Kadri) and Kāntāvara were the *hone-sthānas* (*i.e.*, the places where bail could be secured ?) ; (the) Śuktī and the Muktī were the *gaḍis* or the boundaries;

1. *The Mangalore version.*
2. *The Puttige version.*

the Sahyādri (also called in one version Simhādri) and the Śaradi (the western ocean) were the *mēres* or limits and Kōṭa and Anantesvara were the centres of meeting.

But in the thirty-two *grāmas* the meeting place for both the Śaivites and the Vaiṣṇavites was Kroḍamaṇḍala (*i. e.*, Śankaranārāyaṇa in the Kundāpūru taluka). But in the Mangalore version, however, it is related that all questions concerning the *śāstras*, *mantras*, *tantras*, *smṛti-sāra*, *vedas*, calumny, hypocrisy, prostitution, falsehood, dereliction of religious duties, etc., were to be settled in the *kūṭa-sthaḷas* or centres of assembly obviously at Kōṭa and Anantesvsra. Seven persons called *smṛtikāras* were appointed as judges to settle all cases in the thirty-two *grāmas*. They were Munnūrārya, Alevūrāya Uppāraṇa, Kallūrāya, Tāḷetāya, Uḍupa and Mogerāya.[1]

The same version then gives us interesting information about the manner in which a General Assembly (*jagat-kūṭa*) was summoned to hear an appeal against the unjust decision given by the following judges:— Aṇṇa Ugrambaḷḷi, Aṇṇa Ōrambaḷḷi, Aṇṇa Kuñja, Aṇṇa Mañjanōḍi, Aṇṇa Mittanōḍi, Aṇṇa Kāranta and Aṇṇa Hēraḷa. In the General Assembly the representatives of the two *grāmas* were to take their seat in the following manner:—The representatives of the eastern *grāmas* were to face westwards and station themselves in two rows of eight each with two Ballāḷas on either side, the Paṇḍits on the right side, and the Sabhāpatis on the

1. Cf. Hegde, *Carite*, pp. 96–97. The last name Mogerāya is omitted in the Mangalore version but mentioned by Hegde.

left, while Mañjitya (their spokesman) was to be stationed amidst four (representatives).

The representatives of the western *grāmas* were to adopt a similar procedure but with their faces turned towards the east.

The king called Mayūravarmā was then to ask permission cf the deities presiding over the eastern and western regions, and take his seat on the throne with the sixty-four tributary rulers on the right and the left sides. These latter were to be stationed on the south in this manner:—In two rows of thirty-two with their face turned towards the north. (How these tributary kings were to be seated is given in a later passage thus:—On carpets were to be placed long bolsters for reclining [*loḍu*]; and Kocci Kirīṭādhīpati, also called Koccinātha, was to be seated on the right, and Vāmanjūru Rāmanātha, also called Rāmanta, was to be seated on the left. When these were thus seated, the Cauṭa and Banga chiefs were to be stationed at two posts, Taḷavāra and Sāvanta chieftains at two posts [*vaḍḍi-nallu* ?], the other *dhores* or nobles to be seated on either side). The king was then to ask the sanction of the General Assembly (*sabhā anujñeyan kēḷi koṇḍ...*).

Mañja (*i. e.*, Mañjitāya) was next to summon the four Ballāḷas, who having understood, were to communicate (the case) to the Paṇḍits and the Sabhāpatis, who were to explain (it) to the Pakṣanāthas. The Pakṣanāthas were to stand up and address themselves to the *vidvat-mahājana* (*i. e.*, the General Assembly of the Wise),

and the General Assembly was to say "So be it!" (*i. e.*, to give its opinion on the case under discussion).

The opinion of the General Assembly being thus told to Mañja, he was to communicate it to the king (who gave his final decision).

The same version of the *Grāmapaddhati* continues to narrate the following concerning the sets of officials who were entrusted with particular functions in the General Assembly. Thus, the Adhivāsis were to give information or instruction (*upadeśa*); the Jannis, various opinions (? *taraḷe* in the original, evidently a mistake for *tarada*, for *taraḷe* means a girl!); the Grāmaṇis, to investigate (*vicāra*); the Ballāḷas, to administer (*ballāḷara āḍaḷite*); the Bhaṭṭas, to arbitrate (*pañcāyitike*); the Paṇdits, to decide; the Sabhāpatis, to improve upon or to correct (*tidduvaḷike*); the Pakṣanāthas, to punish and to protect (*śikṣe rakṣe*); the Smārtas learned in the Vedas, to cite the canonical texts (*S'rauta smārtara nityānasāra ?*); and the Tantris to decide whether the citations were accurate (? *tantrigaḷa āgamoktinirṇaya*)[1]

It may be observed here that another version of the *Grāmapaddhati* hailing from Uḍipi states that the Kōṭa Mahā *grāma* had an assembly of 40,000 citizens.[2]

The Manglore version contains a few more details concerning what is called *jagat-maṇḍala* (or the *mahājagat*). It relates thus:—In the *jagat-maṇḍala* was Mañja

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1. *The Mangalore version.*

2. Version supplied to me by Paṇḍit Venkaṭadāsa Ācārya of Uḍipi. B. A. S.

to be stationed (*Jaganmaṇmaladalli Mañja sthāna*); on the east of Mañja were the Pakṣanāthas to be stationed ; on the left side of the Paṇḍits the Sabhāpatis were to be stationed; this was how they were to be stationed. The representatives of the four *grāmas* beginning with Śrīpāḍi were to be stationed to the north of the Paṇḍits; those of the four *grāmas* beginning with Ujjare, to the west of the preceding ; those of the four *grāmas* of the east, to the south of the preceding ; and those of the four *grāmas* beginning with Iḍekedu, to the east of the preceding. In this way the assemblies of the representatives of the western *grāmas* were to be in the north-east of Mañja ; while keeping always the right side towards him were Kuñjaṇṇāya, Kauḍambāḍitāya, Talepāḍitāya, and Mañjunōḍitāya. And to his south were the seats of royalty in the midst of which there was to be the council of the king.[1]

These detailed notices of the manner in which they conducted their business in the General Assembly are not available in inscriptions. But from epigraphical evidence cited in the previous pages, it may definitely be stated that there were more than two or three large General Assemblies in Tuḷuva. We have also seen that in the conduct of public affairs, the people co-operated either with the rulers themselves or with their highest officials. The exestence of the General Assemblies and the close co-operation of the

1. *The Mangalore versian.*

State with the citizens in ancient Tuḷuva, therefore, is proved beyond doubt.

Indeed, the two following stone inscriptions conclusively show that the earlier General Assemblies continued under the Vijayanagara Emperors. Both of them were found in the Gubbukōṇe Gopālakṛṣṇa temple at Kanyāṇa in the Kundāpūru tāluka. And they fall within the reign of Harihara Rāya II. The earlier of these is dated Śaka 1306, Raktākṣi, Jyeṣṭha, Śu. 2, Sunday which corresponds to A.D. 1384, May, Sunday the 22nd. The Vijayanagara viceroy *Mahāpradhāna* Jakkarasa Oḍeyar governed from Bārakūru. The epigraph in question registers some privileges made by the Jananis (*i.e.*, Jannis) of Rājāḍi-Bellatūru to the *mahā-jagat*, evidently of the same locality.[1] The other is record dated Śaka 1320, Īśvara Phālguṇa, Ba. 10 Saturday. The date agrees with A.D. 1398 March Wednesday the 13th, the week-day not corresponding. This inscription registers a sale of land to a certain Lingarasa by the six Jananis of Nālkūru of Rājāḍi-Kanyāṇa (*i. e.*, Bellatūru) and by the fifty *jagat*, subject to certain conditions.[2]

4. PUNISHMENTS

While the existence of General Assemblies and of corporate activities on the part of the Tuḷuvas is thus proved by the epigraphs as well as by the *Grāmapaddhati*, we have to see what actually were the punishments

1. *357 of 1930–31* ; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* IV. p. 370.
2. *359 of 1930–31* ; Swamikannu, *ibid*, p. 398.

meted out to culprits, in addition to those referred to in the epigraphs, either by the people themselves or by the king in conjunction with the citizens. We shall base our remarks on the Puttige version of the *Grāmapaddhati*, and on personal observation of affairs that took place in recent years.

The Puttige version of the *Grāmapaddhati* contains many examples of punishments given to culprits. Of these we shall select three types—the decision of the Muḷḷūru *grāma* people, the punishments given to the Twenty-four Toṭṭilu *grāma* people,[1] and the famous Kūṭa (Kōṭa)-Kōṭīśvara dispute which is remembered even today by the people. To these we shall add the actual working of a village organization in our own days.

Muḷḷūru was one of the impure *grāmas* (*pātitya-grāmam*) situated to the south of the Śuktimatī or the Gangāvaḷī river. It is also called Moda *grāma*. Here were two Śūdra brothers Mudda and Kunda who, by the way, appear elsewhere as Jaina princes. They were wealthy and pious. Once eight Brahmans belonging to the thirty-two *grāmas*, approached these two brothers, along with their families, desirous of getting riches from the two wealthy brothers. The Brahmans blessed

1. This is a curious name of village. In the original the word "Twenty-four Toṭṭilu" is given in the margin of the palm-leaf Ms. Obviously the culprits, whose history we shall narrate, belonged first to the Ujjare *grāma*, and because they settled after their expulsion from that village at Toṭṭiulu, the latter place came to be known as "Toṭṭilu of the Twenty-four." No such name is met with today although Toṭṭilu exists. B. A. S.

them, praised them in many ways, and secured much wealth from them. Here they lived for twelve years in peace.

Once the elder brother Mudda wishing to seek a bride, with the help of his relatives, pitched upon a girl who lived half a *yojana* away. On the wedding day, however, he could not find bearers who could carry his palanquin to the bride's house (*śibikā vāhakaḥ kō'pi nāsti atra viṣaye bata*). Mudda then consulted the Brahmans, and since he said, "I am your slave, aid the prosperity of my family," out of pity and love, the eight Brahmans agreed to carry his palanquin to the house of his bride (*aṣṭāpadena ayutām aṣṭau te śibikām dadhuḥ*). On the completion of his marriage ceremony, Mudda returned to his village. In return for their kindness, he gave them various clothes, ornaments and 100 coins (*śata-prasyam niṣkāṇi*).

The Brahmans, however, hid these presents in places outside the village before entering it. The people of the thirty-two *grāmas* saw these sinners, and in a rage belaboured them mercilessly (*patītān āgatān dṛṣṭvā grāmasthāḥ krodha mūrcchitāḥ daṇḍamādāya hastena nijaghnuḥ tān.*)

The culprits hurried to their Śudra protector, who is called now a Vṛśāla. He consoled them by promising them a gift of a *grāma* full of cattle and other necessaries. Accordingly in the presence of the god Śimhēśa, Mudda gave them the *grāma*, cattle, houses, and ornaments. Then he went on a pilgrimage. And the

Brahmans, who had been ostracized by their brethren of the thirty-two *grāmas*, lived in their new *grāma* which they divided into eight plots among themselves.

These eight Brahmans were considered to be outside the pale of friends, the *guru*, and the family (*kulahīnāḥ parityaktāḥ guru-bandhu-janaiḥ saha*). The people of the thirty-two *grāmas* condemned them as sinners (*dvātriṃśat grāma-vāsibhyo ninditāḥ pāpa-kāriṇaḥ*). Further they were condemned to eat the food of the Śudras (*sadā S'ūdrānna niratāḥ*). Their very sight made one impure, and the atonement (*prāyaścitta*) prescribed for the sin of looking at them was the following:— The man who looked at them should see the bright sun for a long time (*caṇḍāṃśo darśanaṃ paraṃ*), and he should worship the great god Nṛsimha. He who talked about them would never be able to fulfil any work !

The affairs in the Twenty-four Toṭṭilu *grāma* were more interesting. In the reign of a king called Candradatta, a great car festival (*dhvajottsava*) was held in that *grāma*. All the people including the Śabaras attended the great festival. Some people of the Ujjare *grāma* abducted a Śabara girl who had got herself lost in the crowd (*Ujj're grāmakāḥ kecit vañcayitvā atha bālikāṃ*); and carrying her off to their village, in due course, gave her in marriage to a Brahman youth of another village. The Śabara parents bemoaned her loss in vain.

Years passed by, and the Śabarī bore to the Brahman a girl and two boys. Once again the same wicked

Brahmans (*atīva dhūrtāḥ viprāḥ*) came to witness the car festival in that same *grāma*, along with the Śabarī and her children. Her Śabara father and mother too came to see the same festival. On meeting her parents, the Śabarī maiden cried out loudly at which her mother wept widely and her father attempted to seize her. But her Brahman husband, encouraged by his wicked friends, cried out that his wife was being seduced by a Nīca (a Śabara).

The case came up for hearing before the king who summoned the Śabara father, who is now called a Pulinda, and asked him why he had seized the wife of Brahman. To this he represented the whole case, and swore that he would undergo any ordeal to prove his words. He then went to his hut along with his wife.

The king turned to the culprits and addressed them in severe terms. Frightened at this, they confessed their crime but begged to be forgiven. Just and generous as the king was, he caused all their belongings to be brought and had them given to the representatives of the *grāmas* (*grāmasthā*) with the order that they were to retain or abandon the goods belonging to the Brahmans as they thought best. He then returned to his palace.

The representatives of the Thirty-two *grāmas* bowed their head in shame. They met hurriedly together and decided to do the following:—On the neck of the Brahmans (who were a family of twenty-four) of the Ujjare *grāma*, they put red (flower) garlands and expel-

led them to the outskirts of the village. They then purified the ground (over which the sinners had walked) with cow-dung water, and performed their *śrāddha* or obsequies according to the *kumbha* rites, declaring that they should not be allowed to live any more in the Thirty-two *grāmas* :—

atha-rājā mahā-prājñaḥ satya-dharmarataḥ sudhī ।
ādāya teśāṃ sarvasvaṃ grāmasthebhya pradattavān ॥
parityāga-aparityāgaṃ taih-eva tu vidhīyatāṃ ।
iti-uktvā nṛpatiḥ dhīmān jagāma nija-mandiraṃ ॥
dvātriṁśat grāma-nilayā vṛlayānata mastakāḥ॥
sametya sahasā tatra pāpināṃ grāmavāsināṃ ।
tasyāḥ samparkiṇāṃ rājan catur-viṁśati-kuṭumbināṃ ॥
catur-viṁśati-arbhakāṇāṃ ḍolān-ādāya satvaraṃ ।
teśāṃ galeśu nikṣipya rakta mālyāni yānica ॥
ṣ(te)śāṃ grāmabahir deśe tadvat gomaya vāriṇā ।
tathā visarjayāmāsuḥ (mahā) bhāgā dhṛḍau vṛthāḥ ॥
tebhya śrāddham tataḥ kṛtvā vidhivat kumbha-saṁjnakaṃ॥
dvātriṁśat grāma madh(y)eṣu na tebhyam sthānam-īdṛśāṃ॥

The *Grāmapaddhati* narrates that those sinners still wander homeless (*sthānahīnāḥ*), abandoned (*parityaktāḥ*) (by their castemen), and that they are forbidden the daily rites of worship (*sarve karma bahiṣkṛtāḥ*).

The Kūṭa-Kōṭīśvara dispute is celebrated in the history of Tuḷuva. This happened in the reign of king Vasu (*i. e.*, Vibudhavasu of the Ālupa family). King Vasu, as we have already seen, was celebrated for his good qualities. On one occasion there occurred a dispute between the great *kūṭasthas* (of Kōṭa evidently)

and the Kōṭiśvaras, concerning the village boundary, and the income (rent ?) amounting to sixteen *prasthas* payable therefrom:—

kadācit abhavat vādam Kūṭa-sthānam(nām) mahātmanāṃ ॥
tatha Koṭīśvara-sthānām sīmā vyattaśta kāraṇam ॥
tadāvai hema sambandhaṃ ṣoḍaśa prastha hetukaṃ ॥

The dispute dragged on for some time after which it was placed before the king. Notwithstanding the wily importunities of the Kōṭīśvaras, the learned king, who was proficient in state policy (*sa rājā nītimān vāgmi*), after due deliberation addressed the assembly (*sabhā*) thus:—"We shall pray to the goddess Kāśyapī. She will decide the proper from the improper. Wheresoever there is sin, there you will burn."

Kāśyapīm prārthayiṣyāmaḥ vadati eṣā śubha-aśubhaṃ ।
kaluṣaṃ yatra yatra asi tatra tatra dahiṣyasi ॥

Then having ordered his officers (*cārān ājñāpayat*) to summon atonce the representatives of the Thirty-two *grāmas*, who were well versed in their own *dharma* (*dvātriṃśat grāma nilayān sve sve dharme vyavasthitān*), and who were exceedingly wealthy, respectful, and worthy of being honoured, the king addressed them thus;—"Tomorrow it shall be decided."

That very night some cunning Kōṭīśvaras came to the village boundary, quickly dug a pit, hid a wretched (and doomed) man in it, and covering him with earth (*kṣoṇim khātvā yāmāmātram kuṇḍe kuṇḍita karmaṇaḥ* । *nikṣipya puraṣam kaścit sikatam te prapūrayan* ॥), before down returned to their houses pretending innocence.

(On the morrow) the representatives of the Thirty-two *grāmas* went to the king, and blessing him requested him to come to the boundary line. Surrounded by Brahmans learned in the *tantras*, the king went to the boundary of the village accompanied by auspicious music and with materials for worship. All the people including the Kōṭīśvaras were present on the occasion:—

tadā Vasuḥ dvijaiḥ sārdhaṃ sīmāntāṃ prayayau mudā ।
sangṛhya pūjāsambhāraṃ daivajñaiḥ tāntrikaiḥ saha ॥
tauryantrikena samyuktaḥ Kōṭa Kōṭīśvaraiḥ saha ॥
pūjāṃ cakāra dharaṇīṃ gandha-puṣpa-akṣatādhibhiḥ ॥

(At the appointed place) the king worshipped the earth with *naivedya*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa*, etc., in the customary manner, and prayed to the goddess (Earth) with folded hands thus:— "Auspicious goddess ! you know (best) whether I have committed sin or benevolence ! Whether done wilfully or through ignorance, forgive me ! In the proper investigation by the people (*śodhanāya dṛśā nṛṇām*), let it be well pronounced by you whether this holy region (*kṣetra*) belongs to the Kūṭa-sthāna or to Kōṭīśvara ! " So saying he remained silent.

And the unfortunate man in the pit intending to bring ruin on himself as well on the Kōṭīśvaras, cried out loudly—"This region, I assure you, belongs to the Kōṭīśvaras (*idam Kōṭīśvara sthānam bruveham na atra saṁśayaḥ*) !"

The Kōṭīśvaras were jubilant but from the heavens came a voice (of the goddess), in great friendship to

her husband the god Kōṭīśvara (*nija bhartuḥ sneha-eva tathā Koṭīśvarasya ca*), and afraid of the sin committed by the people. It was the voice of the goddess Bhāratī, who making herself visible said thus:—"This speech does not belong to the earth : it is that of a human being ! The Kōṭīśvaras are deceivers and wicked : I curse them, O king, at the feet of Śiva !"

Kōṭīśa sthānajāḥ sarve vañcakāḥ pāpacāraṇāḥ ।
asmin arthe mahā-rājā śāpami S'iva pādayoḥ ॥

The goddess, who is now called Bhagavatī, then vanished leaving the king Vasu surprised and stupified. For in the pit which opened before his eyes, was the body of a man turned into a mass of flesh full of worms !

grāmasthānāṃ purastāt tu bhūmim khātvā pradṛṣṭavān ।
krimi-saṅkulitaṃ māṁsabhūtaṃ pūruṣa vighrahaṃ ॥

The king was deeply moved, but recovering himself ordered the confiscation of the property of the culprits, which he handed over to the representatives of the *grāmas*, saying–"Decree what is fit to be retained, and what, to be rejected !"

sa rājā vismayaḥ bhūtvā krodhāt saṁrakta locanaḥ ।
grāmasthānāṃ purastāt tu sarvasvam apahṛtṛya ca ॥
asatya vādinaḥ (nāṃ) tatra grāmasthebhya pradattavān ।
parityāga-aparityāgaṃ taiḥ-eva vidhiyataṃ ॥

Then the representatives of the Thirty-two *grāmas* decided that as the culprits had lied, and had thereby become polluted, homeless, disreputable, and devoid of their daily rites, they were not entitled to (the

benefits of) marriage (and other social functions) in the community.

asākṣivādinaḥ yūyam patitaḥ pāpayantritāḥ ।
anāsthāna-aślāghanīyā-sarvakarma bahiṣkṛtāḥ ॥
asmin grāme vivāhādi varjanīyaḥ bhaviṣyati ।

Thus were the Kōṭīśvaras denied the privileges of society, and thus did they wander at will till they came across a great personage of resplendent countenance, who brought them back into the fold of the cultured society of Vaiṣṇavism. We shall describe in minute detail this great figure, and how he converted them into his religion. The Brahmans thus purified were now permitted by the king to live in a *grāma* which cannot be identified. But we may note in what manner they were held by the people : one became impure by merely looking at them (*teṣām darśana-mātreṇa pātityaṃ labhate naraḥ*). The atonement (*prāyaścittaṃ*) recommended for this fault was that one should abandon food on six occasions (*prāyaścittaṃ ahaṃ vakṣe ṣaṣṭa kāla ásanaṃ tyajet*).[1]

Barring the reference to the goddess Earth, the procedure in the above case is strikingly similar to the one mentioned by Kauṭalya in his *Arthaśāstra*. The general conformity of Tuḷuva judicial procedure to the ancient injunctions as laid down by Kauṭalya permit us to dwell at some length on the rules enunciated by that lawgiver. We have the following in the *Arthaśāstra* concerning boundary disputes :—

1. *The Puttige version.*

" In all disputes regarding the boundary between any two villages, neighbours or elders of five or ten villages (*pañca-grāmī daśa-grāmī va*) shall investigate the case on the evidence to be furnished from natural or artificial boundary marks."

In this detail the Tuḷuva procedure in judicial was in accordance with the principles laid down by Kauṭalya. But in regard to the punishments, the Tuḷuva ruler mentioned above was stricter and less merciful than the judge mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*. For Kauṭalya writes the following:—" If the boundary marks just described, are not found, a fine of 1,000 panas shall be imposed (on the misleading or guilty person)...The king shall beneficially distribute among others those holdings which have no boundary marks or which have ceased to be enjoyed by any person." Kauṭalya, therefore, makes no provision for the confiscation of the property of the culprits and its distribution among the villagers. Confiscation by the king is ordained only in the following circumstances—when disputes concerning fields remain unsettled either by the elders of the neighbourhood or of the village in the first instance, by the number of "pure and respectable" people, in the second instance, or by the disputants themselves in the last instance,-then, the "holding (*vāstu*) under dispute shall be taken possession of by the king".[1]

That the picture of a Tuḷuva village assembly may be complete, we may give a few details concerning the

1. Kauṭalya, *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. III. Ch. IX, pp. 207-208 (Sastry, 1923).

settlement of a dispute in our own days. Notwithstanding the fact that these remarks refer to a period that is outside the purview of the treatise, yet we may be permitted to give them in order to show how ancient usage still governs the actions of the Tuḷuva people. The following took place in the Ulpāḍi *grāma*, a suburb of Mūlki in the Mangalore tāluka in 1925. Guḍḍa Nāyaka, the *pūjāri* or priest of the Guḍḍesāne devil shrine was dismissed by the *grāmasthas* or representatives of the *grāma* of Ulapāḍi. But he was reinstalled by the *sīme* or district representatives. The *grāmasthas* refused to entertain him, and hindered him from doing the work at the devil shrine. The *arasu* or king (of Bappanāḍu) having sided with the *sīme* representatives, excommunicated the representatives of the *grāma* for having disobeyed his orders. He decreed that no fire or food or water was to be given to the *grāma* people.

The *grāma* representatives then met in deliberation which lasted one day. They discussed the validity of the order passed by the *arasu*. At last they decided to fine him for having pronounced a judgment against them without hearing their case. The fine imposed on the *arasu* was only to the extent of eight annas, but it was paid on his behalf by some villager. And the ban on the *grāmasthas* was lifted[1].

1. The *pūjāris* of the devil shrines in Tuḷuva are generally of the Baidyenāye or Billavar caste. Only in the Ekkār *māgaṇe* the *pūjāri* is a *Vokkēlme* or a Bunt. Hence the *pūjāri* is styled a Nāyaka in the above account. The usual form which the social boycott takes is in this order—"*tū nīra koraḍe gandha prasāda koraḍe*" (Do not give

5. THE ORIGIN OF THE STORY OF MAYŪRAVARMĀ AND ITS DATE

The above account of Mayūravarmā and of the division of the land into thirty-two *grāmas* may now be examined with the aid of epigraphs and literature. We shall be concerned here mainly with the question of the age to which this part of the *Grāmapaddhati* relating to Mayūravarmā may be assigned.

(A) THE LEGEND OF MAYŪRAVARMĀ : ITS ORIGIN

The story of Mayūravarmā as given in the *Grāma-paddhati* has a close resemblance to the one given in the *Nigrodha Jātaka* which we may be permitted to give in full.

Nigrodha Kumāra and Sakha Kumāra were sons of two merchants. These together with Pottika, who was the son of a tailor, after finishing their education at Takkasīla (Takṣaśīla) came to Benares, and lay down to rest in a temple. It was then the seventh day since the king of Benares had died. Proclamation was made throughout the city by beat of drum, that on the morrow the festival car would be prepared. The three comrades were lying under the tree asleep when at dawn Pottika awoke and sitting up began to chafe Banyan's (*i. e.*, Nigrodha Kumāra's) feet. Some cocks were roosting upon that tree, and the cock at the top let a dropping fall upon a cock near the bottom.

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fire and water; do not give *gandha* and *prasāda* [of the local god]). A *sīme* represents nine *māgaṇes*, as in Mūlki, and below the *māgaṇe* is a *grāma*. B. A. S.

"What is that fell upon me?", asked this cock. "Do not be angry, Sir", answered the other. "I did not mean to do it." "Oh! Do you think my body is a place for your droppings? You do not know my importance, that is plain!"

To this the other said, "Oh! Still angry though I declared that I did not mean it! And what is your importance, pray?" "Whosoever kills and eats my flesh will receive a thousand pieces of money this very morning! Is not that something to be proud of!"

"Pooh! Pooh!", quoth the other, "proud of a little like that! Why, if anyone kills me and eats of my fat, he will become a king this very morning; he that eats of the middle flesh, becomes the commander-in-chief; who eats the flesh about the bones, he will be the treasurer."

All this Pottika over heard. "A thousand pieces!" thought he. "What is that? Best to be king!"

So gently climbing the tree, he seized the cock that was roosting atop, and killed it, and cooked it in the embers; the fat he gave to Banyan, the middle part to branch (*i.e.*, Sakha Kumāra), and himself ate the flesh that was about the bones. When they had eaten, he said, "Banyan, Sir, you will be king; Branch, Sir, you will be commander-in-chief; and as for me, I am the treasurer!" They asked him how he knew; he told them.

So about the time for the first meal of the day, hey entered the city of Benares. At the house of a

certain Brahman, they received a meal of rice with *ghī* and sugar; and then emerging from the city, they entered the royal park.

Banyan lay down upon a slab of stone, the other two lay beside it. It so happened that at the moment they were just sending forth the ceremonial chariot, with the five symbols of royalty in it (*viz.*, sword, parasol, diadem, slippers, and fan). In rolled the car, and stopping, stood ready for them to enter. "Some being of great merit must be present here!", thought the chaplain to himself. He entered the park, and espied the young man; and removing the cloth from his feet he examined the marks upon them. "Why", he said, "he is destined to be king of all India, let alone of Benares!" And he ordered all the gongs and symbols to strike up.

Banyan awaking threw the cloth from his face, and saw a crowd assembled round him! He turned round and for a moment or two he lay still, then arose, and sat with his legs crossed. The chaplain fell upon one knee, saying, "Divine Being! The kingdom is thine!" "So be it!," said the youth; the chaplain placed him upon the heap of precious jewels, and sprinkled him to be king.

Thus made king, he gave the post of commander-in-chief to his friend Branch, and entered the city in great pomp; and Pottika went with them.[1]

1. Cowell, *The Jātaka*, IV. pp. 24-5.

The story given in the *Grāmapaddhati* seems but to be another version of the above Buddhist account. Since we know that Tuḷuva was under Buddhist influence down to the tenth century A.D., it is not unreasonable to suppose that the earlier tradition current amongst the Buddhists was given a new colouring by the Tuḷuva Brahmans of the later ages.

While the origin of the story of Mayūravarmā is thus clear, we have now to find out the probable date when it gained popularity both in and outside Tuḷuva. This can be done by finding out how far it was known outside Tuḷuva, and whether there are any clues in contemporary epigraphs enabling us to fix the date, especially of that part of the narrative concerning Mayūravarmā's distribution of the land into *grāmas*.[1]

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1. The general distribution of the 32 *grāmas* among the Brahmans is not to be confounded with the allotment of four *grāmas* among certain Brahmans. *The North Kanara Gazetteer* refers to a tradition according to which Brahmans from the north were settled at Gokarṇa. (*North Kanara Gaz.* I, p. 117, n.). The writer opines that this movement of Brahmans from the north may have been consequent on the destruction of Valabhi in Gujarat by the Arabs in the seventh or eighth century A.D. This view is accepted by the compiler of the *South Canara Manual*, II. p. 60.

On this question the following is found in the Puttige version of the *Grāmapaddhati*. In the polluted village called Nāga on the bank of the Cakranadī, lived the Brahmans cursed by Paraśurāma. But for the uttering of the *gāyatrī* and the wearing of the sacred thread, none would have called them Brahmans—so fallen they were. The Vedic lore was forbidden to them. Once when Mayūravarmā went to Valabhi to bring learned Brahmans, he employed these Brahmans as *bōyis* to carry his palanquin : *Mayūravarmā sa purā medhāvi Valabhīm prati* । *Rāmeṇa nirmitaiḥ vipraiḥ vāhayitvā sva-vāhanam* । *śiṣṭhām viprān samādāya punaḥ sa puram āyayau* ॥. When Mayūravarmā

(B) THE STORY OUTSIDE TUḶUVA

The traditional accounts of Banavasi in Sunda have some similar legends to narrate. The details in which the *sthaḷa-māhātmyas* differ from the Tuḷuva accounts will be evident to the reader. The *sthaḷa-māhātmyas* of the Varadanātha temple at Sunda relate the following:—That Paraśurāma after reclaiming land from the ocean, peopled it with the Boya *jāti* or fishermen caste whom he converted into Brahmans. There were one thousand of them. But since they incurred his wrath by foolishly calling for his aid when there was no need for it, they were cursed by him. They thus became a degraded race. About this time a ruler named Mayūravarmā considering those Brahmans to be contemptible, sent for others from Ahicchatra, and located them at different places in his dominions.

The reason for this distribution of Brahmans is thus given:—In the Kadamba wilderness was born to Śiva and Pārvatī a son who was called Kadamba. It so happened that the Mulata country being without a ruler, the people placed a pot of water in the trunk of

returned from Valabhi, these fallen Brahmans complained of the favour shown to the new-comers, and remarked that the king had assigned to the latter lands which Paraśurāma had given to the degraded Brahmans. To appease them, Mayūravarmā granted them the following four villages—Kuśasthaḷī, Śāṣṭi, Maṭṭi, and Nāga, while to the new-comers, other lands were given. In these four *grāmas* the fallen Brahmans continued to live in the selfsame manner—indifferent to the six *karmas*. (The Puttige version). No historical information is forthcoming about this colony of Brahmans in the four *grāmas*. B. A. S.

an elephant, agreeing to elect the person on whom it should be effused. The elephant went to the Kadamba wilderness, and poured it over the head of the young man there. He was proclaimed king of that country and also of Caurāṣṭradeśa. He then went to the Keraḷadeśa to perform homage; and at a shrine there was made king of that land as well. His son was Mayūravarmā. He wanted new Brahmans, being dissatisfied with the degenerate Brahmans of the land.[1]

Another *sthaḷa māhātmya* of Banavasi relates the following:—Mayūravarmā established in his capital a Brahman, who had impressed him with reverence, by refusing to eat in a country wherein there were no Brahmans. Candrāngada, son of Mayūravarmā, invited a large colony of Brahmans and located them in Keraḷa, Tuḷuva, Haiga (called in this version Haigara), Koṅkan, and Karahāṭa. This *sthaḷa māhātmya* tells us that Paraśurāma came *afterwards* to this country, bringing with him a colony of sixty-four families, among whom he established his own *vaidika* system. But between them and the others there was no agreement.[2]

(C) THE STORY OF MAYŪRAVARMĀ IN EPIGRAPHS

The above versions from Banavasi merely prove that the story of Mayūravarmā's accession to the throne and

1. Taylor, *Cat. Rais.*, III. pp. 705–706.

2. *Ibid*, III. p. 329. The Brahmans introduced by Paraśurāma in this account are called Citapāvans, and are said to have been brought from Āryanāḍ. The Parpara (Barbara ?) country Brahmans were called Madhinyanal. These received rights and privileges from Candrāngada, son of Mayūravarmā. *Ibid.*

of his distribution of the land into *grāmas* was current outside Tuḷuva.[1] But in order to ascertain the probable date of the origin of the story, we have to examine inscriptions that describe it at some length.

That the name Mayūravarmā which occurs in the Tuḷu *Grāmapaddhati* was historical, there cannot be any doubt. The palaeographical evidence supplied by the Candravaḷḷi incription, as Dr. M. H. Krishna has conclusively proved, enables us to assign Mayūravarmā or Mayūraśramā to *circa* A.D. 258.[2]

An admirable account of the origin of the Kadamba family is given in the famous Tālguṇḍa (Sthanagūḍha) stone inscription assigned to *circa* A.D. 450. The story given in full in this interesting record is outside our purpose; it is enough to note that this lithic record makes Mayūravarmā a Brahman, "an eminent twice born" of the Kadamba family.[3]

This demolishes the assertion made in the Tuḷu *Grāmapaddhati* that Mayūravarmā was a Jaina. No mention whatsoever is made in the Tālguṇḍa record concerning the distribution of land into *grāmas* and the invitation

1. Fleet and Rice also noticed the same tradition outside Tuḷuva. *I. A.* IV. p. 203 (n); *Mys. Ins.* Intr. pp. xxxviii–xxxix. In the latter account, the heroes known to Tuḷuva tradition, *viz.*, Mayūravarmā Candrāngada, Lokāditya, and Hubāśiga, also figure.

2. *My. Arch. Rep.* for 1929, pp. 50–58. Mr. Jayaswal assigns th Candravaḷḷi inscription to *circa* A.D. 300. *History of India* 150 A.D. to 350 A.D., pp. 220–221. Mr. E. A. Pires assigns the same inscription to about A D. 283. (*The Maukhāris*, p. 30. [Madras, 1934]), on grounds which are not intelligible. B. A. S.

3. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 176, pp. 113–114. See also Sk. 186, p. 121 for the name Sthānagūḍha. Read also *E. C.* IV. Intr. pp. 1–2.

extended to the Ahicchatra Brahmans. Therefore, till the middle of the fifth century A. D., the legend of the distribution of *grāmas* had not yet originated.

The epigraphs of the twelfth century A.D., however, give us a clue to the elucidation of the legend in question. An inscription assigned to A.D. 1160 of a feudatory ruler called Soyi Deva, narrates the following:–"To Rudra and the earth was born, under the auspicious Kadamba tree Mayūravarmā, the driver of his enemies, surrounded with kings doing homage. As he was born with an eye in his forehead, the crown was not bound there as it would cover it up, but it was bound on him near his knee where it would thus show well. What more can I say in his praise? As he grew up in the thick shade of a great Kadamba tree, his family became the Kadamba family. After the celebrated Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba Mayūravarmā, many kings succeeded in his line."[1]

A Jaina record dated A.D. 1077 gives us a few details concerning Mayūravarmā. "A kingdom having been procured for him from the Śāsana Devī, and that forest (*vana*) being formed into a country for that prince, a crown was placed on his brow composed of peacocks' feathers, whence he obtained the name of Mayūravarmā, the revered one (or progenitor) of the Kadamba-*kula*, Trilocana...".[2]

2. *E. C.* XI. Dg. 35, p. 44.
2. *Ibid*, VIII. Sb. 262. pp. 41–42.

From this inscription it may safely be inferred that the story of Mayūravarmā originated in the twelfth century A. D. A few more epigraphs of the same century will substantiate our assertion. In a copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1198 we have the following:—From a drop of sweat from the broad forehead of Hara, in the ground under a Kadamba tree, sprang Kadamba, with four long arms and an eye in his forehead, like another Purāri (Śiva), cultured with pure and high learning. From him was born one, subduer of the earth by the power of his sword, his own arm an invincible armour, the king Mayūravarmā.[1]

With every decade a new detail seems to have been added to the story of the origin of the Kadamba-*kula*. Thus in a stone inscription dated A.D. 1174 which describes the greatness of the Kaḷacuriya king Soma, it is related that that Kaḷacuriya ruler together with Aśvatthāma had been to mount Kailāsa in order to worship Śiva. He had previously worshipped Śiva with the desire of obtaining a son. When filled with distress, Śiva assured him saying "Do not be distressed!" Some Kadamba flowers fell down as if plucked. Seeing which king Soma worshipped Bhava with the flowers. On his doing so, Śiva granted him the boon. And two sons were born to king Soma.[2]

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1. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 117, p. 84. In this copper-plate Mayūravarmā is said to have had Ravivarmā as his son, Ravivarmā's son being Nṛgavarmā, etc.
2. *Ibid*, Sk. 236, pp. 135–136.

From the above it will be evident that the Kadamba flowers were connected with the Kaḷacuriya kings as well, although these do not figure in the Tuḷuva accounts. That the legend of Mayūravarmā and the peacock's feathers was current in the twelfth century A.D. will be proved by the following stone inscription dated A.D. 1189 which describes the greatness of Kāva Deva. It opens with Gaurī sporting in the Himya (Himālaya) mountain and Hara falling in love with her. "From Hara's virtue being absorbed by the earth, was born one who was a portion of Girīśa, with a frontal eye and four arms. Īśvara, seeing with pleasure this splendid son, blessed his offspring to be a king in the world, and from his being sprung from Samarahara and the earth, he received the title *Harādharṇī-prasūtam*; from being born in the Kadamba grove, the title Kadamba Rudra; from the reflection of peacock's feathers being impressed on his body, the title of Mayūravarmā!"[1]

The twelfth century A. D., therefore, saw the popularization of the legend connecting Mayūravarmā with the peacocks. We may not be far wrong in asserting that it may have been in the same century that it travelled to Tuḷuva, where the Brahmans gave it a local colouring incorporating it in the *Grāmapaddhati*. Turning to the other part of the legend of Mayūravarmā, *viz.*, the introduction of Brahmans from Ahicchatra and the allotment of *grāmas* among them, it

1. *E. C.*, VIII. Sb. 179, p. 27.

may be remembered that, while the earliest reference to the Ahicchatra Brahmans dates prior to the twelfth century A.D., no mention is made either of Mayūravarmā or of the distribution of land among them. Thus in an inscription dated A.D. 904 of the times of Ereyapa Nītimārga, we are told that "From Ahicchatra the abode of *yatis*, in which was the temple of Padmodbhava (Brahmā), there came originally to the south country, in order to make it pure, free from sin, and filled with merit, companies of learned Brahmans, to the honoured district (*viṣaya*) named Vanavasi." There the whole company settled in the great village called Tānaguṇḍa (its praise and the greatness of the Brahmans described).[1]

The above proves that in the beginning of the tenth century A.D., Ahicchatra was not associated either with Paraśurāma or with Mayūravarmā. But by the first quarter of thc eleventh century A.D., the story of the distribution of *grāmas* by Mayūravarmā received further embellishment at the hands of the scribes of inscriptions. We may recount here the division of the *grāmas* into those of western and eastern sections as given in the *Grāmapaddhati*. The total number of *grāmas* thus divided, we may be permitted to repeat, was thirty-two.[2]

1. *E. C.* XII. Nj. 269, pp. 135-136.

2. Cf. Taylor, *Cat. Rais.*, III. p. 660 where the division of thirty-two *grāmas* is ascribed to Paraśurāma. Read also Rice, *Mys. Ins.* p. 196 where Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba is described to have selected 12,000 Brahmans from Ahicchatra belonging to thirty-two families.

That the original number of thirty-two was in the mind of the people is seen by the exaggerated accounts found in the inscriptions ranging from A.D. 1027 to A.D. 1158. In A. D. 1027 the 32,000 Brahmans of the immemorial *agrahāra* of Gauḍa, also called Gauja, are mentioned.[1] The Brahmans of Tānaguṇḍur (Tālguṇḍa) are said to have come from Ahicchatra 32,000 in number, in a record dated A.D. 1092. They are further described as residents of 144 villages acquired as donations for the eighteen horse-sacrifices of king Mayūravarmā.[2] The same number of Brahmans in in Tālguṇḍa is repeated in A.D. 1107.[3] They are called 32,000 Brahmans of Sthānagūḍha in A.D. 1158.[4]

A more rational account of the Brahman migration from Ahicchatra is given in an inscription dated A.D. 1162, which relates that among the ornaments of the world was the *agrahāra* of Ahicchatra in the north. The Ganga kings having gone there in the course of a victorious expedition, brought from it fifty chief Brahmans for the increase of their own fortune.[5]

This is the only statement in inscriptions upon which some reliance may be placed. Rice, while editing it, remarked that "perhaps Gangas is a mistake for Kadambas."[6] It does not seem to be so. Epi-

1. *Ibid*, Sk. 47, p. 50 ; see also Sk. 46 dated A.D. 1068 for the name Gauja, p. 50.
2. *E. C.* VII., Sk. 178, p. 115.
3. *Ibid*, Sk. 192, p. 122.
4. *Ibid*, Sk. 185, p. 118.
5. *Ibid*, IV. Hs. 137, p. 97.
6. *Ibid*, Intr. p. 21.

graphical evidence confirms the above statement that the Ganga kings were associated with Ahicchatra. Thus it is said in an inscription dated A.D. 1122 that Ahicchatra was the capital of the Ganga king Viṣṇugupta.[1] King Viṣṇugupta's dates, it must be confessed, are not ascertainable for the present. He was one of the earliest Ganga rulers, when the Ganga family had not yet arrived at Ganga Perūr in the Cudappah district.[2] Ahicchatra was rechristened Vijayapura by Priyabandhu, or Priyabandhuvarmā Devendra, one of the Ganga rulers who came after king Viṣṇugupta.[3]

The reason why Rice is more inclined to accept the story of the Kadambas having introduced Brahmans from Ahicchatra, is due perhaps to the fact that in the inscriptions we have already cited, and in those to be mentioned presently, the Kadambas are said to have brought the Brahmans from that northern centre. Thus in a record assigned to *circa* A.D. 1200, which describes the greatness of the *agrahāra* of Sthānagūḍha, in the beautiful Kuntala country, we have the following:— The king of which, the lord of Banavase and of many other countries, Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba (his praise given) seeking with desire in the region of the south (*dakṣiṇāpatha*) for the tribe of Brahmans (*vipra-kula*), not finding any, without delay went forth, and doing worship to the Ahicchatra *agrahāra*, succeeded in obtaining

1. *E. C.*, VII. Sh. 4, pp. 4-5.
2. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, pp. 30-31.
3. *Ibid*, p. 30.

thirty-two Brahman families purified by 12,000 *agni-hotras*, whom sending before him he brought and established in the outskirts of the city (*Sthānagūḍha-purada poravolal ent-ene*) in the great *agrahāra* of Sthānagūḍha which he had founded in the tract he had noted (its praise).[1]

The number thirty-two relating to the Brahmans given in the Tuḷu *Grāmapaddhati* agrees very well with that given in the above inscription. Likewise the statement that Mayūravarmā not finding Brahmans in the south, went to the north to get orthodox families, coincides with that given in the above Tuḷu work. We shall see that the number thirty-two is also mentioned in another epigraph to be cited presently.

Meanwhile we may continue to cite references to the Ahicchatra Brahmans in the epigraphs of the latter half of the twelfth and in those of the thirteenth centuries. The Drāviḷadeśa Periyanda Hebbāruva and other Brahmans of the immemorial *agrahāra* Koḷḷinganahaṭṭa are said in an inscription dated about A.D.1185, to have been "connected with Ahicchatra"[2].

Even the Nānā Deśis are called Lords of Ahicchatrapura in a record dated A.D. 1267.[3]

Before passing on to the question of the date of that part of the *Grāmapaddhati* relating to Mayūravarmā and Ahicchatra, the location of Ahicchatra may be

1. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 186, p. 121.
2. *Ibid*, Hl. 91, p. 170.
3. *Ibid*, IX. DB. 31, p. 67.

determined. According to Gerini, Ptolemy's Adeisaga (Adisadra) may be a clumsy rendering of Ahicchatra or Ahikṣetra, the name of the ancient capital of Uttara Pañcāla, north of the Ganges.[1] Cunningham had identified it with the modern Ahicchatur, eighteen miles west of Bareilly, and seven miles north of Anola.[2] Others, however, have identified it with Ramnagar, twenty miles west of Bareilly in Rohilkand, the name Ahicchatra being confined to the great fortress in the lands of Alampurkot and Nasratganj.[3]

6. HISTORICITY OF THE FAMILIES MENTIONED IN THE GRĀMAPADDHATI

Some of the families mentioned in the *Grāmapaddhati* can lay claims to antiquity. It may be observed here that the *Grāmapaddhati* does not contain an exhaustive list of all the ancient families of ancient Tuḷuva. Thus, for instance, it does not speak of the household called the Bhaṭṭitilla which, we have already narrated, figures in a record dated Śaka 1312 (A.D.1390-91) found at Tiruvaila in the Mangalore tāluka. The management of the *sarvamānya* gift

1. Gerini, *Researches into Ptolemy*. p. 747.

2. Cunningham, *Archl. Survey of India*, I. pp. 255-7. Pargiter follows him. Mark. *Pur*. p. 353 (n).

3. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, pp. 2-3. (2nd ed.) Mr. Harihar Trivedi accepts this identification and rejects Mr. Jwala Sahay Mishra's identification of the same with the modern village of Ariora which lies a little north of the village of Bhadur in Patiala. *Indian Culture*, I. pp. 253-4. Ahicchatra, it may be noted in passing, is one of the diamond centres mentioned by Kauṭalya. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 85 (Sastry, 1923).

already described was to be vested in the hereditary charge of the members of the Bhaṭṭitilla family. But the *Grāmapaddhati* speaks of the Naḍvattillāya or Naḍvattilla, Mūḍanttilla or Mūḍanttillāya, Koḍittillāya or Koḍittilla, and various other families.

A few of the prominent families mentioned in the *Grāmapaddhati*, and in one instance, a local deity as well, have figured in Tuḷuva inscriptions. These were the god Mārkaṇḍeśvara of Bārakūru, and the families of the Hoḷḷas, the Handes, the Mayyas, the Kārantas, and the Mūḍila Niḍambūru Ballāḷas. We have seen that it was the Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeśvara who had advised the two sons of Maṇivarmā of Bārakūru in regard to the procedure that was to be adopted to get the throne of that kingdom. Tradition relates that Bārakūru was originally the *āśrama* of Mārkaṇḍeya. This is borne out by a stone inscription dated Śaka 1347 (A.D. 1425-6) which informs us that the god Pañcalinga belonged to Mārkaṇḍeśvara the original (patron saint ?) of the street called Kōṭēkēṟi of Bārakuru (*ā Bārakūru kōṭeya kēriya mūlasthāna Mārkaṇḍeśvarada Pañcalinga-dēvara sannidhiyalli...*[1])

Turning to the families we find that all the following belonged to the Kōṭa *grama*—the Hoḷḷas, the Mayyas, the Kārantas, and the Handes, while the Mūḍila Niḍambūru family hailed from the Uḍipi tāluka. Viṣṇū Hoḷḷa and Vāsudeva Hoḷḷa, sons of Nāraṇa (Nārāyaṇa) Hoḷḷa, are mentioned in an inscription dated Śaka 1301

1. *180 of 1901, S. I. I.*, VII. No. 385, p. 240.

(A.D. 1379-80) recording a grant to the Someśvara temple at Mūḍukēṟi in Bārakūru. This was in the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler Harihara Rāya II.[1] The Mayyas figure in an inscriptian dated Śaka 1359 (A.D. 1437-8). It relates that when Aṇṇappa Oḍeyar was the viceroy over Bārakūru in the times of the Vijayanagara Emperor Deva Raya II, a grant was made to the Somanātha temple at Maṇigārakēṟi in Bārakūru by a number of Śeṭṭis together with the following members of the Mayya family:—Mādhava Mayya's son Kṛṣṇa and Nārāyaṇa; Kṛṣnayya's son Vāsudeva Mayya; Koyakūra Vāsudeva Mayya's son Kṛṣṇa Mayya (*Maṇa-vūra oḷage Maṇa-ūra devara Mādhava Mayyana makkaḷu Kṛṣṇanu Nārāyaṇanu Kṛṣṇayyana maga Vāstēva Mayyanu Koyakūrā Vāstēva Mayyana maga Kṛṣṇā Mayyanu oṭṭi barada śilā śāsanada kramavent-eṅdare*).[2] This clearly proves that the members of the Mayya as well as those of the Hoḷḷa families were cited as witnesses to public grants made by the prominent citizens of Bārakūru in the first half of the fifteenth century A.D.

The same may be said of another well known family– that of the Kārantas. Another stone inscription found also in the Somanātha temple at Maṇigāra-kēṟi in Bārakūru, dated Śaka 131 (6) (A.D. 1394-5), mentions Śankara Oḍeyar as viceroy over Bārākūru in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Harihara Rāya II. It records a grant made by Keśava Nāyaka, son of Vijaya

1. *126 of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 316, p. 166.
2. *168 F of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 372, p. 226.

Nāyaka, to the god Somanātha. Among the witnesses to the grant are the following:— Govinda Kāranta, son of Keśava Kāranta ; Nārāyana Kāranta, son of Haṇḍana Viṣṇu Kāranta of the western house ; Mayijaṇṇa, son of Teji Bhaṭṭayya ; Dharaṇi Śeṭṭi, son of Kōṭiyapa Śeṭṭi and others (*Keśava Kārantana maga Govinda Kāranta paḍuva maneya Haṇḍana Viṣṇu Kārantana maga Nāraṇa Kāranta Teji Bhaṭṭayyanavara maga Mayijaṇṇanaru Kōṭiyapa S'eṭṭiya maga Dharaṇi S'eṭṭi*).[1] In a record with characters of the same age a son of Haṇḍa Kṛṣṇa Kāranta is mentioned. The date of this record cannot be determined.[2] We may recall here that in an epigraph dated A.D. 1437-8 cited above, concerning the Mayyas, a Kṛṣṇa Kāranta is mentioned.[3]

The Handes are spoken of in a grant dated only in the cyclic year Śrīmukha, made to the god Somanātha, evidentaly of the same locality referred to above. No ruler or overlord is mentioned in this epigraph. It registers a grant by Śankara Hande, son of Dēmaṇa, in the presence of the *halaru* or citizens of Maṇigārakēṟi in Bārakūru (*Handeṭina Dēmaṇa Handeya maga S'aṅkara Handeyaru...*)[4]

Two prominent families may also be mentioned here. Thes were the Ciṭupādi and the Niḍambūru households of the Uḍipi tāluka. Like the families of Kōṭa which we have described above, the Ciṭupāḍi

1-2. *159 of 1901* ; *S.I.I.* VII. No. 356, pp. 213-214, and *ibid*, n. (1).
3. *168 F of 1901*, op. cit.
4. *161 of 1901*, *S. I. I.* VII. No. 359, p. 210.

and the Niḍambūru families wielded considerable influence in their own locality. In the *Grāmapaddhati*, as we have already remarked, these two families are called the Pakṣanāthas. The Ciṭupāḍi or Ciṭṭupāḍi family representatives are mentioned in a record dated Śaka 1398 (A.D. 1476-7), of the times of the Vijayanagara king Virūpākṣa Rāya II.[1] The earliest reference to the other family of Niḍambūru as given in a record dated A.D. 1281, has already been adverted to in an earlier context. In a later stone epigraph dated Śaka 1317 (A.D. 1395-6) of the reign of the Vijayanagara king Harihara Rāya II, found in the Uḍipi Śrīkṛṣṇa *maṭha*, it is called ***Mūḍela Niḍambūru***. It locates the *maṭha* of the god Kṛṣṇa thus:—*S'ivaḷiya Mūḍela Niḍaṁbūra grāmada madhyada Uḍipina sthānada S'rī Kṛu (kṛ) ṣṇa-dēva-rige*. This was when the Vijayanagara viceroy Śaṇkara Oḍeyar was ruling from Bārakūru.[2] In A.D. 1399-1400, as narrated in a record already cited above, when the Vijayanagara viceroy was the *Mahāpradhāna* Nāgaraṣa Oḍeyar, the *Mūḍila Niḍaṁbūraru* were one of the parties to whom the viceroy gave the gift[3].

The importance of this well known family is seen not only in the above records but also in the following which clearly demonstrates that the Niḍaṁbūru *grāmastharu* were citizens of much consequence. A defaced inscription found in the Uḍipi Śrīkṛṣṇa *maṭha* of the reign of Harihara Rāya II, ends thus:—*Vidyādhi (Rā)ja*

1. *39 of 1901*, *S. I. I.* VII. No. 209, p. 105.
2. *112 of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 299, p. 151.
3. *154 C of 1901*, op. cit.

Tīrtha S'rīpādaṅgaḷu Harihara Rāyana kayyalu māḍida dharma S'rī-Vīra Harihara Rāyara voppa S'rī-Vīrūpākṣa-dēvaru S'ivaḷiya Mūḍila Niḍambūrā grāmada voppa Uḍupina S'rī-Mahādēvaru Koṇḍaūravara voppa Konata-dēvaru.[1] Another stone inscription found in the same famous *maṭha*, and assignable to the same reign, ends in a similar manner, thus:—*S'rī-Harihararāyara kayyalu māḍida dharmma S'rī-Vīra Harihararāyara voppa S'rī Virūpākṣadēvaru S'ivaḷiya Mūḍillavaru Niḍaṁbūru grāmada voppa Uḍupina S'rī-Mahādēvaru Saguriya Kuñjatavana Naḍuvaṅti anavarta Dēvaḷiya dēvaru Banniñjada adhivāsada jananigaḷa voppa tāḷekūḍe dēvaru Koḍaūra jananigaḷa voppa Kānaḍa* (*Kānana?*) *Saṅkaranārāyaṇa dēvara voppa...*[2] These epigraphs conclusively prove that the presence of the Niḍaṁbūru representatives was necessary when an official grant was made. This refers of course to the affairs in Uḍipi alone.

Of the witnesses mentioned in the above grants, a word may be said of the god Virūpāksa. This name refers to the deity which is said to have been in the Liṅgāyata *maṭha* in that quarter of the modern Uḍipi town which is called Māruthivīthikā. The entire locality of Māruthivīthikā and its neighbourhood is said to have been the property of the god Virūpākṣa whose temple is incorporated in the Lingāyata *maṭha*. It is still known as *Vīrūpākṣa-kumēri* among the people. It is said that a great part of Uḍipi comprised the *Virūpaksa-*

1. *115 of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 303, pp. 115–116.
2. *111 of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 298, pp. 150–51.

kamēri. The probability seems to be that this was a very ancient temple about which unfortunately nothing is available in epigraphs or literature.

7. CRITICISM OF THE GRĀMAPADDHATI AND ITS DATE

The *Grāmapaddhati*, no doubt, is defective, even as a traditional account of the village organization. But all the same it is very useful for the history of Tuḷuva. The following may be said against it:—

(1) It is lacking in uniformity. Thus, in one version Mayūravarmā is introduced abruptly ; while in others his parentage is given. In some he is made the son of Maṇivarmā ; in others the son of Suśīla and Hemāṅgada.[1] But in some versions, Hemāṅgada is described to be issueless.[2] In otner accounts, Vīravarmā is said to have become Mayūravarmā.[3] This is not mentioned in other versions.

(2) The *Grāmapaddhati* contains statements which, even on the strength of Tuḷuva tradition, cannot be accepted. Thus, in one version the ministers, who go in search of a ruler, are described to have proceeded to northern Vārakūla (*i. e.*, Bārakūru).[4] But this is clearly inadmissible, since there never existed northern and southern Bārakūru.

(3) The *Grāmapaddhati* is uniformly represented to be a portion of the *Sahyadri-kāṇḍa* of the *Skānda Purāṇa*.

1. *The Puttige version.*
2-3. Hegde, *Carite*, pp. 71, 74.
4. *Ibid*, p. 71.

This detracts its value as a piece of independent historical work.

Neverthless, the *Grāmapaddhati* is a source which cannot be dismissed as an instance of Brahmanical fabrication. Almost all the *grāmas* and many of the households mentioned in it exist today. The historicity of some of the prominent families has already been proved. Down to our own times, the *Grāmapaddhati* has always been referred to as a work of great authority, especially in deciding questions concerning the society of the Tuḷu Brahmans.

The few details we have enumerated above, enable us to determine the date of the *Grāmapaddhati*. That the composers of *Grāmapaddhati* are, on the whole, chronologically unreliable is evident from the following considerations:—In one passage in the Mangalore version, it is related that at the end of the reign of Jayantika Kadamba Rāya in Kali 1605 came Mayūravarmā. In a later passage in the same version, the distribution of the *grāmas* by Mayūravarmā is dated in 1731 Vikṛta Samvatsara which is evidently an error for Kali 1731 ! And still further down in the same narrative Citrāngada is placed in Kali 1653 ! And the absurdity of the account is seen when in the same narrative the successors of Cantrāngada (*i. e.*, Citrāṅgada) were eleven kings, all of whom ruled before the beginning of the Śālivāhana era!

For historical purposes, therefore, the above details are worthless. We have to rely on other intrinsic

evidence supplied in the *Grāmapaddhati* in order to find out its probable date. From the Buddhist parallel of the story of the peacock given above, it seems as if we are to trace the origin of the legend to an earlier Buddhist source. The prominence given to Mayūra-varmā in the *Grāmapaddhati* suggests that the upper limit of the story may be placed in the third century A.D. But we have shown that the story of the distribution of the *grāmas* was not current till the middle of the fifth century A.D. The *Grāmapaddhati*, therefore, has to be assigned to a later age. A rapid survey of some of the historical notices in that work enables us to assert the following concerning its date:—

(1) The *Grāmapaddhati* mentions a controversy between Śankarācārya and Maṇḍana Paṇḍita.[1] In another version of the same work, we are told that Mayūravarmā on the advice of Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya, built temples the ceremonies and ritual of which were conducted according to Śankarācārya's injunctions.[2] These statements are enough to prove that the *Grāmapaddhati* was composed after the times of Śankarācārya. It must be admitted that the date of the great reformer is not yet settled. Neverthless, even if we place Śankarācārya in the middle of the eighth century A.D. or thereabouts,

1. The *Puttige version* in which is incorporated a chapter called *Ahicchatra paddhati*. In all we have about 270 verses dealing with Śankarācārya. B. A. S.

2. Hegde, *Carite*, pp. 83–84.

the date of the *Grāmapaddhati* which mentions him is brought lower still.[1]

(2) The *Grāmapāddhati* contains the statement that Jainism was spreading in Bārakūru, and that the Jainas were in a majority in that city.[2] As we shall see in the next chapter, the advent of Jainism into Tuḷuva cannot be dated earlier than the ninth century A.D. Therefore, the *Grāmapaddhati* which mentions the above and other notices of Jainism,[3] could have been composed only after the introduction of Jainism in Tuḷuva. That is to say, the *Grāmapaddhati* is to be assigned to the tenth century A.D.

(3) The *Grāmapaddhati* speaks of Bārahakanyāpura. From the discussion centering round that name as

1. On Saṅkarācārya's date, read T. R. Chintamani, *IHQ*. III. p. 39 seq. where Śankara is placed in the latter half of the seventh. century A.D. Swamikannu Pillai fixed Śankara's birth in A.D. 805. Swamikannu referred to in the *Mys. Arch. Rept.* for 1928, p. 152 Dr. Shama Sastry opines that Śankara's death took place in Śaka 74 (A.D. 820). *Proceedings of All India Or. Conf.* III. p. 225. Mr. S. V. Venkatesvara places Śankara in the ninth century A.D. *I. A.* XLIV., p. 164. If Balavarmā's contemporaneity with Śankara is granted, then, Dr. Sastry's calculation may be accepted as valid. Balavarmā is placed in A.D. 812. *Mys. Arch. Rept.* for 1909, paras 46 and 53 ; *ibid* for 1910–11, p. 37. There is also a Balavarmā who was the father of Yaśovarmā and grand-father of Vinayāditya who is known by a record dated Śaka 735 (A.D. 813–4). *I. A.* XII. pp. 11–13. Another Balavarmā is assigned to *circa* A.D. 750. *E. C.* XII. Mi. 93, p. 113. B. A. S.

2. The *Grāmapaddhati* speaks of a dispute between the Jainas and the Brahmans in the city of Bārakūru. Hegde, *Carite*, pp. 76, 78, 99.

3. *Ibid*, p. 73. The *Puttige version* deals at some length with a ruler called Arhat, and mentions a Jaina ruler called Jinendra. The *Ahicchatrā-paddhati* also refers to the dispute between the Jainas and the Brahmans. B. A. S.

given in the earlier pages of this treatise, it must have been apparent to the reader that the form Bārahaknyā-pura came into vogue only in the tenth century A.D. Therefore, the *Grāmapaddhati* which so often mentions Bārahakanyāpura, and which, as will be explained in connection with the history of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya, even ventures to give a derivation of that particular form of the name, could only have been written in the tenth century A.D., or later.

(4) The Puttige version, as we have already seen, mentions a king named Vasu whom we have identified with the Ālupa king Vibudhavasu, who ruled in A.D. 1244-5. It is evident from this that the *Grāmapaddhati* must have been written after the times of king Vibudha-vasu. In other words, it could not have been written earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century A.D.

(5) The Puttige version describes a Madhva ascetic who was probably the celebrated Madhvācārya himself, and the manner in which the Vaiṣṇavites converted people into their fold. These details will be presently narrated. The date of the great Vaiṣṇava teacher will be discussed in the next chapter. In the meanwhile, we may note that the *Grāmapaddhati* which describes a great Madhva sage belonged to the age of the renowned Madhva himself, *i.e.*, from the middle of the thirteenth to the beginning of the fourteenth centuries A.D., or to a later age.

(6) The *Grāmapaddhati* maintains that the two Pakṣanāthas were, as we have already seen, Ciṭupāḍi

and Niḍambūru. The earliest historical reference to the Niḍamburu household called Mūḍila Niḍambūru, as we have also observed, is in the last quarter of the thirteenth century A. D. The *Grāmapaddhati* which speaks of the greatness of the Niḍambūru family could only have belonged to the latter part of the thirteenth century A.D.

(7) The most decisive test which determines the date of the *Grāmapaddhati* is the following:— It describes the judicial procedure in the court of a ruler called Vīra Bhūpa. This was no other than the Vijayanagara viceroy Vīra Bhūpati, son of Yuva Bukka and grandson of Harihara Rāya II. From independent epigraphical evidence we know that he was placed over one of the cities in the Karnāṭaka in A.D. 1386.[1] Since the *Grāmapaddhati* describes the judicial procedure in the provincial capital of Vīra Bhūpati, we may definitely assign the composition of Tuḷu work, which

1. Vīra Bhūpati, son of Yuva Bukka and grandson of Harihara Rāya II, mentioned in a record of A.D. 1386 (*E. C.* XI. Mk. 31, p. 95; Saletore, *S. P. Life*, I. p. 196), and again in a later inscription dated A.D. 1400. (*Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle* for 1913, p. 75). It was during his time that Cauḍapa composed his *Prayogaratnamālā*. (Aiyangar, *The Sources of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 54–55, Rama Rao, *I.H.Q.*, X. p. 802)). This Vīra Bhūpati is not to be confounded with Vīra Bhūpati Oḍeyar, son of Deva Rāja Oḍeyar, who was placed as Viceroy over the Chingleput district and its neighbourhood. Of the second Vīra Bhūpati we have likewise two records (Cf. Saletore, *ibid*, I, p. 277, II. p. 293). The judicial procedure referred to here will be discussed in a separate paper. B. A. S.

may have incorporated matter of earlier times, to the latter half of the fourteenth century A.D.[1]

8. THE STORY OF BHŪTĀḶA PĀṆḌYA AND THE AḶIYA SANTĀNA KAṬṬU

We have narrated the events till the days of Candrāngada, as given in the *Grāmapaddhati*. We shall now relate a few more incidents that took place after Candrāngada till the appearance of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya of Tuḷuva tradition. Ninth in descent from Candrāngada, according to one version, was Angaravarmā whose son was Vīravarmā. This prince while out a-hunting was cursed by Ṛṣi Koṭáśādri (Ṛṣi on the Koṭáśādri ?) for having killed the latter's deer. Vīravarmā together with his attendants was burnt to death, while he was ascending the throne at Bārakūru.

Here come a series of events connecting Tuḷuva with the Pāṇḍyadeśa in the south. A brief resumé of these incidents is essential before we pass on to the question of the historicity of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya. In the Pāṇḍyadeśa there lived a ruler called Jaya Pāṇḍya, who had four sons—Agniketu, Śikhiketu, Śivarmā (Śivavarmā ?) and Bhūta Pāṇḍya. The last named worshipped a spirit

1. This explains why the *Grāmapaddhati* calls Udayāvara merely a village (*grāma*). The reason is obvious. on the decline of the Ālupas as a ruling power, as we have already shown, the original capital Udayāvara sank into insignificance, and Bārakūru and Mangaḷūru took its place. Of these Bārakūru continued to be the capital of Tuḷuva down to the days of the occupation of the district by the British. B. A. S.

called Kuṇḍodara. The eldest Agniketu succeeded to his father's throne, and was followed by Agniketu's eldest son Saumyavīra Pāṇḍya. The latter's minister was Subuddhi. Candrāngada (of Tuḷuva ?) hearing of the helpless condition in which the Pāṇḍyadeśa was placed, twice invaded the country; and although worsted in his first attempt, yet succeeded in routing Saumyavīra Pāṇḍya. On this the latter fled with his wife called Satyavatī and his five year old boy called Jaya Pāṇḍya, to a village named Sukha.

Meanwhile, Satyavatī's brother Deva Pāṇḍya had failed to persuade his wife Śiva Devī to sacrifice one of his sons as an offering to the spirit Kuṇḍodara which had made its abode in a gallant vessel he had built for trading with the southern seas. Satyavatī hearing that Deva Pāṇḍya was in a pitiable condition, left the village of Sukha with her child Jaya, and meeting her brother, offered Jaya as a sacrifice to Kuṇḍodara. Being pleased with Satyavatī's earnestness and piety, Kuṇḍodara led the boy Jaya to Vārakūla (which is supposed to have been the name of Bārakūru), where it destroyed the family of the ruler of that kingdom named Siddheśvaravarmā. Here the spirit made the state-elephant garland Jaya Pāṇḍya. But not being satisfied with the Bārakūru throne, Kuṇḍodara went to Ujjain from where it brought Vikramāditya's throne and placed Jaya Pāṇḍya on it christening him Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya. This event, according to some versions of the *Grāmapaddhati* , took place in Śalivāhana Śaka 1, Bahu-

dhānya samvatsara Māgh Śuddha Tratiya Vṛśabha *lagna*.[1]

Another version of the *Grāmapaddhati* narrates that after the extinction of the Kadamba line, the Karnāṭaka dynasty appeared in Śaka 705 (A.D. 773-4). When Cakravartin Vikramānkadeva died, in his line appeard Vīra Pāṇḍya whose son was Bhūta Pāṇḍya who was made king of Bārakūru by the spirit Kuṇḍodara. Bhūta Pāṇḍya's son was Vidyutjimha whose three sons ruled over Bārakūru. They were succeeded by Vīra Sena who died issueless in Śaka 1100. This afforded an opportunity to Pāṇḍya, a Śūdra, to seize Bārakūru. But the patron spirit of that city called Bhūtanātha, evidently the same as Kuṇḍodara mentioned above, craved for a human sacrifice at the hands of Pāṇḍya. His wife refused to give up her son. But his sister agreed to do so. Pāṇḍya then ruled over Bārakūru and eventually married twelve Jaina princesses. In honour of these twelve Jaina princesses, the city was named Bārahakanyāpura. These twelve princesses gave birth to twelve sons-Tolāra, Cauṭa, Sāvanta, Baṅga, Ajila, Komṇa, Dambi, Kumbaḷa, Bınnāṇa, Heggaḍe, Mudya and Kunda.

After Pāṇḍya reigned his sister's son Baddadāsa. This ruler rechristened Saneśvara as Baindūru. He appointed Nāḍavars (*i. e.*, Buṇṭs) as the tenants of the Brahmans. His sister's daughter named Haḷḷi reigned

1. Hegde, *Carite*, pp. 103–135.

after him. It was during her time that the Nāḍavars claimed proprietary rights of the soil situated near Brahmāvūru. This seems to have been acceeded to, according to the Mangalore version of the *Grāma-paddhati*, but lands in Kōṭa, Kandāvara and Śivaḷḷi remained strictly in the hands of the Brahmans.[1] The Vijayanagara rulers are then suddenly introduced in Śaka 1150 (A.D. 1228).[2]

A third version of the story relates the following : Kadamba Rāya gave his sister in marriage to Lokāditya after going over to Gokarṇa. He killed Hubāśika, also called Hubbadiga, Habāsiga, and Hebasi, a wicked chieftain of the mountains, and then created Hayva, Tuḷuva, and Malayāḷa. This was in Kali 1689.[3] But

1–2. *The Mangalore version.*

3. This Hubāsiga was, according to tradition, a Koragar chieftain. The Koragars belong to the larger group of wild tribes described by us elsewhere. Some represent him as coming from Anantapur. (*I. A.* III. p. 196). The following is the account of the Koragar chieftain :—When Lokāditya, who was assigned to B. C. 1450 by Wilks, was king of Banavase, an invader by name or Hubāśika overran that country with an army of Cāṇḍālas, and marched southwards to Maṅgaḷūru in Tuḷuva. Here however his army was scouraged by small-pox at which he moved on to Mañjeśvara to the south of Mangalore. Hubāśiga subdued here the local ruler named Aṅgaravarmā, son of Vīravarmā, and reigned there in conjunction with his nephew for twelve years. Then both died. According to one legend, they died through the enchantments of Aṅgaravarmā ; while another asserts that a neighbouring ruler treacherously proposed a marriage alliance between his sister and Hubāśika, and when the latter and his tribe attended the nuptials, effected their wholesale massacre. Aṅgaravarmā then drove the invaders into the jungles where they were reduced to such an extremity that they consented to become slaves and were apportioned among the Brahmans and other landowners. But the

Candrāngada, son of Mayūravarmā, won a victory over Lokāditya, recovered his ancestral dominions, and re-established the Ahicchatra Brahmans in the thirty-two *grāmas*.

Candrāngada next undertook an invasion of the Pāṇḍya land in retaliation to the invasion of Bārakūru by Bhūta Pāṇḍya in the times of Candrāngada's grandfather Hemāngada. Candrāngada succeeded in his venture, and brought as captive, among others, a woman named Pommaḍaya with her eleven children. He landed in the harbour of Udayāvara, which is called a *grāma*. The captives from the Pāṇḍyadeśa were re-christened thus: Māvana, Dēra, Cāru, Malli, Bambari, Cori, Paḍirāḷu, Mittara, Cavuṭa, Kōra, Cara, Kambaḷi, Cūra, Hōli, Heggaḍe, Kañcuna, Bhaṇḍāri, Sāvanta, Hali, Kaṭi and Khiri (or Bhiri). These were to serve the Brahmans of the thirty-two *grāmas* as servants.

Koragars, whom Hubāśika had raised to the highest posts under him, were stripped and driven to the seashore there to be hanged. But being ashamed of their naked condition, they gathered the leaves of the nicki bush (*Vitex Negunda*), and made coverings for themselves in front. On this the executioners took pity on them and let them go, but condemned them to be the lowest of the low and wear no other covering but leaves. Walhouse cited by Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, III, pp. 427-428. There cannot be any doubt that the Koragars were in some manner associated with proprietary rights of the soil, and perhaps even with some governmental functions, long before the Ālupas became the rulers of Tuḷuva. It is also probable that the Koragars were addicted to warfare. But the above story is an invention of later times. The Koragars were but a branch of the Parṇa-Śabaras of Indian history. The name Habbusika, it may also be noted, is given to Abyssinia. *E. C.* IV, Intr. 31, Yd. 54, p. 60.

The dynasty of Candrāngada became extinct in the Kaḷi year 3884. Then in the line of Vikramārka of Karnāṭaka was born Vīra Pāṇḍya whose son was Bhūta Pāṇḍya. This version, it may be noted, uniformly gives the name Bhūta Pāṇḍya Rāya's progenitor as Vikramārka, whom it places in Ujjain. Bhūta Pāṇḍya died in Śaka 1100. After him there appeared the chieftain Pāṇḍu of the Śūdra caste, who married twelve Jaina princesses after whom the city was called Bārahakanyāpura. The reign of his sister's son Badda Dāsa follows and the names of the twelve princesses. In this version we have Mūla instead of Komṇa, Domba instead of Dombi, and Mudda instead of Mudya. In other details, this version agrees with the one given above.[1]

The most important fact in connection with Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya of Tuḷuva tradition is the law of inheritance through the females which he is said to have promulgated. This is known as the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu*, incorporating fourteen regulations called *hadinālku kaṭṭu* and the sixteen rules called *hadināru kaṭṭalegaḷu*.

9. CRITICISM OF THE STORY OF BHŪTĀḶA PĀṆḌYA AND AN EXAMINATION OF THE DATE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE AḶIYA SANTĀNA KAṬṬU

Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya's name is held in great veneration by the Tuḷu people; the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu* governs a large section of the Tuḷuvas; and the fourteen regu-

1. *The Mangalore version*, pp. 72–78. Sturrock gives the story of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya. *S. C. Manual* I. pp. 62–4, 140–3.

lations and the sixteen rules have controlled Tuḷuva society for ages.[1] These considerations compel us to examine the antiquity of the law called the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu* and of the fourteen regulations and the sixteen rules, and the historicty of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya.

There is nothing to indicate in the epigraphs available that the fourteen regulations and the sixteen rules were current in the times of the Ālupas. It is true that the term *kaṭṭale* appears in later inscriptions. Thus in a stone inscription dated Śaka 1359 (A.D. 1437-8), of the times of the Vijayanagara monarch Pratāpa Deva Rāya II, when Aṇṇappa Oḍeyar was the viceroy over Bārakūru, the people who followed the

1. But it is not to be imagined that the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu* is universal, even among the Jainas. I am given to understand that it prevails only among the Jainas who are great landowners, *i.e.*, those who are the heirs to the rich feudal estates of the mediaeval times. But among the other Jainas, the *makkaḷa santānu* prevails. And even among the Jainas of the ruling class, the *makkaḷa santāna* governs the following *bīḍus* of Tuḷuva to-day (1935): the Paḍubidre *bīḍu*, the Ermāḷ *bīḍu*, the Iravattūru *bīḍu*, and the Dharmasthaḷa *bīḍu*. At Ermāḷ. for instance, the late Mr. Lakṣmapa Māramma Hegḍe was succeeded by his son Kumārayya Māramma Hegḍe. Now, the younger brother of Mr. Kumārayya Māramma Hegḍe, Mr. Nābhirāja Māramma Hegḍe, is the head of the Ermāḷ *bīḍu*. After him the *bīḍu* will pass to Mr. Kumārayya Māramma Hegḍe's son. Hence the distinction, seems to be the following :—On the whole, the *aḷiya santāna* governs the Jaina royal classes, while the *makkāḷa santāna* governs the Jaina *jāti*. An interesting example of a Jaina landowner who himself belonged to the *makkaḷa santāna*, but who succeeded to the property governed by the *aḷiya santāna* law, is that of the benevolent gentleman Mr. Raghucandra Ballāḷa of Maḷali (Manēḷ in Tuḷu), an ex-M. L. C., who hails from the Iravattūru *bīḍu*, but owning the Maḷali estates. B. A. S.

ten regulations of the ten streets in Bārakūru are said to have appeased the representative of the Śivaḷḷi *grāma* on a particular connection (*Bārakūru hattu kēri modalāda kaṭṭaḷeyavaru kūḍi S'ivaḷḷiya grāma santaisuvalli...*).[1] This proves that the *kaṭṭus* and the *kaṭṭales* associated with the name of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya were not current in ancient Tuḷuva, especially under the Ālupas. We have, therefore, to suppose that these regulations came into vogue in later times.

From the three versions of the story of this remarkable hero of Tuḷuva legend given above, it must have been apparent to the reader that there was no uniformity in them ; and that so far as chronological data are concerned, no reliance can be placed on the story of the hero at all. It may be remembered here that while we have an account of that hero till his death in the Mangalore version, in the Puttige version no mention whatsoever is made of him. And even in the Mangalore version, the fourteen regulations and the sixteen rules are not mentioned. The omission of the name of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya in one important (Puttige) version of the *Grāmapaddhati*, and of the rules and regulations in other versions, is significant.

It may be argued here that the *Grāmapaddhati* and the Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya story are two different accounts ; and that the latter need not necessarily have been

1. *109 of 1901 ; S. I. I.*, VII. No. 296, pp. 147–48.

incorporated in the former.[1] But a code of regulations like that of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya, affecting as it did the history of a large section of the Tuḷuva people, ought to have been at least alluded to in the traditional accounts of Tuḷuva, especially when these hailed from Kōṭa or from Uḍipi which were so near to Bārakūru, the alleged place of the origin of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya. The contrary suggests that the story of the introduction of the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu* was not universal, and that it did not belong to the age in which the *Grāmapaddhati* was composed.

That the Tuḷu people believed in the story of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya, there cannot be any doubt. Indeed, Wilks informs us that one-sixth of the crop is the share which is said to have been exacted by the government of South Kanara from time immemorial until in A.D. 1252 when a nephew of the Pāndyan king, taking advantage of a civil war, invaded the country, in ships, and conquered it. But the invader, however, imposed on the conquered subjects the task of delivering the crop deprived of its husk in a state fit for food,

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1. Hegḍe relates that Kōṭegēri Subrāya Jyośa of Bārakūru had a copy of *Bhūtāla Pāṇḍya Kaṭṭu* in 13 chapters, which Jyōśa explained to Hegde. *Carite*, Intr. p. iii. Mr. Govind Pai asserts that he has seen a paper copy of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya's history in modern characters. *Thuḷuva Mahāsabha Annual*, p. 13. (Udipi, 1929). But while at Bārakrūru on two different occasions in 1922 and then again in 1932, I failed to trace a copy of the *Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya Carite*. People maintain and believe that the original of this palmyra Ms. is buried under the image of Pañcaliṅgeśvara in Bārakūru. This is mere fiction as I came to know while in that temple. B. A. S.

thereby increasing the revenue by about ten per cent. which is the estimated expense of this operation. This mode of payment continued until the establishment of a new government at Vijayanagara.[1]

In the note on the same page Wilks records the popular view that the Pāṇḍyan race had their capital at Madura; that this invader, from his wonderful success, is fabled to have been attended by an army of demons-*bhūtas*-and was hence called Bhūta Pāṇḍya Rāya; and that he was the son of the king's sister, and from that circumstance is said to have established in the conquered country a law regarding descent in nephews by the sister's side.[2]

It is worth while to examine the historicity of this remarkable Tuḷuva hero whose story has survived down to our own days. At the outset it must be confessed that the peculiar law of inheritance through the female which Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya is said to have introduced into Tuḷuva, is common to Keraḷa as well as to other lands outside Tuḷuva.[3] This does not, however, prove its antiquity in Tuḷuva, nor the historicity of its alleged founder.

The internal evidence of the story of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya together with that supplied in epigraphs and

1-2. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of South India*, I. p. 152, and *ibid*, (n.).

3. Cf. *Manual of Administration in the Madras Presidency*, III. p. 477, seq.; G. Krishna Rao, *A Treatise on Aḷiya Santana Law and Usage*, p. 11; Burton, *Goa and the Blue Mountains*, p. 209, (London, 1851).

tradition enables us to arrive at the following conclusions regarding the hero and his law:—

(a) All versions of the story call the capital Bārahakanyāpura. The marriage of the twelve Jaina princesses is connected with this name. We have conclusively shown that the form Bārahakanyāpura came into prominence only in the tenth century A.D., and that it was not the original name of the city at all. Since the legend mentions only the variant Bārahakanyāpura, the legend can be placed in the tenth century A.D., or after.

(b) The story of the Jaina princesses marrying the Bārakūru ruler strikingly recalls the offering of twelve princesses by Sugrīva to Rāma, as described by Abhinava Pampa in his *Rāmāyaṇa*.[1] It is likely that the Jaina conception of a ruler marrying at one and the same time twelve princesses travelled to Tuḷuva during the time of Abhinava Pampa, *i. e.*, about the twelfth century A.D. If this is accepted, the story of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya may be assigned to the twelfth or the thirteenth century A.D.

(c) In one version of the story of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya, it is said that he received the throne of Vikramāditya of Ujjain. But in two other versions he is described to have been born in the line of the Karnāṭaka king Vikramārka.[2] Evidently Vikramāditya refers to Vikra-

1. Abhinava Pampa, *Rāmāyaṇa*, X, vv. 39–45, pp. 283–83. (Bangalore, 1892).

2. *The Mangalore version.*

mārka, whose other name was Vikramāditya. Now, as we have already explained in a earlier context, this was no other than Vikramānka Deva Vikramāditya II, Tribhuvanamalla, who reigned from A.D. 1073 to about A.D. 1132-33. Therefore, on the strength of the internal evidence of the story itself, Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya can be placed only *after* the twelfth century A.D.

(d) The history of the descent among the Ālupas conclusively proves that the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu* could never have been legalized in Tuḷuva before the fourteenth century A.D. The history of the Ālupas as given in an earlier context may be recalled here. We hall select only three sets of descent in order to maintain our assertion that under the Ālupas, till the end of the thirteenth century A.D., the succession was from father to son, and not in the sister's line from uncle to nephew. Thus, in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Kundavarmarasa was succeeded by his son Guṇasāgara who was followed by his son Citravāhana I. From the first quarter till the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., we have Pṛthvīsāgara followed by Vijayādityarasa. The descent in the royal house from the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D. till the last quarter of the thirteenth century A.D , proves beyond doubt that the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu* never prevailed in the Ālupa house. For Udayādityarasa (last quarter of the eleventh century A.D.) was succeeded by Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva, who was followed by Kula-

śekhara Ālupendradeva I. The last named ruler was succeeded by Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva I who was followed by Nāgadevarasa.

Since we cannot conceive of a law becoming popular and binding over a considerably large section of the people in ancient times without receiving royal support, and since there is nothing in the Ālupa records till the days of king Nāgadevarasa (A.D. 1292-A.D. 1298) even to suggest that the *aḷiya santana kaṭṭu* had been legalized by the rulers, we may assert that it was not in vogue either among the kings or people of Tuḷuva till the end of the thirteenth century A.D.

But two objections may be levelled against this conclusion:—

(i) Queens are represented as ruling over Bārakūru. Thus, the Pañcalingeśvara temple inscription found at Kōṭekēṟi in Bārakūru, dated A.D. 1185, already cited above, affirms that the crowned queen Pāṇḍya Mahā Devī was ruling over the city of Pannirpaḷḷi.[1] This, however, is to be interpreted in the sense that that city formed the personal estate of the queen, or that she ruled jointly with the king Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi Ālupendradeva, whose long reign we have described in the previous pages.

(ii) Aḷiyas or nephews are prominently mentioned in the Ālupa records. For instance, in two of the

1. *171 of 1901*, op. cit.

records found in the Mahālingeśvara temple at Kōṭa and at Brahmāvūru in the Uḍipi tāluka cited already, and both dated A.D. 1254, Vīra Pāṇḍya Ālupendradeva is described as ruling from Bārahakanyāpura, and issuing orders in the presence of Aḷiya Bankideva.[1] But this was an instance of mere corporate existence. It may be remembered here that *mayduna* (brother-in-law) Oḍḍama Deva was also present on these occasions. His presence on both the occasions precludes any idea of the king having shown special favour to the latter's *aḷiya* or nephew.

It is clear, therefore, that neither of the above objections is valid. It was only in A.D. 1444 that the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu* received royal sanction at the hands of the Ālupa king Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva IV. Our assertion is based on the Kanara High School stone inscription dated only in the cyclic year Raktākṣi, but assignable on historical grounds to the reign of that ruler. The prominence given to Aḷiya Bankideva is apparent not only from the opening lines of the epigraph which we have already cited, and which mention the nephew first and then the uncle (king Kulaśekharadeva), but also from the manner of the ending of the inscription:—Thus the stone charter (was) engraved (and) given to Uncle Kulaśekhara Deva by the nephews Baṅkideva and Bammadeva. Success to Kulaśekharadeva ! (*yint-ī dharmaṃ śilā sāsanangeyidu*

1. *509 of 1928-9* ; *485 of 1928-9*, op. cit.

koṭṭa māva Kulaśekhara Dēvarge aḷiyandiru Baṅkidevaru Bamma dēvaru Kulaśekhara-devarge mangaḷa mahā-śrī).[1]

Epigraphical evidence from outside Tuḷuva amply justifies our assertion that it was only in the middle of the fifteenth century that the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu* received royal recognition both in and outside Tuḷuva. This brings us to the discussion of the interesting question concerning the identity of the legendary personage Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya. In the eulcidation of this point we shall try to explain how the name and achievements of this figure got mixed up with the doings of historical persons about whom we have some records hailng from the Karnāṭaka.

Two *vīragals* deal with a Pāṇḍya invasion of a part of the Karnāṭaka. One is dated A.D. 1292 of the times of Vīra Hoysala Ballāḷa III. It relates that in the Śaka year 1213, Khara, on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Māgha, Thursday (A.D. 1292, February the 1st), when Marakāla of the house of Samudra Pāṇḍya coming with his property and vehicles (*vastu-vāhana-sahitaṃ bandu*), demanded the Khaṇḍeya *agrahāra*,

1. *23 B of 1901*, op. cit. The assertion of Sturrock that it was in A.D. 1250 that the *aḷiya santāna* law was promulgated is wrong. *S. C. Manual*, I. pp. 63–4. Likewise the attempts made by those who place Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya in B. C. 1 or A. D. 1. Read Govinda Pai, *Aḷiyakaṭṭina prācīnate*, in the *Thulu Mahāsabha Annual*, pp. 4–19 (Udipi, 1929); Udayavara Narayana Achar, *Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya*, p. 1. (Mangalore, Dharma Prakasa Vacana Grantha Mālā, No. 13. No year); Satya Mitra Bangera, *Aḷiya Santāna Kaṭṭada Guṭṭu* (in the Kannaḍa script but in the Tuḷu language), *Thulu Sahitya Male*, No. 3 (Udipi, 1930). Of these the last one is merely a farrago of ideas. B. A. S.

Kālala Deva's son Pāṇḍya Deva Mahādeva killed that Marakāla to bits, and seized his property and vehicles. For which Taligenāḍ and Devaligenāḍ rose, and marched against Pāṇḍya Deva Mahādeva. On a cavalry fight taking place in the Hunnūr river,...Canda Gauḍa slew Vīra Masaṇa, son of the tiger-tamer Masanitamma, who was the chief person in Devaligenāḍ, but died in the fight.[1]

Another *vīragal* assigned to A.D. 1322 by Mr. Narasimhācārya, was found at Bāgavāḷu in the Hoḷe-Narasīpura tāluka. This records the death of Singeya Daṇṇāyka, son of Vīra Ballāḷa Deva's sister's husband (*mayduna*) Someya Daṇṇayaka, in a battle between the Pāṇḍyan kings in the southern India. We are told that Singeya Daṇṇāyaka was in the service of Vīra Pāṇḍya of Kaṇṇānūru, and that in the battle that took place between Vīra Pāṇḍya on one side and his son Samudra Pāṇḍya and Parakala Pāṇḍya on the other hand, the former was put to rout, Singeya Daṇṇāyaka dying nobly in the fight.

Mr. Narasiṁhācārya, we may identically note, commented thus on the above interesting epigraph:—"Parakala Pāṇḍya of this epigraph perhaps represents Parākrama Pāṇḍya whose inscriptions are dated in A.D. 1315 and onwards. Vīra Pāṇḍya is said to have ruled from A.D. 1296 to 1342. No published record gives the name Samudra Pāṇḍya. It is not clear why Singeya

1. *E. C.* VI. Cm. 36, p. 38.

Daṇṇāyaka went all the way to Kaṇṇānūr to take service under Vīra Pāṇḍya."[1]

These interesting details give us the clue to the appreciation of the story of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya. Both the *vīragals* refer to the aggressive activities of the southern Pāṇḍyas. In the *vīragal* dated A.D. 1292, we have an expedition into the Karnāṭaka by an officer of Samudra Pāṇḍya; in that assigned to A.D. 1322, we have the death of a Karnāṭaka general in the service of Vīra Pāṇḍya who fought against Samudra Pāṇḍya. Now, we may remember that through Tuḷuva lay the safest approach to the Pāṇḍyan country along the coast. It is probable that the commotion caused by Marakāla in A.D. 1292 over the Ghats in the neighbourhood of Tuḷuva, passed into tradition and was converted by Tuḷuva writers into a story of *bhūtas* bringing in a Pāṇḍya from the southern country. The expedition into the Karnāṭaka and the subsequent help which Singeya Daṇṇāyaka gave Vīra Pāṇḍya are probably the historical background of the expedition which legendary heroes like Candrāngada are alleged to have led into the

1. *Mys. Archl. Rept.* for 1912-1913, p. 41; *I. A.* XLIII. p. 227. Mr. Nilakantha Sastri is ignorant of these details pertaining to the help which the Karnāṭaka generals gave to the Pāṇḍya kings in the course of their civil wars. He mentions two civil wars: one in the reign of Vīra Pāṇḍya whom he places in the twelfth century A.D., the other in that of Vīra Pāṇḍya II in the troublesome days of Malik Kafūr's invasion. But nowhere is mention made of Samudra Pāṇḍya's wars, and the aid given by the Karnāṭaka generals. Read, K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, pp. 134-36, 138, 201-204. B. A. S.

Pāṇḍyadeśa and the retaliatory measures which Bhūta Pāṇḍya assisted by the *bhūtas* led against Tuḷuva. Whatever that may be, it is enough to note that, barring Saḍaiyan's expedition against Mangaḷāpura of the Maraṭṭas, there is not the slightest reference to the Pāṇḍyan invasion of the Karnāṭaka, or its portions which lay within Tuḷuva, till the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. It may be that the story of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya originated after the expedition of Singeya Daṇṇayāka in *circa* A.D. 1322.[1]

Inscriptional evidence relating to centres outside Tuḷuva further corroborates our assertion that the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu* received royal sanction only in the fifteenth century A.D. In A.D. 1403 under the regime of the Vijayanagara viceroy Viṭṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar, the Heggaḍes of Menasur in Maḍyavaḍināḍ together with a number of other Heggaḍes and with all the people of Dānamūla, granted a stone *śāsana* of sale deed thus:—"Our Dānamūla Menāsūr and other villages (in all eleven named, together with their lands, other belongings and all rights of full possession), the people of Dānamūla and the aḷiya santāna (or heirs in the female line) with one consent grant to those of the three cities of all the *nāḍs* of the (Āraga) Eighteen Kampaṇas ; and say that those lands and measurements no more belong to Dānmūla."[2]

1. Purely Karnāṭaka legends have passed into Tuḷuva history. The story of Jakkaṇācārya is another example. I intend dealing with this in a separate paper. B. A. S.

2. *E. C.* VI. Kp. 51, p. 86 ; see also *ibid*, Kp. 53, pp. 87–88.

This generous sale-deed of the citizens of Dānamūla enables us to assert that the Vijayanagara Government had legalized the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu* within its Empire. But Dānamūla was not the only centre where that law prevailed. It governed also the royal descent in the well known Sāḷuva capital of Sangītpura which was situated in Tuḷuva. An inscription dated A.D. 1488 relates that Sangītpura was "a place of descent in the female line" in the Tuḷuvadeśa.[1] Sangītapura was of course within the Vijayanagara Empire.

Another prominent city also within that Empire was Gērasoppe. Of the Soma-*kula* (Lunar race) rulers of that famous city, Sālva Malla was the greatest. He was one of the younger brothers of Bhairava, the others being Bhaira and Amba Kṣitīśa. After Sālva Malla came his sister's son Deva Rāya, then Deva Rāya's sister's son Sālva Malla, followed by Sālva Malla's younger brother Bhairavendra.[2]

A stone inscription found in Nāḍkalasi in the Sagar tāluka of the Shimoga district, Mysore State, dated December the 9th A.D. 1506, is of particular importance in this connection. It is valuable not only because it is one of the few inscriptions of the founder of the Keladi State, Cauḍappa Nāyaka, also called Cauḍa Gauḍa in this record, but also because it contains the interesting information that that ruler had legalized the *aḷiya*

1. *E. C.*, VIII, Sa. 163, p. 123.
2. *Ibid*, Sa. 55, pp. 100-101.

santana law in his principality. For it tells us that a gift of land was made by *Eḍava Murāri* Keladi Cauḍa Gauḍa to the children of Vīrapaiya, stone cutter (*kalukuḍiga*) of the village of Kalise. The stone charter enjoins that the gift of the above estate was to follow the rule of succession to males through females (*Cauḍa Gauḍuru Kaliseya kalukuṭiga Vīrayaiyana makaḷige koṭa bhūmi heṇṇi[ṅ]da gaṇḍige mūlaveṅdu koṭa bhūmi*).[1] Where exactly Keladi Cauḍapa's principality lay is not yet a settled point; but that he was a feudatory of the Vijayanagara Emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great is well known. For our purpose, it may be observed that Cauḍapa Nāyaka had given due importance to the *aḷiya santāna* law in the province under him.

To sum up:—(1) On purely historical grounds, it may be asserted that there was never a person called Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya in Tuḷuva, but that stories concerning the depradations of Pāṇḍyan agents gained currency in Tuḷuva resulting in a legend concerning an imaginary hero of the name Bhūtaḷa Pāṇḍya.

(2) The *aḷiya santāna* law, while no doubt may have been in vogue in lands outside Tuḷuva in the early centuries of the Christian era or before, was never legalized in Tuḷuva before the fifteenth century A.D.

(3) In Tuḷuva the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu* received royal sanction under an Ālupa ruler only in the first half of the fifteenth century (A.D. 1444) at the same time that it had received official recognition at the

1. *Mys. Arch. Rept.* for 1930, p. 219.

hands of the feudatories of the Vijayanagara Emperors elsewhere.[1]

1. We may dispense here with the Madras Government Epigraphist Mr. Venkoba Rao's theories concerning Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya. Accepting the tradition given in the *S. C. Manual* as correct, Mr. Venkoba Rao connects it with a similar tradition current in the village Bhutappāṇḍi on the southern frontier of Travancore, concerning a ruler called Ollaiyur-tanda-Bhūtap Pāṇḍiyan, "who conquered Ollaiyūr." Citing the evidence of the anthologies *Ahanānūru* and *Puranānuru*, Mr. Venkoba Rao maintains that this Bhūtap Pāṇḍiyan "of the tradition emerges as a historical king assignable to the early centuries of the Christian era. If any reliance can be placed upon the tradition connecting this Bhūtappāṇḍiyan's name with a South Kanara expedition also, the Pāṇḍya interference in the west coast politics must be considersd as dating from a very early period." *Ep. Rept. of the Southern Circle* for 1926-7, p. 107. How Mr. Venkoba Rao came to connect the Bhūtap Pāṇḍiyan of Travancore with Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya of Tuḷuva tradition, cannot be understood. All that can be said in regard to Mr. Venkoba Rao's statements is that they are merely conjectures. B. A. S.

CHAPTER V

RELIGION

Summary :—1. Aboriginal faith: *kāta* worship-serpent worship-devil worship. 2. Buddhism: Satiyaputa not Tuḷuva-evidence of Buddhiṣm in Tuḷuva: later tradition-existence of three Buddhists in the 19th century A.D.—Badda Dāsa-*Rājāvaḷī kathe-śāstāvu kallu*-names of goddesses in Tuḷuva-names of towns—a great Buddhist monastery. 3. Faith of the Ālupas: proof of the Śaivite tendencies of the Ālupa rulers from the earliest times-places of Śaiva importance in Tuḷuva—the *Rājaguru* of the Ālupa ruler Dattāḷpendradeva—the identification of Gagana Śivācārya—digression into the history of the Golaki *maṭha*—further proof of the Śaivite religion of the Ālupas till the last quarter of the fourteenth century A.D. 4. Jainism—introduction of Jainism into Tuḷuva-date: ninth century A.D. proof: traditional notices corroborated by historical evidence—centres of Jainism in Tuḷuva. 5. Vaiśṇavism: sketch history of the great preacher Madhva. His date—his works—his teachings—a description of Madhvācārya—Methods of conversion. 6. Bhāgavata Sāmpradāya.

1. ABORIGINAL WORSHIP

Successive religious movements have no doubt affected the life of the Tuḷuvas, but they have failed to wipe out entirely the aboriginal faith of the early people who may be said to have been of non-Tuḷuva origin. We shall first deal with the interesting relics of the aboriginal faith, and, then, proceed to delineate a few details concerning the introduction and spread of the more advanced religions.

Aboriginal faith may be grouped under three heads: tree worship, serpent worship, and spirit or devil wor-

ship. Of these the last is the most famous. It is believed in by all sections except the Brahmans amongst whom, however, serpent worship is common. That particular form of tree worship called *kāta* worship is common among the Koragars about whom we have many interesting details.[1] It is believed that the Koragars celebrate the *kāta* worship beneath a *kāsaracana* tree (*Strychos Nux-vomica*) in the months of May, July, or October. Two plantain leaves are placed on the spot, with a heap of boiled rice mixed with turmeric. As is usual in every ceremony observed by a Koragar, the senior in age takes the lead and prays to the deity to accept the offering and be satisfied.[2]

But this aboriginal belief has given place among the Koragars to a more popular faith which we may call devil or *bhūta* worship. The statement of Buchanan that the Koragars do not believe in spirits, but that they worship only a deity which they represent by a stone and to which they offer fowls, fruits, or grains as sacrifices,[3] is by no means accurate. For they believe in a spirit called Nīca which is not acknowledged by other people. Further, they are devout worshippers of Māri Ammā or Ammanavaru, the goddess presiding over smallpox, and the most dreaded form of Parvatī, the wife of Śiva. She is propitiated by blood-thirsty rites.[4]

1. Buchanan, *A Journey*, III. p. 100; Raghavendra Rao, *I. A.* III. p. 197; Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, III. pp. 425-32.
2. *I. A.*, III. p. 196; Thurston, *ibid*, pp. 433-4.
3. Buchanan, *ibid*, III. p. 101.
4. Thurston, *ibid*, *Tribes*, III. p. 434.

Serpent worship takes the form of adoration of effigies of snakes (*nāga kallu*), placed at the foot of *pīpul* free (*nāga bana*), especially on Nāgara Pañcami day, with milk, practically by all classes of people. These effigies are to be found all over the district. The most famous centres of serpent worship in Tuḷuva are Subrahmanya, Baḷḷamañje, Kadu-kukke, Kuḍupu, Mañjeśvara, Kāḷāvara, Kaṭṭiṅgere, and Viṭṭhala. In the village of Arabi near Surālu in the Uḍipi tāluka and in Krimañjeśvara in the Kundāpuru tāluka are a quaint people called the Ḍakkes, or Vaidyas, as they are also known, who are reputed to be masters of the snake-lore. They administer to the superstitious needs of the lower classes on the occasions of what are known as the *nāga-maṇḍalas* and the *brahma-maṇḍaḷas*. But in most of the serpent centres the worship of Skānda Kārtikeya in the form of Subrahmaṇya on Mṛgaśīrṣa Suddha Ṣaṣṭhi, known in Tuḷuva as Skanda Ṣaṣṭhi, is conducted by the Brahmans.[1]

Devil or *bhūta* worship is extremely popular all over the district. The *bhūtas* are generally attendants on Śiva, and are found in almost all temples in Tuḷuva. But in this treatise we shall be concerned with that form of the *bhūta* worship which is common among the Holeyas, the Pombadas, the Nalkes, the Paravas, the

1. The statement made by some (Govinda Pai, *Karnāta Sāhitya Parisad, Itihāsada Iruḷalli Tuḷnvanāḍu*, 1927, No. 13, p. 100 seq.) that the worship of Subrahmanya is represented by the *sāstavu* stones is incorrect. It will presently be seen that *śāstāvu* stones represent another religion altogether. B. A. S.

Mogers, the Billavars, and the Bunts.[1] Some details about devil worship as gleaned from the Tuḷu Pāḍadānas[2] will be given in a subsequent chapter on the life of the Tuḷu people. Here we may note a few features of devil worship as practised today in Tuḷuva. The most dreaded names of the *bhūtas* in Tuḷuva are Kalkuḍa and his sister Karluṭṭi, Bobbariye, and Koḍababbu. There is another name with which we are not concerned here – that of the powerful Aṇṇappa in the celebrated place of pilgrimage Dharmasthaḷa in the Puttūru tāluka. The fame of Kalkuḍa spread beyond the limits of Tuḷuva into Keraḷa where he is known as Cātu Kuṭṭi. Bobbariye is essentially a maritime *bhūta*, while Koḍadabbu is the patron deity of the Holeyas.

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1. On the Paravas, read, Thurston, *Castes & Tribes*, pp. 140–143. They are supposed to have some affinity with the Tamil Paravas, and to have belonged to the same stock as the famous sea voyagers of the times of king Solomon. But Thurston's statement that the Malayāḷm and Kanarese Paravars are descended from the Tamil Paravars, is baseless. On the other hand, if we are to give any credence to the tradition current among the Tamil Paravars of the Tamil land, which make them natives of Ayodhyā and the land watered by the Jumnā in ancient times, then, the truth seems to be that in the course of their migration southwards, they reached the Karnāṭaka and Tuḷuva first and the Tamil land afterwards. It is possible that the descendants of the Tuḷu Paravars may have settled in the Tamil land, in the same manner the Tuḷu Vellāḷers colonized certain parts of that country. B. A. S.

2. The word *pāḍadāna* resembles the Dravidian word *pāṭ*, meaning a song. But the nature of a Tuḷu Pāḍadāna is essentially that of a *prārthanā*, prayer. B. A. S.

The *bhūtas* in Tuḷuva are generally worshipped in *sānas* (Skt. *sthāna*).[1] *Bhūta sānas* have to a great extent been modernized in Tuḷuva. But some of the old structures answer to the following description given by Walhouse:—they are small, plain structures, four or five yards deep, two or three wide, with a door at one end covered by a portico supported on two pillars. The buildings are generally without windows. In front of them are usually three or four T-shaped pillars, the use of which is not clear. Inside the *bhūta sanās* are images made of brass, in human shape, or resembling animals such as pigs, tigers, fowls, etc. These are brought out and worshipped as symbols of the *bhūtas* on various ceremonial occasions. A peculiar small goglet made of bell metal and *kepula* flowers (*Ixora Coccinea*), together with lights are placed in front of the *bhūtas*. In some *sānas*, however, a sword is

1. Männer distinguishes the *bhūtas* thus : family *bhūtas* worshipped in *koṭyas* ; village *bhūtas* residing in *sānas* ; sylvan *bhūtas* typified by the Brahmarākṣas ; and *bhūtas* connected with temples and inhabiting the *guḍis*. *I. A.* XXIII. p. 29 seq. Sturrock follows him. *S. C. Manual*, I. p. 138. This is entirely a gratuitous distinction. Likewise is Männer's assertion that Kuṁberlu is the special *bhūta* of the Holeyas. This cannot be maintained at all, so far as the Holeyas are concerned. The difference between *koṭyas, sānas,* and *guḍis* indicates merely the locality where they are worshipped, and it does not in any way point to an essential difference in the nature of the *bhūtas*. The spirits of the two redoubtable brothers Kōṭi and Cennaya, whose martial deeds will be described in detail in the last chapter of this treatise, are said by Männer to reside in the *garaḍi*. But a *garaḍi* is more often given to an indigenous gymnasium. Practically every *bhūta* worshipped by the Tuḷuvas represents some famous man or woman who performed great deeds of valour. B. A. S.

placed near the *bhūtas*. This sword is held by the priest when he stands possessed and trembling before the people assembled for worship.[1]

Bhūta worship in Tuḷuva is generally of four kinds: *kōla*, *bandi*, *nema*, and *agelu tambila*. The most common form of worship is a *kōla* which name is generally applied to the celebrations in honour of the *bhūtas*. It is offered to the *bhūtas* in the *sānas* of the villages, and is witnessed by all the people of the village who contribute their mite for its success. A *kōla* is sometimes also performed by an individual who has taken a vow. When the *kōla* is performed with the addition of another detail, *viz.*, dragging about a sort of a car on which the Poṁbada priest who represents the *bhūta* is seated, we have a *bandi*. The celebration of the *kōla* once in twelve years in a famous temple, as in that of Dharmasthaḷa in honour of the formidable Aṇṇappa, is called a *naḍāvaḷi*; while the same performed by a private person once in ten, fifteen, or twenty years goes by the name of *nema*. There is still another kind of worship given exclusively to the Baiderlu, and that is called *agelu tambila*.[2]

1. Walhouse, *Journal of the Anthrological Institute*, V. p. 142; Sturrock *S. C. Manual*, I. pp. 137–138; R. C. Temple, *I. A.* XXIII. p. 5 seq. The assertion of Temple, who follows Graul, that *bhūta* worship refers to an early period of heroes is by no means accurate. Some of the *bhūtas* like Kōṭi and Cennaya belong to comparatively later times. And the Tuḷuvas do not worship only seven *bhūtas*, but, as Sturrock remarked, legion. *Ibid*, p. 138. B. A. S.

2. Cf. Sturrock, *ibid*, pp. 138–39.

2. BUDDHISM

While traces of this most popular form of aboriginal worship are still seen everywhere in the district, not a vestige remains of Buddhism which somewhere in the early centuries of the Christian era seems to have taken its hold over the land.[1] That Buddhists existed in Tuḷuva even in our own times there cannot be any doubt: the official statistics returned three Buddhists in the last quarter of the ninteenth century A.D.[2]

But of the spread of Buddhism in Tuḷuva in the early times, no direct information is forthcoming in history. Nevertheless, with the aid of epigraphs we are able to glean a few details concerning Buddhism which, taken in conjunction with the traditional notices and some religious observances current in Tuluva today, enable us to assert that Tuḷuva had indeed come within the fold of Buddhism in the early centuries of the Christian era. In this connection it must be said at the outset that the attempts made by some to identify Tuḷuva with Satiyaputa of the Edicts of Aśoka are wholly unconvincing.[3]

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1. Perhaps the only trace—if we may call it so—is the *dhūpe* or burial mounds in Tuḷuva. *Dhūpe* may be perhaps a corruption of stūpa but no proof is forthcoming to maintain this. B. A. S.

2. Sturrock, *S. C. Manual*, II. p. 11.

3. Saletore, The Identification of Satiyaputa, *Indian Culture*, I. pp. 667-674. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, in trying to refute me, has vainly endeavoured to locate Satiyaputa somewhere "to the north or N. W. of the three well-known southern kingdoms". *Journal of Indian History*, XIV, No. 41, pp. 278-9. We are none these wiser for these

Traditional notices which refer to the existence of Buddhism in Tuḷuva in early times are of two kinds: Tuḷuva traditional references as embodied in the *Grāmapaddhati*, and non-Tuḷuva references as given in Kannaḍa works of comparatively modern times. While dealing with the origin of the Śudra tenants of the thirty-two *grāmas*, the *Grāmapaddhati* relates that among the captives brought by Candrāngada from the Pāṇḍyadeśa was one Pommaḍaya, a widow who had been excommunicated for having associated with a Śūdra called Bappa or Badda Dāsa. She had eleven children, the eldest of whom was Kavaca Dāsa. These eleven sons were the progenitors of the Nāḍavars of Tuḷuva.[1] Neither the *Grāmapaddhati* of Bhaṭṭācārya nor the Puttige version of the same mentions this absurd account of the origin of the Nāḍavars.[2]

vague and unconvincing suppositions. Equally unconvincing is the suggested identification between the Satiyaputa of the Edicts and the word *Satiya putra* (or *Satyavatī putra*) which forms one of the *birudas* of the legendary hero Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya. Mr. Govinda Pai, *The Kanara High School Magazine*, I. No. 2, p. 65 seq. No. 3, p. 101. Mr. Pai has made another attempt to identify Satiyaputa with Tuḷuva. *Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume 1936*, pp. 33–47. Even if we assume that Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya belonged to the early centuries of the Christian era, this identification is erroneous, since Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya would then belong to the 1st century A.D., while the Edicts of Aśoka range from B. C. 258 or B. C. 257 onwards. Smith, *O. H. I.*, p. 103. (London, 1928). This disparity in the age is enough to disprove the identification. B. A. S.

1. *The Mangalore version.*

2. The Nāḍavars have been eulogized by Nṛpatuṅga Deva in his *Kavirājamārga*, thus:

subhaṭarkaḷ kavigaḷ-su- |
prabhugaḷ calvarkaḷ-a- |

Now, all that we may venture to say in regard to the name Bappa or Badda Dāsa occurring in Tuḷuva tradition, is that it may have been a clumsy rendering of the name of the Buddhist leader Badda Dāsa. But it must be admitted that this is only a conjecture, since there is no proof to maintain that the Buddhist leader of Ceylon had anything to do with Tuḷuva.[1]

Devacandra (A.D. 1838) in his *Rājavaḷi-kathe* refers to the prevalence of Buddhism in Tuḷuva.[2]

Neither the later nor the earlier notices of the spread of Buddhism are so convincing as the following considerations which refer in unmistakable terms to the prevalence of Buddhism in Tuḷuva in the early centuries of the Christian era. At Kadri, a suburb of Mangalore, are some caves called popularly "Pāṇḍava caves". These are identical with the numerous Buddhist caves which were used as places of retreat in the southern parts of the peninsula, and which have been

bhijanarkaḷ guṇigaḷ ||
abhimānigaḷ atyuggrar ||
gabhira-cittar vivēkigaḷ Nāḍavarggaḷ ||

Kavirājamārgga, II. v. 26. In an earlier connection he remarks thus : *Kannaḍakke Nāḍavar ōjar*. *Ibid*, I. v. 42. Mr. S. B. Joshi identifies the Nāḍavars mentioned here with the Nāḍavars of Tuḷuva. *Mahārāṣṭrada Mūla* p. 9. (Dharwar, 1934). Mr. D. R. Bendrey, M.A., tells me that the Nāḍavars were the same as the Naṭas of early India history. B. A. S.

1. On Badda Dāsa, read, Codrington. *A Short History of Ceylon*, pp. 29, 34. (London, 1926). Mr. Aygal places Badda Dasa in the twelfth century A.D. *Dakṣiṇa Kannada Jilleya Prācīna Itihāsa*, pp. 315-6.

2. Rice, *Mys. Insc.*, Intr. p. lxxxviii ; *E. C.* II., p. 45 (1st ed.).

assigned to an age ranging from the second to the sixth century of the Christian era.[1] We shall presently see that Kadarikā was a Buddhist centre even so late as the tenth century A.D.

Another consideration which prompts one to maintain that Buddhism was popular in early times in Tuḷuva is the fact of the existence of numerous stones called *śāstāvu kallu*, or as in some places, *śāstāveśvara*. Almost every temple, especially in the Uḍipi tāluka, has a special shrine called the *śāstāvu guḍi*. Thus in the well known Ananteśvara temple at Uḍipi, there is the *guḍi* of Śāsatāveśvara, while in the Śankaranārāyaṇa temple at Koḍavūru near Uḍipi, there is likewise a *śāstāvu guḍi*. Daily worship is being done to the deities in these *guḍis*.[2] At Ubaraḍika Muttūru, sixteen miles north of Suḷya, and at Koḍipāḍi, four miles west of Puttūr, are two temples of the *śāstāvu* god. The word *śāstāvu*, according to Amrasiṁha, is one of the names of Buddha:—

Munīndraḥ S'rīghanaḥ S'āstā-muniḥ S'ākya-muniḥ-tu yaḥ ।
sa-S'ākya-siṁhaḥ Sarvārtha-siddhaḥ S'auddhodaniḥ-ca saḥ ।
Gautamaḥ-ca-Arkabandhuḥ-ca Māyā-devī-sutaḥ-cā saḥ ॥[3]

It is not unlikely that the *śāstāvu kallu* and the *śāstāvu* gods worshipped in Tuḷuva today are the relics

1. *Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle for 1907*, pp. 60–61.

2. A village called Śāstāvu lies south of the *grāma* of Kokkaraṇe, near Surālu in the Uḍipi taluka. No trace of Buddhism can be seen here. But I am told that there is a Trimurti (image ?) in Śāstāvu. Then again there is a village called Śāstana near Śāligrāma, also in the same tāluka. B. A. S.

3. *Amarakośa*, I. 14–15.

of those far-off times when Buddhism was one of the most important religions of the land.

Names of goddesses and of towns afford, again, clues to the history of Buddhism in ancient Tuḷuva. Of the names of towns, we shall select only one well known example - Mangalore. This town has two other names–Māyikaḷ and Koḍiyāḷ. Of these the latter is applied to the northern part of the town to what is still known as *Koḍiyāḷa-guttu*. This name is neither so popular nor so ancient as the other name Māyikaḷ, which is the designation of the original part of the town in the south. Māyikaḷ is derived from *Māyā-kaḷa* or *Māyā-kaṇa*, meaning "The abode (space, place) of Māyā". The name, therefore appropriately describes the "Town of Mayā". Now, when we realize that the patron diety of Mangalore is Mangaḷā Devī, also called Ādi Devī, whose well known temple stands in the very locality called Māyikaḷ ; and that Mangaḷā Devī or Ādi Devī seems to have been no other than the Buddhist goddess Tārā Bhagavatī,[1] we may well understand why Mangalore was called *Māyā-kaḷa*, or the Town of Māyā.

Other facts support this assumption of ours. Mangalore is just two and a half miles south of Kadirikā, which, as will be proved presently, contained a Buddhist *vihāra*. One may not be far wrong in assuming that the temple of Māyā or Maṅgala was in some manner connected with the *vihāra* at Kadarikā. More-

1. Mangaḷa is another name of Tārā. *JRAS* for 1894, p. 85.

over, the present day custom of offerings animal sacrifices to the goddess Mari Ammā, whose shrine is not far from the temple of the goddess Maṅgaḷā, strikingly recalls one feature of the goddess Durgā who, as pointed out by us elsewhere, was no other than the Brahmanical counterpart of Tārā Bhagavatī.[1]

The Uḍipi tāluka contains many places which seem to have been once centres of Buddhist worship. In an earlier connection we mentioned four religious places reputed to have been created by Paraśurāma in order to guard Uḍipi. These were Kuñjāru, Indrāṇi, Kannarapāḍi, and Puttūru.[2] Divesting the tradition of its Pauranic garb, it seems that these four places were no other than Buddhist centres. At least the name

1. Cf. Saletore, *The Wild Tribes in Indian History*, pp. 26–27, 29. The Mahāliṅgeśvara temple at Teṅkaniḍiyūru, also called Belkaḷe, near Uḍipi, and the Śaṅkaranārāyana temple at Koḍavūru, also near Uḍipi, may have been likewise originally Buddhist centres. They contain *śāstāvu guḍis*. The Visṇumurti temple at Kidiyūru, also a suburb of Uḍipi, was in all probability Buddhist in origin. A close examination of this temple has revealed the following : 1. The structure and shape of this temple recalls that of the Anaṅteśvara temple at Uḍipi and the *vihāra* at Kadirikā. 2. Of the Visṇumūrti temple and the Yakṣiṇī *guḍi* at Kidiyūru, the latter is older. This Yaksiṇī was Cāmuṇḍeśvari, *i.e.*, Durgā. The wooden image of Cāmuṇḍeśvarī has been done away with because it was eaten by white ants. The priest of the temple was, however, unable to tell me as to when the image of Cāmuṇḍeśvari was destroyed. 3. The *liṅgas* in the outer *prākāra* of the temple show that the Viṣṇumūrti temple was once Śaivite. That is to say, originally a Buddhist *vihāra*, it must have passed first into the hands of the Śaivites, and then into those of the Vaiṣṇavites. B. A. S.

2. Some accounts substitute Bailūru for Kuñjāru, and Kaḍi yāḷi for Indrāṇi. B. Srinivasa Acarya, *Udipi-Kṣetra Mahimā*, p. 4 (Uḍipi, 1923).

Durgā Bhagavatī given to the goddess of Puttūru clearly suggests this.[1] This is further proved by the bare name of goddess Bhagavatī given to the goddess, as in Niruvāra (Nīlāvara) in the same Uḍipi tāluka. It was to this temple of the goddess Bhagavatī that, as narrated in connection with the events of the reign of the king Vīra Pāṇḍya Ālupendradeva, a gift of money was made by his queen Balla Mahā Devī in the presence of the ministers and others.[2] The goddess Bhagavatī was also called Durgā as in A.D. 1345, when a gift was made to her in the reign of the Ālupa king Vīra Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva II.[3]

In the Kārkaḷa tāluka, too, there seem to have been centres which were originally Buddhist in origin. The Durgā Parameśvarī temple to which a gift of land seems to have been made, as recorded in an undated and damaged inscription of the Ālupa king Kāmadeva,[4] was evidently in the hands of the Buddhists before it

1. It may be recalled here that the goddess Durgā Bhagavatī of Puttūru was well known as a protectoress and a savioaress. This is exactly one of the attributes of the Buddhist goddess Tārā. Was the god Hayagrīva of the Sōde Maṭha of Uḍipi originally a Buddhist Mahāyāna deity ? On Hayagrīva, read Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Iconography,* pp. 37, 68 seq. (London-Calcutta, 1924) ; Sādhanamālā, II, p. 508, (Baroda, 1928). B. A. S.

2. *491 af 1928-9,* op. cit.

3. *496 of 1928-9,* op. cit. We may not be far wrong in assuming that the famous goddess Mūkāṁbikā of Kollūru in the Kundāpura tāluka, may have been originally Buddhist. Mūkāmbikā is celebrated as a goddess of learning. This attribute she shares with Mañjuśrī ; but it must be admitted that there is no proof forthcoming in support of our assumption. B. A. S.

4. *477 of 1928-9,* op. cit.

had passed into those of the Śaivites. There is every reason to believe that the goddess now known as Gaurī in the suburb of Mūḍubidre called Prāntya, was originally known as Durgā. This is proved by two records dated A. D. 1205-6 and A. D. 1215 respectively of the times of Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I. In both these inscriptions the goddess is called Durgā Devī and not Gaurī.[1] Two and a half centuries later in A.D. 1444 during the reign of Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva IV, the same name is applied to the goddess. This suggests that the name Gaurī must have been applied to the goddess after the middle of the fifteenth century A.D.

To the names Ādi Devī, Durgā, Durgā Bhagavatī, or merely Bhagavatī, which indicate the Buddhist origin of the temples under review, we may add one more name which proves beyond doubt the prevalence of Buddhism in early Tuḷuva. This is the name Bhaṭṭārakī applied to the goddess at Poḷali. As is related in an undated inscription of the Ālupa prince Kumāra Pāṇḍya Jayasingarasa, a gift of land was made by him to the goddess Hoḷala Bhaṭṭārakī.[2] From this we may reasonably assure that the well known Poḷali Durgā Parameśvarī of the modern times was no other than Hoḷala Bhaṭṭārakī of the early ages.[3]

1. *51 and 52 of 1901*, op. cit.

2. *380 of 1901*, op. cit.

3. It cannot be made out whether Udayāvara itself was once under the Buddhist influence. One of the inscriptions cited above calls Raṇasāgara *Sambukallu Bhaṭṭāraka*. The title Bhaṭṭāraka stands

The next consideration concerning the existence of Buddhism in Tuḷuva hails from Kadri or Kadirikā, near Mangalore. The fact of the Ālupa ruler Kundavarmarasa having set up the image of Lokeśvara in the *vihāra* of Kadirikā is enough to prove that that centre was originally a Buddhist monastery. The appellation of *vihāra* used for the locality and the identification of the image of Lokeśvara itself support our assumption. Lokeśvara was essentially a Buddhist god. This is proved by an inscription which commemorates the construction by a Jayanta chief of a Buddha *vihāra* at

no doubt for *rājā* as well as for *priest*. Amarasiṁha uses it as a synonym for *rājā*. *Amarakośa*, Nāṭyavarga, 13. Kalidāsa used the term Bhaṭṭāraka to mean an official : *Bhaṭṭāraka ito'rdham yuṣmākam sumano mūlyam bhavatu*. *Śākuntalam*, VI, *praveśaka*. The Jainas used that appellation for their rulers as well as for their priests. But, as explained elsewhere, Jainism was introduced in Tuḷuva in the ninth century A.D. The *biruda Śambukallu Bhaṭṭāraka*, therefore, has to be referred to a non-Jaina origin of an earlier date. It may be argued that Śaṁbu being another name of Śiva, the expression has to be interpreted in the sense of "Bhaṭṭāraka of Śambukallu" (*i.e.*, king or great lord of Śambukallu). This is unintelligible. So we have to interpret Bhaṭṭāraka in the Buddhist sense of worshipper. This would mean that Raṇasāgara was "A worshipper of Śambukallu" (*i.e.*, the stone of Śiva = Linga). Two other expressions occurring in the same stone inscriprion are to be noted. These are *Śivaḷḷiya Brahmapuram maṛeda mahāpātakam-akku* and *Avīci mahā-narakakke bhāgyam akkum*. Whether the reference is to the Brahman conception of *pañca-mahāpātakam* as explained by Manu (XI. 55) or to the Buddhist idea of the same (Cf. Fleet, *Cor. Insc. Indic.* III. p. 34 n,), it cannot be made out. Again the reference to the hell called Avīci is not clear. The Hindus considered Avīci as one of the *narakas* (*Amarkośa*, IX, Narakavarga, 1), But the Mahāyāna Buddhists have also described Avīci in detail. *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Part III. pp. 635, 664–665. (Trivandrum Skt. Series, No. LXXXIV. Trivandrum 1925). Cf. Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, p. 54, vv. 732–738. (Lahore, 1934).

Baḷḷigāve by the *Mahāpradhāna Daṇḍanāyaka* Rūpa-bhaṭṭayya, to provide for which and for the worship of Tārā Bhagavatī, the gods Keśava, Lokeśvara and Buddha, he made ample endowments which are specified in detail. This is related in an inscription dated A.D. 1065.[1]

Indeed, Lokeśvara was no other than the northern Buddhist Boddhisattva Avalokiteśvara. He is represented as the consort of Tārā. The image of Lokeśvara at Kadirika is, on the whole, in conformity with that described in the northern texts. He is described as indigo-coloured with three faces which are black, white and red. The first pair of hands embraces red *lāsyā mātri* and holds *vajra* and bell; the second pair holds an upper garment of human skin; and the third holds *ḍamaru* and skull with blood. And he has a *khaṭvāṅga* in his arm pit, and he is adorned with jewels. The absence of other details given in the northern texts, *viz.*, that his left leg flexed rests on Īśvara, and the right extended rests on Sītā; and his orange hair being adorned with *udumvara* flowers[2]—may be explained by saying that the difference is due to the local atmosphere.

The statement in the same inscription found on the pedestal of the image of Lokeśvara, that the Ālupa king Kundavarmarasa removed the evil of grink (*surāpāna kṛtodośo yena ājñā nirākrtaḥ*); the general shape of

1. *E.C.* VII. Sk. 170, p. 112.
2. Waddell, *JRAS for 1894*, pp. 82-83.

the temple of Kadri which people call now Mañjunātha temple, but which is like the shape of the Ananteśvara temple at Uḍipi, recalling more a Buddhist *vihāra* than a Hindu temple; and the existence of Buddhist caves on to adjoining hill—these support our suggestion that Kadirikā was essentially a Buddhist centre in the tenth century A.D.[1]

We have now to inquire into the causes of the decline of Buddhism in Tuḷuva. Buddhism certainly was never the religion of the rulers of Tuḷuva. Almost till the middle ages the names of the most prominent Mahāyāna goddess survived in Tuḷuva. But grave causes had already brought about the decline of Buddhism outside Tuḷuva. Of these the most important was the advance of Jainism the champions of which inflicted crushing defeats on Buddhist disputants, by the seventh century A.D., in Kañci and other well known Hindu capitals.[2] Then came the rise of Advaitism under the great Śankarācārya somewhere in the middle of the eighth century A.D. But the most potent cause which brought about the disappearance

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1. These considerations invalidate the assertion made by the Madras Government Epigraphist Mr. Venkoba Rao that the temple was originally a Jaina one. *Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle* for 1921, p. 8. On the worship of Avalokiteśvara in Kāśmīra in the thirteenth century, read Sten Konow, *E. I.*, IX. p. 301. Cowell has some remarks to make on Avalokiteśvara. *I. A.* VII, p. 249, seq. On Avalokiteśvara, read Bhaṭṭācāryya, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 33 seq. The further identification of this image of Kadirikā will be the subject of a separate paper. B. A. S.

2. For a detailed account, see the writer's forthcoming book on Buddhism.

of Buddhism from Tuḷuva was the strong Śaivite leaning of the Ālupa rulers whose religious beliefs we shall now describe in some detail.

3. ŚAIVISM

On the strength of epigraphical evidence we may definitely maintain that the predominant religion under the Ālupas was Śaivism. In this section we shall first give such of the evidence as can be gathered from the stone epigraphs in regard to the faith of the Ālupas, and then deal with the history of a famous religious institution a great teacher of which was the *rāja-guru* of one of the Ālupa kings.

The indigenous Nāga origin of the Ālupas, as the reader must have gathered from the remarks we made while delineating the political history of Tuḷuva, was perhaps responsible to some extent for the inherent Śaiva tendency of the Ālupas. According to our calculation, Śrī Māramma Āḷvarasar is the earliest historical figure in the Ālupa genealogy, although the Halmiḍi stone inscription suggests the name of an earlier king. One of the stone inscriptions in the Śambhukallu temple at Udayāvara, ends with the word *Goravaru.*[1] This word refers to the Śaivite priests called Sthānikas or Goravas, who have played a significant part in the religious history of the land.[2] Another stone inscription of king Āḷvarasar, also found in the

1. *99 of 1901*, op. cit.

2. This subject will be discussed separately by me elsewhere. B. A. S.

samé temple, not only contains the same word *Goravaru*, but also refers to the god Śambhukallu (*i. e.*, Īśvara) to whom evidently a grant was made.[1]

Coming to the times of Citravāhana I, we have seen how he was a patron of Brahmans learned in the Vedas. The statements that "those who enjoyed the gift were held as consecrated to the thirty-three (*i. e.*, the gods)", and " whoever else takes or gives this is guilty of the five great sins," denote that the Śaivite religious feelings remained unchanged under Citravāhana I.

There cannot be any doubt that during the reign of Raṇasāgara, Śaivism continued to be the dominant religion in Tuḷuva. An indiscernible bond connected Udayāvara with the well known city of Humccha or Paṭṭi Pombucchapura. This is evident from the manner in which a *vīragal* found in Udayāvara ends. It deals, as we have already seen, with the death of a follower of Raṇasāgara named Viñja Praharabhūṣaṇa's son Kāmakōḍa in an encounter with the followers of Śvetavāhana, the rival of Raṇasāgara. The *vīragal* narrates that Kāmakōḍa "pulled out the tongue of those who were not attached to the Paśupata lord...", and seized, and destroyed, and assaulted those who were not attached to the lord of Paṭṭi.[2]

The veneration of the people for one of the most celebrated spots in Tuḷuva, associated with the name

1. *96 of 1901*, op. cit.
2. *108 of 1901*, op. cit.

of Śiva—*S'iva-haḷḷi* (The village of Śiva)—is seen in a record of king Pṛthvīsāgara (A.D. 730–A.D. 750) which not only reiterates the close relationship between Udayāvara and Paṭṭi, but also gives another significant detail which unfortunately for want of adequate data has to remain unexplained. This epigraph narrates that those who destroyed the grant would "be covered with the five great sins (of one) who destroys Vāraṇāsi and Śivaḷḷi"; while he who confirmed it would acquire "the fruit of a horse-sacrifice."[1] To the Tuḷuvas, therefore, Śivaḷḷi was as celebrated and holy as Benares. But why the merits of a horse-sacrifice which are met with for the first time only in this record, should have been mentioned here, we are unable to explain. Perhaps the horse-sacrifice is associated with the valour of king Pṛthvīsāgara. While dealing with the public grants in the reign of king Vijayāditya, we noted in an earlier context the references to the fruits of a horse-sacrifice and the importance of Śivaḷḷi and Vāraṇāsi.[2] Another inscription registering a gift to the god Subrahmaṇya, also noted in the previous pages, conclusively proves the strong Śaivite tendency of that ruler.[3]

More than two centuries later we come across interesting facts concerning the spiritual teacher of the

1. *102 of 1901*, op. cit. On the villages comprising Śivaḷḷi, see *infra* Appendix.

2. *98 of 1901*, op. cit.

3. *372 of 1927*, op. cit.

Ālupa king and the lineage to which he belonged. This is gathered from a damaged stone inscription found in the Someśvara temple at Mūḍukēṟi in Bāra-kūru. The original in Kannaḍa runs thus:—
S'rī Gaṇādhipataye namaḥ (śubha)m-astu svasti śrīmatu Durvāsa(s) munīndra-vaṁśa-tilaka...ya saṁtati sañjātar-appa śrīmat Gagana-S'iva-ācāryarige Dattāḷpendra śrī-Māra Oḍḍama Devīgaḷu Bārahakanyā-purada piriya-aramaneyalu hattu-kēriya halaru muṁtāgi Kārakaḷada Kadurabe(la)ṁ-beṭṭina tamma brahmadāyada...(vai)tti a 60 mūḍe bittuva (ba)yalanu je...yalu nakharā muṁtāgi biṭṭaru pūjeya (dhā) reyaneredu koṭṭaru ā-bhūmi avara saṁtati saṁtatiya śrī-maṭhakke naḍuvudu yī dharmavannu ar(a)su nāḍu nakhara pāl(i)si bahavaru yī dharmmavan-āva keḍisida...Vāraṇāsiyalu 108 kavileyanu Brāhmaranu koṁda doṣa sva-dattām para-dattām... (the epigraph breaks off here).[1]

The contents of the above grant are briefly the following:—Dattālpendra Śrimāra and his queen Oḍḍama Devī seated in the senior palace at Bāraha-kanyāpura, in conjunction with the citizens of the ten streets (*hattu kēri*) and others, gave to Gagana Śivācārya a gift of land in which sixty *muras* of rice could be sowed, situated in the high-level ground (*beṭṭu*) called Kadurabelambeṭṭu of Kārkaḷa. This gift was given in perpetuity to the *maṭha* to which Gagana Śivācārya belonged. The king, (the representatives of) the district, and the municipal corporation (*arasu nāṭu nakhara*) were to protect the *dharma* (gift).

1. *124 of 1901*, *S. I. I.* VII. No. 134, p. 165.

The above grant is important from the following points of view:—

(1) It confirms the evidence supplied by other records concerning the corporate life of the Tuḷu people.

(2) The clauses at the end-*sva dattāṃ para-dattāṃ*-etc., show that the people as well as the engravers in Tuḷuva were not unaware of the Pauranic sanction underlying the protection and violation of grants.

(3) It gives us the name of a new Ālupa ruler-Dattāḷpendra Śrīmāra-, whose date we can determine by fixing the date of his spiritual teacher.

(4) The inscription gives interesting details concerning the *guru* of Dattāḷpendra Śrīmāra. He was called Gagana Śivācārya, and he had the *biruda ornament to the spiritual lineage of Durvāsas*, and another indistinct *birudu* which ends in the words...*va santāti sañjātar-appa* (one produced [arisen] in).

The inscription is however undated. We have to fix the age of Gagana Śivācārya, and of his royal disciple. This can be done only when we find out the antecedents of the spiritual line to which Gagana Śivācārya belonged.

Gagana Śivācārya mentioned in the Bārakūru inscription is to be identified with Gagana Śiva to whom, on Wednesday the 9th March A.D. 959 (Śaka 880 expired the cyclic year Kāḷāyukta, Wednesday, the 13th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguṇa), the village of Kaṅkem (mod. Kaṅki in the Junior Mirāj state) in the Karahāṭa

district, was granted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Kṛṣṇa III Akālavarṣa Vallabha. The donee is praised as one "versed in all the Śaiva *siddhāntas*, the pupil of the preceptor Īśanaśiva, who is the head of the establishment of Valkaleśvara in Karahāṭa, and is an emigrant of the Kārañja-kheṭa group (of villages)".[1]

Before we proceed to narrate a few details based on epigraphical evidence concerning the *maṭha* to which Īśanaśiva and his disciple Gagana Śivācārya belonged, we may note that the age of Dattāḷpendre Śrimāra A.D. 959 agrees very well with the conclusions we have arrived at while delineating the Ālupa chronology. Dattāḷpendra Śrīmāra would, therefore, have to be placed after Āḷva Raṇañjaya and before Kundavarmā II.

From the above grants relating to land in Kārkaḷa in Tuḷuva and in Kaṅkem in Karahāṭa, it appears that Īśana Śivācārya and his successor Gagana Śivācārya were reckoned to be the heads of the Valkaleśvara *maṭha* in Karahāṭa in the ninth century A.D.; and that Gagana Śivācārya, and, therefore, his preceptor too, belonged to the spiritual lineage founded by the sage Durvāsas.

Which is the institution associated with the name of the sage Durvāsas? How, when, and where did it originate? And over which parts of the land did its

1. D. R. Bhandarkar, *E. I.* IV. pp. 278-290. Hultzsch wrote in a note (n. 1) on the above (p. 290) "or, perhaps a descendant of the (spiritual) lineage of (the *maṭha* at) Karañja-kheta." This, on the evidence of the Bārakūru record, is inadmissible. Dr. Bhandarkar's interpretation—"group of villages"—is, therefore, correct. B. A. S.

branches spread? These questions will now be answered.

The sage Durvāsas, founder of the spiritual line to which Gagana Śivācārya belonged, appears in many Tāntric works as the preceptor presiding over the Āmarṭaka *maṭha*.[1] The Tantric literature is said to have been introduced into the world by him. He is is credited with the composition of the works *Prāśakti-mahimnāḥ* in praise of the goddess Prāśaktī, *Āryādvicati*, *Devīmahimnāḥ-stōtram*, *Paraśaiva mahimnāḥ-stotram*, *S'aṁbhumahimnāḥ-stotram*, and others.[2]

But the identification of the Āmarṭaka *maṭha* reputed to have been founded by the sage Durvāsas, is a difficult matter. The few historical notices of the institution associated with the name of that sage, bring to light another *maṭha* which had its origin in the north, but which in course of time spread its influence over the south and the west. We meet with the name of the sage Durvāsas in the history of the Ḍahaḷamaṇḍala situated between the rivers Bhagirathī (Ganges) and the Narmadā. The Ḍahaḷa (or Ḍabhaḷa) country was conterminous with the Cedi country in Central India,

1. Hultzsch, *Report on Skt. Mss.* No. 2, Intr. p. xvi, seq.

2. Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I. p. 257; II. p. 55. Nirmaḷa Muni Guru of Tiruvalur in the Tanjore district, in his *Laghuprabhā*, a commentary on Aghora Śivācārya's *Kriya-karma-dyotika*, relates that the Tantric literature originated with the sage Durvāsas. *Ep. Rept. of the Southern Circle*, for 1917, p. 126. In the Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa temple at Hesaraghaṭṭa, in the Mysore State, the god about two feet high is seated on a high pedestal. He is said to have been worshipped by the sage Durvāsas. *Mys. Arch. Rept.* for 1916, p. 26.

with Tripurī (mod. Tewār, about six miles from Jubbulpore) as its capital. In a record of about A.D. 1162, we are informed that Kṛṣṇa, the progenitor of the Kaḷacuriyas, had seized the Nine Lakh Ḍahaḷa country and had made it his own.[1] Three Lakhs (of villages out of the nine lakhs) became the property of the followers of the sage Durvāsas.

These and other interesting details are given in the huge Malakāpuram pillar inscription of the Kākatīya queen Rudra Mahādevī dated Śaka 1183 (A.D. 1261, March the 25th). This epigraph records the gift of the villages of Mandara on the south bank of the Kṛṣṇaveṇī, and of Velaṅgapūṇḍi (Velagapūḍi), to the teacher Viśveśvara Śambhu, by the queen. The inscription relates that in the line of Śaiva teachers founded by the sage Durvāsas, appeared Sadbhava Śambhu, who received from the Kaḷacuriya king Yuvarāja Deva as a maintenance gift (*bhikṣā*) the Three Lakh Province. This teacher founded a *maṭha* called Golaki *maṭha* and transferred the Three Lakh Province for the maintenance of the teachers of that *maṭha*. Golaki or Golagi was a contraction of Goḷagiri in Navalakṣa Ḍahaḷa Tripurī.[2]

The age of Sadbhava Śambhu can be determined in the following manner:—He was the contemporary of the Kākatīya Yuvarāja Deva whom we take to be the first of that name. Now, the date of Yuvarāja Deva

1. *E. C.* XI. Dg. 42, p. 53.
2. *253 of 1905.*

himself is not known but it may be fixed thus : Yuvarāja Deva I's daughter Kundakā Devī married Amoghavarṣa II of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. King Amoghavarṣa II's brother king Govinda IV's dates are known : A.D. 918–A.D. 933. Likewise do we know that king Amoghavarṣa II's contemporary king Kṛṣṇa III lived from A.D. 939 till A.D. 968. Therefore, it is reasonable to assign Amoghavarṣa II to about A.D. 920. Supposing we place the marriage of Kandukā Devī with Amoghavarṣa II in *circa* A. D. 920, we may assign her father Yuvarāja Deva I to about A.D. 900.[1] If this is allowed, then, Sadbhava Śambhu, the contemporary of king Yuvarāja Deva I, may have lived in about A.D. 900.

The Malakāpuram pillar inscription of queen Rudra Mahādevī informs us that in the same line was born Soma Śambhu, who composed in his own name the work called *Somaśambhupaddhati*. He had thousands of disciples who, it is interesting to note, were by their mere sight capable of blessing or cursing lords of the earth.[2] It cannot be made out, however, how many teachers intervened between Sadbhava Śambhu and Soma Śambhu.[3]

1. Read Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.* pp. 32, and dynastic table on p. 57 (1st ed.).

2. *94 of 1917* ; *Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle* for 1917, pp. 123–125.

3. The assumption of Aufrecht that Soma Śambhu was the pupil of Sa-Śiva, who has been identified with Sadbhava Śiva, and that he flourished in about A.D. 1073, is inadmissible. *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle* for 1917, p. 126. We have shown that Sadbhava Śiva can be placed in *circa* A.D. 900. One century elapses before we meet with the name of Soma Sambhu. Hence the Malakāpuram pillar inscription

The Malakāpuram pillar inscription further tells us that after Śoma Śambhu came Śakti Śambhu, and that the pupil of the latter was Kīrti Śambhu. Then came the revered Vimala Śiva born in the Keraḷa country, who was highly respected by the Kaḷacuriya kings. His pupil was Dharma Śiva or Dharma Śambhu whose pupil was Viśveśvara Śambhu, who administered initiation (*dīkṣā*) to the Kaḷacuriya king Gaṇapati, the father of queen Rudra Mahādevī. The same record gives a few facts concerning Viśveśvara Śambhu. He was a Vedic scholar, and a resident of the village Pūrvagrāma in the province of Rāḍhā of the Gauḍa country. The Kaḷacuriya, Coḍa (Coḷa), and Māḷava kings were his royal disciples. King Gaṇapati actually styled himself son of his teacher. "...with hanging ornaments and a high tuft of gold-coloured matted hair, a brilliant face and necklaces, the teacher Viśveśvara Śambhu seated in the hall of instruction (*vidyā-maṇṭapa*) of Gaṇapati's palace was indeed an object worthy of sight." It was to this great teacher that queen Rudra Mahādevī gave on March the 25th A.D. 1261 the village of Mandara, as mentioned above.[1]

We may be permitted to mention here the successors of Viśveśvara Śambhu before passing on to the remarkable influence which the Golaki *matha* wielded in

merely records thus: "In the same line was born Soma Śambhu...". If we accept Aufrecht's date for Soma Śambhu, it would violate the contemporaneity of Sadbhava Śambhu with the Kaḷacuriya king Yuvarāja Deva, as given in the Malakāpuram inscription. B. A. S.

1. *Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle* for 1917, pp. 123-125, op cit.

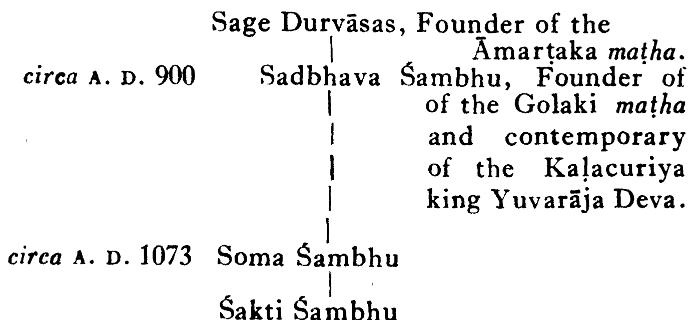
the Tamil and Telugu lands. In an inscription dated in the tenth regnal year of an unidentified king called Māṛavarman *alias* Tribhuvana Cakravartin Sundara Pāṇḍya, we are told that the disciple's disciple of Śrī Deśikendra of the Golaki-*vaṁśa* and the *Lakṣādhyāyi-santāna* in the Āryāvarta country, was Īśana Śiva Rāvuḷa.[1] The fact that Īśana Śiva Rāvuḷa belonged to the Golaki-*vaṁsa* clearly denotes that he was of the same lineage to which Viśveśvara Śambhu belonged. From other records we know that Viśveśvara Śiva was also known as Viśveśvara Śiva Deśika.[2] The Śri-Deśikendra mentioned above, therefore, could have been no other than Viśveśvara Śiva Deśika.

We do not know whether Īśana Śiva Rāvuḷa, who was the disciple's disciple of Viśveśvara Śiva Deśika, was the same person as the Īśana Śiva Yogīndra who, as is narrated in the stone inscription found in the Bṛhad-āmbikā temple at Devikāpuram, North Arcot district, was the head of the Golaki *maṭha*, and who "obeyed the command of Śiva (*i. e.* died).[3] Neither is it possible to say whether Īśāṇa Śiva Yogīndra was the same as Īśana Śiva Ācārya of the Bhikṣā *maṭha*, who was one of the trustees of the same temple, and who is mentioned in a record dated Śaka 1442 (A.D. 1520-1) found in the same temple.[4] Inscriptions ranging from Śaka 1442 till Śaka 1455 (A.D. 1533-4) have been found

1. *209 of 1924*; see also *ibid* No. 211.
2. *195, 223, 257, 273 and 323 of 1905*. These were found at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district.
3. *400 of 1912*.
4. *352 of 1912*.

concerning Īśana Śiva Ācārya.[1] If the Īśana Śiva Ācārya, trustee of the Devīkāpuram temple, is to be identified with the Īśana Śiva Yogīndra mentioned above, his death may be placed after A.D. 1533-4. And if we allot thirty-five years to him, it is possible that he may have lived in about A.D. 1480. His age does not agree with that of Viśveśvara Śiva Deśika's disciple's disciple Īśana Śiva Rāvuḷa who, according to the same calculation, may be placed in about A.D. 1332. We have, therefore, to assume that Īśana Śiva Rāvuḷa was an earlier teacher of the Golaki *maṭha*.[2]

From the foregoing remarks the following spiritual lineage of the Golaki *maṭha* in the Ḍahaḷamaṇḍala may be deduced:—



1. *352, 356, 368, 373 of 1912.*

2. Devikāpuram in the North Arcot district is still the head-quarters of a line of Śaivācāryas whose head is known as Śaṭṭanātha Śivācārya. These are the preceptors of certain sects of the Bēriceṭṭi Śaiva merchants. It is opined that they are connected with the Jñāna Śivācāryas of Mullunḍrum in the same district, who are the religious preceptors of the Tamil oil-monger (*vāṇiya*) caste. *Ep. Rept. of the S. Circle* for 1924, pp. 114–115. B. A. S.

	Kīrti Śambhu
A. D. 1247	Bhimala Śambhu (born in Keraḷa)
	Dharma Śiva Śambhu
A. D. 1252	Viśveśvara Śambhu Śrī Deśikendra, contemporary of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati
circa A. D. 1292	Disciple
circa A. D. 1332	Īśana Śiva Rāvuḷa, contemporary of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya [1]

We now turn to the Golaki centres in the Tamil land. Tiruvarūr in the Tanjore district was the seat of a Śaiva *maṭha* called the Kṛṣṇa Golaki *maṭha*. Nothing is known of the *gurus* of this line. The *matha* figures at the beginning of thirteenth century A.D.[2] Kalladakurucci in the Tinnevelly district had also a Śaiva *maṭha*. Stone inscriptions dated only in the 3rd year Āvaṇi, and in the 3rd year Puraṭṭāḍi respectively, of the reign of an unidentified Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Vīra

1. There is a Rudra Śivācārya with dates ranging from Śaka 1436 (A.D. 1514-5) to Śaka 1459 (A.D. 1537) mentioned in inscriptions. (*164, 172 and 179 of 1924*). In what manner he was connected with the Golaki pontificate is not certain. (*Ep. Rep. of S. Circle* for 1924, p. 115). There is a Viśveśvara Śivācārya between Śaka 1429 (A.D. 1507-8) and Śaka 1446 (A.D. 1524-5). (*354, 365, 389 and 390 of 1912*). He was also intimately connected with the Devikāpuram temple. Evidently he was a contemporary of Iśana Śivācārya of Devikāpuram mentioned above. B. A. S.

2. *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle* for 1910, p. 97.

Pāṇḍya Deva, are the only sources of information for these details. In the first we are told that provision for the reading of the *Tirujñāna*, etc., was made in the agreement by eight Śaiva Brahmans of the temple of Lakṣmīvarāhasvāmi of the same locality, to a certain Pugali Perumāḷ belonging to the lineage of Jñānāmṛtā-cārya of the Hiḷahi (*i.e.*, Goḷakī) *maṭha*. The other inscription records a grant of land by the Śaiva Brahmans of that same temple to Aghora Deva of Jñānāmṛtācārya *santāna* of Golaki *maṭha* for the maintenance of a flower garden, etc.[1] This Aghora Deva is called Śoḻan Śīyan *alias* Aghora Deva of the Jiyār-*santāna* in a record dated only in the fourth regnal year of Māṟavarman Tribhu-vanacakravartin Sundara Pāṇḍya "who was pleased to distribute the Coḷa country."[2]

Tirukoḍugunṟu *alias* Dakṣiṇa Kailāsa in Tirumalai-nāḍu also had a Golaki *maṭha*. The head of this *maṭha* was called Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalādhipati *alias* Lakṣādhyāyi-*santānam* of the Golaki *maṭha*. He is said to have been the pontiff of the Arubattuvūvantirumaḍam at Dakṣinā Kailāsam. The record which gives us these details is dated Śaka 142(2) (A.D. 1500-1), and it registers a gift of the village Kīḻai Kuḍalur by Eppuli Nāyakar to the same high priest.[3] It has been rightly surmised that he may have been a predecessor of, or identical with Īśana Śiva who is called *Pāṇḍinaṭṭu* (*Mudaliyar*), *Paṇḍimaṇḍalā-*

1. *359 and 362 of 1916.*
2. *364 of 1916.*
3. *213 of 1924.*

dhipati alias Lakṣadhyāyī-*santanam* of Dakṣiṇa Kailāsa in Tirumalaināḍu. This inscription is dated Śaka 1452 Vikṛti (A.D. 1530-1).[1]

The Telugu land too possessed well known Galaki *maṭhas*. Of these Puṣpagiri[2] and Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district were two seats which wielded some influence in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. The names of Śānta Śiva, Dharma Śiva, Bhimala Śiva, and Viśveśvara Śiva Deśika are met with in the records discovered at Tripurāntakam.[3] These names are to be referred to those already seen in connection with the original Golaki *maṭha* mentioned above.[4]

In the Karnāṭaka the most prominent Golaki centre seems to have been established at Valkaleśvara in Karahāṭa to which we now revert in the description of the events concerning Tuḷuva.[5] The accounts we

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1. *193 of 1924*; *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle* for 1924, p. 114. Tiruparankunram in the Madura district seems to have had also a Golaki *maṭha*. Rangachari, *Top List*. II, No. 403 p. 1040.

2. *323 of 1905*.

3. *195, 223, 273 and 323 of 1905*.

4. A Jñāna Śivācārya and one of his successors Pañcākṣara Guru, the latter being the author of the Sanskrit work *Snapanasārāvalī*, are met with in certain Mss. Hultzsch, *Rep. on Skt. Mss.* II. Intr. p. xviii. A stone inscription discovered in Alugurajupalle, Palnad tāluka, Guntur district, and dated only in the sixty-third (regnal ?) year of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapatideva Mahārāja, mentions a Golaki *maṭha*. *289 of 1930–1931*.

5. Two stone inscriptions contain some details about the Mūlasthānadeva temple at Mūlgunda (?). One is dated only in the seventh regnal year of the Western Cālukya monarch Trailokyamalla Someśvara I, *i.e.*, in A.D. 1049-50 (the date of his accession being A.D. 1042). It records an assignment of the income by Holli Gāvuṇḍa, chief of

have given of the original Golaki *maṭha* and of some of its branches in the Tamil and Telugu lands, suggest that the two teachers of the Valkaleśvara *maṭha* –Iśana Śiva and his disciple Gagana Śiva– cannot be referred to any of the centres in the Telugu and Tamil lands. At the present stage of our investigations, we are unable to find out when the Valkaleśvara *maṭha* was established, and likewise the history of its pontificate prior to the times of Gagana Śivācārya's predecessor Īśana Śivācārya.

What we may maintain is that the Ālupa king Dattāḷpendra was the disciple of Gagana Śivācārya, that the latter was called the *ornament of the spiritual lineage of Durvāsas*, and that, therefore, his *maṭha* was in all likelihood in Karahāṭa. The fact that his *maṭha* was in Karahāṭa and that his royal disciple was in Tuḷuva need not come in the way of our establishing a spiritual relationship between them. We have to remember that since the beginning of Ālupa history the rulers of Udayāvara were intimately connected

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Hosavūru, to Gangarasi Paṇḍita, the *acārya* of the temple of Mulasthāna, for the feeding of ascetics. (*108 of Appendix F* copied in Bombay-Karnataka. *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle* for 1926-7). Another record dated Śaka 984 Subhakṛt, Pausya Śu. 5 Monday (A.D. 1062, Friday the 18th January, the week day not corresponding) relates that the *Mahāsāmanta* Āycarasa was administering the Mūlguṇḍa Twelve district, when the *śeṭṭis* of Mūlgunḍa made a gift of land after purchasing it from Bēllāḷa Sōyamayya, to Dhruveśvara Paṇḍita, disciple of Gangarasi Paṇḍita, for feeding ascetics, etc. (*84 of Appendix F* copied in Bombay-Karnataka ; *Ep. Rep. ibid* ; Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.* III. p. 126). We cannot make out in what manner these two teachers were related to the Golaki *maṭha*. B. A. S.

with the Karnāṭaka. It was not only political proximity but cultural contiguity as well that brought the Ālupa kings under the tutelage of the Śaiva Ācāryas of the Karnāṭaka.

King Dattāḷpendra's successor was king Kundavarmarasa II. In the Sanskrit-Grantha inscription engraved on the pedestal of the Lokeśvara god at Kadirikā, as already narrated above, we are told that *S'rī Kundavarmā Guṇava(ā)n Āḷuvendro mahīpatiḥ pāda(ā) ravinda bhramaro Bālacandra S'khāmaṇeh.*[1] This proves that Bālacandra Śikhāmaṇi was the royal preceptor of the Ālupa king Kundavarmā II. It cannot be made out whether Bālacandra Śikhāmaṇi was of the same spiritual lineage to which Gagana Śivācārya belonged. The name Bālacandra Śikhāmaṇi is not met with in any of the records dealing with the leaders of the Golaki *maṭha* in the Tamil, Telugu, or Karnāṭaka lands. On the other hand, Bālacandra was a name common among the Jaina *gurus*. But the installation of the Lokeśvara image in the *vihāra* of Kadirikā, and the marked leaning which the king showed to the Brahmans, as is evident from the statement—*dvijānāṃ agrahārebhyaḥ cāru cāritra ṣā(śā)liṇā*—reveal conclusively that Kundavarmarasa II was thoroughly Śaivite in his faith. Future finds alone may show that Bālacandra Śikhāmaṇi was perhaps the successor of Gagana Śivācārya in the pontificate of the Valkaleśvara *maṭha*.

1. *27 B of 1901*, op. cit.

The Ālupas continued to be devotees of Śiva till the times of Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I, *i.e.*, till the first quarter of the thirteenth century A.D. This is proved by the grants made in the presence of gods Mārkaṇḍeśvara and Nakhareśvara in Bārakūru, and of the goddess Durgā either by the kings themselves or by citizens in the presence of the officers of the rulers.[1]

But the age of Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I also witnessed the rise into prominence of another religion which had already been introduced into Tuḷuva, and which had made rapid progress over the whole of the Karnāṭaka. This was Jainism into the history of which at least so far as it concerns our topic, we shall presently enquire with the aid of contemporary epigraphs and tradition. But that the account of Śaivism under the Ālupas may be complete, we shall give such of the brief notices of that religion as are met with in the Ālupa records of the successors of Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I.

Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva I (A.D. 1254-1267) and his queen Balla Mahādevī continued to bestow patronage on the Śaivite centres of Koṭa, Brahmāvūru, Niruvāra, and Puttige, in the Uḍipi tāluka, as their epigraphs amply prove.[2] Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva's son and successor Nāgadevarasa (A.D. 1292-98) likewise was a

1. *171 and 176 of 1901*, op. cit.; *52 of 1901*, op. cit.

2. *370 af 1927* ; *485 of 1928-9* ; *490 of 1928-9* ; *491, 500 and 509 of 1928-9*.

Śaivite. His gift to the god Nakhareśvara of Basarūru in A.D. 1292 bears evidence to his Śaivite faith.[1] His successor Bankideva Ālupendradeva II gave public testimony to the liberal views which had always characterized the Ālupa family, when he made grants (specified in detail) in A.D. 1302 to the gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara.[2] The next ruler Soyideva Ālupendradeva was an avowed Śaivite. He himself granted gifts in the orthodox manner to the god Somanātha in Maṇigārakēṟi at Bārakūru in A.D. 1315.[3] The much-damaged inscription dated A.D. 1345 of the reign of Vīra Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva II, recording a gift to the temple of Durgā Bhagavatī,[4] as narrated already, gives us scope to assert that the Śaivite tradition at the Ālupa court continued unimpaired till the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. In fact, the gifts made by Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva II (A.D. 1346-A.D. 1366) to the servants of Bhārata Tīrtha Śrīpāda of Śriṅgerī,[5] only confirm our surmise.

But with his successor Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva III, in the last quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., Jainism which, since the days of Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I, had remained in the background, now appears prominently at the court of the Ālupa monarch. Saivism, however, had taken too deep roots in the Ālupa

1. *415 of 1927-8*, op. cit.
2. *17 of 1901*, op. cit.
3. *157 of 1901*, op. cit.
4. *496 of 1928-9*, op. cit.
5. *My. Arch. Rept.* for 1916, p. 57, op. cit.

mind. Hence we find the stone grant (*śilā-śāsanam*) given to the god Bankeśvara of Mangaḷūru by the last of the Ālupa kings Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva IV, as recorded in the Kanara High School stone inscription dated only in the cyclic year Raktākṣi but assignable to A.D. 1441.[1] Nevertheless Jainism had already made sufficient progress in Tuḷuva by this time, and we have now, therefore, to describe the manner in which it came to be so conspicuous in Tuḷuva.

4. JAINISM

The main sources of information for the study of Jainism in Tuḷuva are the Hindu and Jaina tradition, epigraphs, and Jaina literature as preserved in the libraries of Jaina centres of Mūḍubidre and Kārkaḷa. But since the last named source is inaccessible to the student of history, we have to rely mainly on the Jaina and Hindu tradition coroborated by the notices of Jainism in epigraphs discovered in Tuḷuva.

Hindu tradition contains notices of Jaina *ṛṣis* who are said to have introduced Jainism into a part of Tuḷuva. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, for example, states that Ṛṣabha, the son of Nābhi by his queen Meru, having ruled with equity and wisdom, and having celebrated many sacrifices, resigned the soveregnity of the earth to his eldest son Bharata—after whom the earth came to be known as Bharatavarṣa—, and retiring to the hermitage of Pulastya, adopted the life of a *sanyāsin*. He

1. *23 B of 1901.*

practised such rigorous penance that he was reduced to a mere collection of skin and fibres, and while in this state, went the way of all flesh.[1]

The wanderings of this great teacher Ṛṣabha are given in greater detail in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* which contains some details that are of interest to the student of Tuḷuva history. Like unto a potter's wheel moving by itself, Ṛṣabha's body went to Koṅka, Veṅkaṭa, Kūṭaka, and southern Karnāṭaka where in the forest adjoining to the Kūṭaka mountain he threw some pebbles into his mouth and then began to move about naked and with dishevelled hair like a maniac. Thereupon a dreadful forest-fire, caused by the bamboos striking one against the other on account of the terrible wind, burnt his body along with the entire forest. Being informed of the conduct (of Ṛṣabha) the king of Koṅka, Veṅkaṭa, and Kūṭaka, named Arhat shall himself learn it, and shall, forsaking his own religion, fearlessly institute the false religion with the Pāṣaṇḍhas by his own understanding.[2]

The Kūṭaka mentioned above could only have been the Kūṭakagrāma of Tuḷuva.[3] From the above story it appears as if the Jaina advent into Tuḷuva is to be dated to the early days of Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthankara; and that the activities of the Jainas are to be located

1. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II. pp. 103–104. (Wilson).
2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, V. 6, 8, 10 and 11 ; *ibid*, V. p. 21 (Calcutta 1895).
3. This subject will be dealt with in a separate paper. B. A. S.

somewhere in the region between Kūṭakagrāma and Haṭṭiangaḍi. The latter place in the Kundāpūru tāluka is no doubt still considered to be a holy centre of the Jainas, although it contains no more than a couple of Jaina houses and a Jaina *basti*. If we are to rely on the story of Ṛṣabha's wanderings, Jainism appears to have been introduced first in the region of Kundāpūru and then elsewhere in Tuḷuva.[1]

But the traditions current in Mūḍubidre and Kārkaḷa, the two strongholds of Jainism in Tuḷuva, run counter to the above view. The Jaina tradition in Mūḍubidre as well as in Kārkaḷa dates the introduction of Jainism into Tuḷuva to about the ninth century A.D. The following may be noted in this connection:—In the first place, the Jainas of Tuḷuva have no memories of Paraśurāma. Unlike the Brahmans, they deny the

1. These assumptions receive some support from the following stone inscription assigned to *circa* A.D. 950, which informs us that Jīnadatta *Polaḷol Kumbhāsikeyoḷ māḍidam Jīna-gēhaṅgaḷam*. The same record ends with the statement that Jīnadatta granted Kumbhāsepura for the anointment of Jīna, etc. *E. C.* VII. Sh. 114, p. 37. One is inclined to identify Poḷalu mentioned in this record with Poḷalu or Poḷali in the Mangalore tāluka, and Kumbhasepura or Kumbhasike with Kumbhakāśi or Kumbhasike in the Uḍipi tāluka. This may be strengthened by the fact that at Maḷali, north of Poḷali in the Mangalore tāluka, and likewise at Haṭṭiangaḍi, about five or six miles north of Kumbhakāśi, there are Jaina *bastis*. These arguments seem to confirm the details given above regarding Ṛṣabha's wanderings. But this view is inadmissible. For the Kumbhasike of of the above record is to be identified with Kumsi, the place itself where the inscription was found, and the Poḷali of the same record was no other than its namesake mentioned in *circa* A.D. 890 in the same region. *E. C.* VII Sk. 45, p. 49.

creation of the Sapta Konkaṇas by Jāmadagnya. As Buchanan remarked, they merely trace the history of Jainism to Jīnadatta Rāya who was born, according to them, at Uttara Mathurā near the Jumnā.[1] This shows that the Jainas came to the district in comparatively later times.

Secondly, the Jainas of Tuḷuva themselves admit that the Brahmans of Tuḷuva were a more ancient people. Buchanan was informed by the Jainas that the Tuḷuva Brahmans, who followed the Vedas, were first introduced by Mayūravarmā, a Jaina prince who lived at Bārakūru about a thousand years ago. But of this ruler the Jainas of Tuḷuva have no written record.[2] Hence the Jainas seem to have come to Tuḷuva in an age when even the traces of Mayūravarmā had grown dim.

Thirdly, the oldest *basti* in Mūḍubidre is the Gurugaḷa *basti*. The Jainas of Mūḍubidre reckon this *basti* to be only 1000 years old. In other words, the Jainas of Mūḍubidre would date the advent of their earliest leaders to the ninth century or thereabouts. Moreover, in that same town the Gaurī temple is admitted by the Jainas to be older than the Gurugaḷa *basti*, thus proving beyond doubt that before the advent of the Jainas, Hinduism had already taken roots in that town.

Fourthly, in the same town is a quarter called *halavaravarga*. The Jainas of Mūḍubidre assert that

1. Buchanan, *A Journey*, III, p. 81.
2. *Ibid*, p. 82.

this was the earliest colony of their people in that town. Evidently the Jainas settled in that quarter mainly as traders, and ultimately succeeded in converting the ruler of Mūḍubidre from Hinduism into Jainism. This could only have been in later times when the Ālupas had already made Mūḍubidre one of their provincial capitals. We shall presently see that epigraphical evidence supports this assumption of ours.

Fifthly, Mūḍubidre was originally a centre of the Brahmans. Both the traditions of the Jainas and epigraphs prove this. The Cauṭars of Mūḍubidre, who are now Jainas, and who removed later on their centre to Puttige, were originally Hindus, their tutelary deity (*kula devatā*) being the god Somanātha of Ullāḷa on the coast. Buchanan relates in his days there were in Mūḍubidre six *guḍis* or temples belonging to Brahmans, who followed the *Purāṇas*, and 700 houses mostly occupied by the Brahmans of the two sects.[1]

Sixthly, till A.D. 1800 when Buchanan visited the Jainas of Mūḍubidre, they were ignorant of the immigration of their co-religionists from northern India to Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. Instead of tracing their origin to the activities of their own people from northern India or Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, the Jainas associated their advent with Arabia! Buchanan relates that the Jainas "allege that formerly they extended over the whole of Arya or

1. Buchanan, *A Journey*, III. p. 75. It was evidently the Hindu propensity of the Cauṭars that was responsible for a settlement of a dispute between themselves and the Rājas of Kārkaḷa, also recorded by Buchanan. *Ibid.*

Bharatakanda ; and that all those whoever had any pretensions to be of Ksatri descent, were of their sect. It, no doubt, appears clear, that until the time of Rama Anuja Acharya, many powerful princes in the south of India were their followers. They say, that formerly they were very numerous in Arabia : but that about 2,500 years ago a terrible persecution took place at Mecca, by order of a king called Parasu Bhattaraka, who forced great numbers to come to this country...they suppose Parasu Bhattaraka to have been the founder of the Mussulman faith. None of them have the smallest trace of the Arabian features, but are in every respect complete Hindus."[1] It is because the Jainas came to Tuḷuva in comparatively recent times that they confounded the Paraśurāma of Hindu tradition with an imaginary Paraśu Bhaṭṭāraka, whose antecedents are unknown to us. If the Jainas, as is maintained by some, had indeed come to Tuḷuva in the days of Bhadrabāhu, the memory of their advent into the district would never have been forgotten.

Moreover, the history of the pontificate of Kārkaḷa reveals the late origin of the Jaina religion in Tuḷuva. The Jainas of Kārkaḷa trace the beginnings of Jainism to the Humccha ruler Jīnadatta. Buchanan was informed by the priests of Kārkaḷa that Jīnadatta's " first son was the first Byrasu Wodeya, and all his descendants assumed that title."[2] Although this is historically

1. Buchanan, *A Journey* p. 80.
2. *Ibid*, p. 81.

inaccurate, yet the fact of the memory of Jaina advent into Tuḷuva, at least so for as Kārkaḷa is concerned, being limited to the times of Jīnadatta, shows that we have to look for the beginnings of Jainism in Tuḷuva only after the ninth century A.D.

Indeed, this assumption of ours is further proved by the following tradition that is till current in Mūḍubidre :—Once a Jaina sage visited a Ballāḷa ruler whose finger had been cut off as a punishment by his sovereign. The sage was respectfully served and waited upon by the Ballāḷa Rāya. But seeing the maimed finger of the Ballāḷa Rāya, the Jaina sage went away. At this the Ballāḷa Rāya got angry and destroyed 108 *bastis* of the Jainas and in their place built a tank. A whirlpool arose because of this impious deed, in the territory of the Ballāḷa Rāya, and hundreds died. Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Ācārya of Belgoḷa heard of this disaster that had happened to the Ballāḷa king, and cured him of his illness, and saved his kingdom. Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Ācārya then travelled on to Nallūru near Kārkaḷa. On coming to Nallūru the Jaina teacher's elephant and his seat made up of sandal-wood (*candana maṇe*) refused to move. Cārukīrti Paṇḍita realised that that was the right place for building a *basti* which he accordingly did. A monastery (*maṭha*) was built by him there. Both the iron chain used for binding the back and the neck of the elephant and the sandal-wood seat can still be seen at Nallūru.[1]

1. This was related to me by an old man named Dērama Śeṭṭi at Mūḍubidre on 24. 12. 1925. B. A. S.

Inspite of its errors, the above tradition is not altogether worthless. The Śravaṇa Belgoḷa Jaina pontiffs were called Abhinava Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Ācāryas, and not merely Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Ācāryas.[1] The other detail of a Ballāḷa Rāya having had his finger cut off by his sovereign may also be dispensed with. But all the same the main part of the story, *viz.*, that a Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Deva cured a Ballāḷa king of his illness, may be made to square with the known facts of history. It is true that the name Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Ācārya was assumed by many Jaina teachers. Thus the earliest Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Deva is represented as the disciple of Municandra Traividya Bhaṭṭāraka, in a record dated in the twentieth year of the Cālukya-Vikrama era (A.D. 1076 + 20 = 1096.)[2] There is another Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Deva who was the disciple of Abhaya Candra Siddhānta in *circa* A.D. 1200.[3] It cannot be made out whether he is the same as the one mentioned in A.D. 1274, and again in A.D. 1279.[4] A later record dated A.D. 1398 informs us that Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Deva cured Ballāḷa of a terrible disease.[5] This refers obviously to Ballāḷa Deva I, since with the conversion of his younger brother Biṭṭiga Deva into Vaiṣṇavism, Jainism as the state religion of the Hoysalas fell on evil days.[6]

1. *Śravaṇa Belgoḷa Insc.* Intr. p. 60 (1st ed.).
2. *74 of Bombay-Karnataka Inscs.* copied in the *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle* for 1927-8.
3. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 227, p. 133.
4. *E. C.* II. No. 93, p 159, (1st ed.); V. 133, p. 88.
5. *E. C.* II. No. 254, p. 105.
6. Rice, *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 99. This precludes our identifying

The similarity between the tradition of Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Deva in Mūḍubidre and the story recorded in the above epigraph seems to suggest that it was in the twelfth century A.D. that Jainism made some headway in Tuḷuva.[1] But we have already described how the Śāntaras had made sporadic attacks on the Tuḷuva capital Udayāvara in the middle of the ninth century A.D. In the wake of these Śāntaras, who were essentially Jaina during the early period of their political career, Jainism must have come to Tuḷuva. The earliest Jaina settlement seems to have been Varanga and its neighbourhood. It is only in Śaka 1083 (A.D. 1161–2), however, that we meet with a grant to a Jaina temple by a prince called a Kumāra Rāya. This illegible record in Old Kannaḍa was found in Kervāśe, twenty six miles south-east of Uḍipi.[2]

Who this Kūmāra Rāya was cannot be made out. But of the patronage extended to Jainism by this prince there can be no doubt. The fact that the inscription was found in Kervāśe suggests that that place had become a centre of Jainism in the middle of the twelfth century

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the Ballāḷa Rāya of the Mūḍubidre tradition with the Ballāḷa Rāya who is associated with Cārukīrti Paṇḍita, the spiritual teacher of the Śāntāra ruler of Tuḷuva-Lokanātharasa. See *supra* Ch. III, Section viii. B. A. S.

1. This agrees with the opinion expressed in *As. Res.* XVII. p. 282; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II. p. 104, n. that it was in the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. that Jainism was introduced into Tuḷuva. But it is incorrect to say that because it was powerful in Gujarat, it spread to Tuḷuva. B. A. S.

2. Sewell, *List.* I. p. 232.

A.D. It was only in the first quarter of the thirteenth century A.D. that we meet with the inscriptions of the Ālupa kings who had extended their patronage to Jainism. Thus the defaced stone epigraph found in the Gaurī temple at Prāntya in Mūḍubidre, dated A. D. 1215, of the reign of Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I, as already narrated above, contains the incomplete sentence:—*Bidireya Pārśvadevaru bareyisi.* The details of the grant to the goddess Gaurī as well as to Pārśvanātha are effaced.[1] Nevertheless this record proves that under Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva I Jainism had already received royal patronage in Mūḍubidre. We prove this from the stone inscription found in the Nemīśvarā *basti* at Varanga, of the times of the same Ālupa ruler, which gives the names of the Jaina *gurus* Maladhārideva, Mādhavacandra and Prabhācandra.[2]

Before we pass on to the next Ālupa king who likewise proved to be a patron of Jainism, we may refer to the stone inscription found at Nallūru. It is dated Śaka 1218 (A.D.1296), and it merely records a grant (of land) by a private person to the Jaina *basti* at Nallūru.[3] The support which the dynasty founded by Lokanātharasa in the Kārkaḷa tāluka, gave to the cause of Jainism may be recalled here.

In the stone inscription found in the Ammanavaru *basti* at Mūḍubidre of the reign of the Ālupa king

1. *51 of 1901*, op. cit.
2. *526 of 1928-29*, op. cit.
3. Sewell, *List*. I. p. 232.

Kulaśekhara Ālupendradeva III, dated A.D. 1384, we have further proof of the leaning of the Ālupa ruler towards Jainism. As we have already narrated, the king is described to be seated on the diamond throne (*ratna simhāsana*), obviously in the Pārśvanātha *basti* itself, of Mūḍubidre (*Kulaśekhara-Ālupendra devaru Bidireya*... [*Pārśvanātha ba*] *sadiyoḷu ratna-simhāsana-ārūḍhar*...). The defaced inscription clearly mentions, however, a gift to the Pārśvanāthadeva (*Bidireya Pārśvanātha dēvarige nive(dya)kke*).[1]

It was only when Jainism had thus secured a firm footing in Nallūru, Kervāśe, Varanga, and Muḍubidre that it travelled towards Bārakūru. A stone inscription discovered in the Somanāthēśvara temple at Maṇigārakēṟi in Bārakūru, registers the following:—*S'rīmatu Kalōrgaṇa-agragaṇyarum-appa śrī-Kīrtī Bhaṭṭārakaru nisi-(a)dhiyanu Maṇigāra-kēriya S'rāvakaru*...*māḍida dharma śilāśāsanam.* Here is Śrīmat Kīrti Bhaṭṭāraka, who is described as the foremost of the Kālōrgaṇa, mentioned along with the Śrāvakas, a particular class of Jainas, of the street called Maṇigārakēṟi in Bārakūru, making a monumental structure of remains, and the gift of a grant of merit.

The date of the above record is given thus:—*S'aka varṣa 1314 neya Prajāpati samvatsarada Caitra S'uddha 4 Maṅgaḷa vāra* which corresponds to A.D. 1391,[1] March the 10th Friday, the week day not corresponding.[2]

1. *53 A of 1001*, op. cit.

2. *168 D of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 370, p. 225 ; Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.* V, p. 384. On a *nisaddhi* or monument, read *E. C.* VII.

The Koraga record dated Śaka 1331 (A.D. 1408) registering the gift of land by the Śāntāra king Vīra Bhairava and his son Pāṇḍya Bhūpāla ruling from the capital Kervāśe, at the instance of Vasantakīrti Rāvuḷa of the Balātkāragaṇa, for offerings to the image of Parśvanātha and for feeding *ṛṣis* in the *basti* at Bārakūru built by the king,[1] has already been commented upon while delineating the relations between the Ālupas and the Śāntaras.

We may be permitted here to allude to a stone inscription in the Jaina *basti* at Bārakūru, registering grants of land to the services of Ādi Parameśvara in Bārakūru, by Cārukīrti Pāṇḍita Deva. It is dated Śaka 1421 (A.D. 1499-1500).[2]

5. VAIṢṆAVISM

Both Jainism and Śaivism received a set-back in the thirteenth century A.D. due to the achievements of

Hl. 79, p. 174. Mr. A. N. Upadhye traces the origin of the word to the root *sad* (to sit), with *ni*, conveying the idea of a seat. It indicates a monumental structure on the spot within the cremation ground where an Arhat was cremated. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XIV. P. III, pp. 264–266. A Śrīkīrti Bhaṭṭāraka is mentioned among the Jaina teachers who are represented on the bottom rows of the panel in the Dharmādhikāri *basti* at Kārkaḷa. They are given in the following order :—(1) Kumudacandra Bhaṭṭaraka ; (2) Hemacandra Bhaṭṭāraka ; (3) Śrī Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Deva ; (4) Śrutamuni ; (5) Dharmabhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka ; (6) Pūjyapādasvāmi ; (7) Vimala Sūri Bhaṭṭāraka ; (8) Śrī Kīrti Bhaṭṭāraka ; (9) Siddhānta Deva ; (10) Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Deva ; (11) Mahākirti Deva Rāvuḷa ; and (12) Narendra Kīrti Deva. *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle* for 1921, p. 8.

1. *530 of 1928*. op. cit.
2. *168 C of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII. No. 369, p. 225.

the greatest son of Tuḷuva Ānandatīrtha, better known by his name Madhvācārya. We shall give only a few details of the life of this celebrated champion of Dvaitism; and ascertain with the aid of both traditional and epigraphical evidence the date of his birth.

The main source of information for the life and achievements of the great Madhvācārya is the *Madhva vijaya*.[1] He was born at Pājakakṣetra, in the village of Beḷḷe, about six miles south-east of Uḍipi[2]. His father who is known in history as Madhyagehabhaṭṭa (which is a Sanskritized form of the Tuḷu *Naḍvantilāya*, Kannada *Naḍumane-bhaṭṭa*, or the Brahman of the middle house)[3] and whose first name is lost, hailed

1. For a detailed account of his life, read C. M. Padmanabha Acarya, *Śrīmat Madhva Vijaya Kathāmṛtam* (Cennapuri, *i.e.*, Madras 1908); G. Venkoba Rao, *I. A.* XLIII. p, 233 seq.; Pāvañje Guru Rao, *Madhva Vijaya* (with Subodhini *tikā* in Kannada) Uḍipi.

2. Here is still shown a bower where the great teacher was born. See also Sturrock, *S. C. Manual*, I, p. 265 n. (4). It is surprising that such an erroneous statement like the following should be made by a modern writer: "Uḍipa-In South Canara in the Karwar district." Nundolal Dey, *Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 209 (2nd ed. Calcutta, 1927). No such place like Uḍipa exists; the name is either Uḍipi (Uḍupi) or Oḍipu (in Tuḷu). B. A. S.

3. The name Naḍvantillāya may be traced to the fact that it was the mid-day halting place of Madhvācarya who is reputed to have sometimes performed the daily *pūjas* in the following order: at dawn in the Kṛṣṇa temple at Uḍipi, at mid-day in Naḍvantāḍi, and in the evening at Subrahmaṇya. Cf. Srinivasācārya, *Uḍipi-Kṣetra-mahimā*, pp. 19-20. (Oḍipi, 1923, 2nd ed.). It is possible that Naḍvantāḍi, about fifty-miles South—South-East of Uḍipi, may have been the place of orign of Madhvācārya's ancestors. Vādirāja, one of the greatest of the Uḍipi Svāmis, describes the holy place of Naḍvantāḍi in his *Tirthaprabandha*. Naḍvantillāya appears as one of the names of the *agnihotra-janas* described in detail in Appendix. B. A. S.

from the ancient village of Śivaḷḷi. The family to which Madhyagehabhaṭṭa belonged is called Mūḍillā. Madhyagehabhaṭṭa's wife was called Vedavatī. To them after a twelve years' penance at the Ananteśvara temple in Uḍipi was born a son who was considered to be an *avatāra* of Vāyu. This child was christened Vāsudeva. The wonderful lad performed great deeds. Once a creditor to whom his father owed some money, sat stubbornly on the doorsteps of Madhyagehabhaṭṭa's house, and refused to depart till his dues were paid. Vāsudeva went inside and returned with some tamarind seeds which, on being given to the Vaiśya creditor, were turned into pieces of gold.

Vāsudeva received his initiation (*upanayanam*) when he was only eleven, and his education at Rajatapīṭha (Uḍipi). Here in the Ananteśvara temple stayed his *guru*, the learned Acyutaprekṣa Ācārya, also called Puruśottamatīrtha. Vāsudeva had determined to renounce the pleasures of the world, and, therefore, turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of his parents who wanted him to be a householder.[1] All the concession which Vāsudeva would show to his parents was to remain at home till the birth of another son to them.

1. In the *Aṇumadhvocaritam* the following is stated: *Jāto-madhyāḥnna velāyām Buddhavāre Marut-tanuḥ | bhūsurendraḥ upanītaḥ yaḥ tata ekādaśa-abdake || saumye jagrāha Bhagavān turīya āśramam uttamam | tataḥ samāse-daṣake divasānām gateparān ||* Guru Rao, *Aṇumadhvacaritam*, vv. 5–6, p. 7. (Udīpi, 1924). This would mean that young Vāsudeva became a *saṁnyāsin* only ten days after his *upanayanam*. B. A. S.

This second son became later on the well known Viṣṇutīrtha of Subrahmaṇya.

Returning to Acyutaprekṣa, Vāsudeva assumed the name of Pūrṇaprajña (on Viḷambi Saṁvatsara Āśāḍha Kṛṣṇa caturthī), when he was only sixteen years of age. Although very eager to go to Kāśī, yet as his *guru* was not inclined to part with him, Pūrṇaprajña gave up the idea of going to northern India. The fame of this young *saṁnyāsin* spread far and wide ; and many disputants came to Rajatapīṭha to challenge him. Among them was a learned man called Vāsudeva, who was easily defeated. This was Pūrṇaprajña's first victory.

Acyutaprekṣa was a follower of the Advaita philosophy. Once he began to read a work called *Iṣṭhasiddhi* to Pūrṇaprajña. Before his *guru* had finished reading the first *śloka*, Pūrṇaprajña had found out thirty-two mistakes in it ! Acyutaprekṣa soon realized that his disciple was great. Pūrṇaprajña then explained all the errors in the work, and received from his *guru* the title of *Ānandatīrtha*.

Among those defeated in the religious discussions were two persons called Vādisimha and Buddhisāgara. The latter was a Buddhist. Ānandatīrtha's greatest desire now was to demolish Śankarācārya's Advaita philosophy. To achieve this end he studied Śankarācārya's *S'āririkabhāṣya* and Bādarayaṇa's *Brahmamīmāṁsasūtra*. On the former he gave discourses to which Madhyagehabhaṭṭa also attended. Ānandatīrtha was

requested to write a new commentary on the old *Sūtras* which he agreed to do.

Now he undertook a south Indian tour along with his *guru* Acyutaprekṣa. He first visited a place called Viṣṇumangala, about three miles from Kāsaragōḍu in the South Kanara district. (About one mile from Viṣṇumangala lay Kumāramangala where the well known Kāvu *maṭha* of Trivikramācārya exists.)[1] Viṣṇumangala lay within the jurisdiction of the Prince Jayasimhabhūpa of Kumbḷa. Here in the Viṣṇumangala temple Ānandatīrtha lived for some time. It is said that on one occasion he ate two-hundred *kadali* plantains presented to him as dessert !

Travelling onwards Ānandatīrtha crossed the river Payasvānī or Candragiri which marks the boundary between Tuḷuva and Keraḷa. On the banks of this river he celebrated the Durgā *pūjā*. Thence he managed to reach Anantaśayana (Travancore) where he defeated Vidyāśankara, a learned Śaivite teacher of Kudyapustū-

1. Trivikramapaṇḍita belonged to the Tauḷava-*vaṁśa*, and his family name was Pijetāya. Srinivasacarya, *Udipi-kṣetra-mahimā*, p. 23. As regards the ruler of Kumāramangala, we may note the following in a stone inscription found in a field in Kilpāḍi, Mangalore tāluka. The epigraph is in characters which have been assigned to the twelfth century A.D. It records a gift of land, and mentions Devarasa of Kumāramaṅgala and is dated only in the cyclic year Siddhārtin, (Vṛ) ṣabha, 15 (Saturday). The date corresponds to Śaka 1181, and works out correctly to (A.D. 1259) May the 10th Saturday. (*343 of 1930-1931*; Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.* IV, p. 120). Devarasa, the chief of Kumāramangala, therefore, was a contemporary of Madhvācārya. B. A. S.

rāya (or the Little New Town)[1]. From Anantaśayana Ānandatīrtha went to Kanyākumārī and Rāmeśvaram where Vidyāśankara was again defeated. Ānandatīrtha's fame now reached all quarters. Somewhere while travelling from Rāmeśvaram to Śrīrangam, he gave to his disciples the famous discourse on the first word *viśva* of the *Viṣṇusahasranāma*. Then he returned from Śrirangam to Tuḷuva passing through a place called Muṣṭakṣetra, which we are unable to identify, but where he met the disputants of Keraḷa whom he vanquished. Then reaching the Payasvānī river he travelled onwards till he came to the famous Daṇḍatīrtha, a holy place of his own making. All along the southern tour, Ānandatīrtha was accompanied by his *guru* Acyutaprekṣa Ācārya.[2]

Ānandatīrtha now desired to go to the north. He had to get the permisson of his *guru*. But knowing that this would cause grief to Acyutaprekṣa, Ānandatīrtha wrote the first of his great works called *Gītā-bhāṣya* which he dedicated to his *guru*. He ultimately secured permission from his *guru* to go to Badarikāśrama. He went straight to the north, and reached a place called Nārāyaṇatīrtha

1. The word means *kudya* (little) + *pusat* [*hosat*] (new) + *ūr* (town) + *āye* (he) in Tuḷu. Was there a town of such a name in Tuḷuva? Madhvācārya's meeting with Vidyāśankara (based on *Madhva-vijaya*, V. 38) has now been declared to be fiction. Read *Journal of the Annamalai University*, III. No. 1, pp. 99-105.

2. The *Aṇumadhvacaritam* gives the following explanation of the name Madhva :—*Madhva-nāmā jigāya ayam vādinaḥ vāda kauśalī*. Guru Rao, *Aṇumadhvacaritam*, v. 7, p. 7. These victories, therefore, won for Ānandatīrtha the name Madhva. B. A. S.

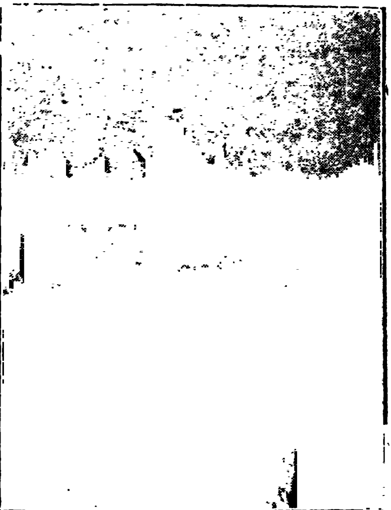
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Daṇḍa-tīrtha where Madhvācārya spent his boyhood

Photo by B. A. S.] [Copyright

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Elephant Procession at Uḍipi

Photo by V. G. S.] [Copyright

from where he was led, as the story goes, by Bādarāyaṇa to Badarikāśrama. In vain did Ānandatīrtha's disciple Satyatīrtha try to follow his *guru*. It was at the instance of the Ṛṣi Bādarāyaṇa that Ānandatīrtha wrote the commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*.

He returned to the south along the banks of the Godāvarī, where he overcame many disputants. Among these were two who became his disciples-Śobhanabhaṭṭa and Śama(Śāma) Śāstri. These afterwards came to be known as Padmanābhatīrtha and Naraharitīrtha respectively. Naraharitīrtha was directed by Ānandatīrtha to go to the capital of the Gajapati king and to become the prime-minister of that ruler. And he was by some means or other to get possession of the two original images of Rāma and Sītā. Naraharitīrtha accordingly succeeded in becoming the prime-minister of the Gajapati ruler who was then a boy, and managed to secure the two images.

Ānandatīrtha then returned to Rajatapīṭha. To his *guru* Acyutaprekṣa, he gave a copy of the commentary on the *Gītā*. It was his custom to do penance on the seashore. Once he saw a ship in distress. With the aid of his spiritual powers, Ānandatīrtha made the ship reach safely the shore. (This was near Oḍabhāṇḍeśvara at Malpe). The captain of the ship as a token of his gratefulness,[1] gave Ānandatīrtha a block of clay called *gopicandana*. On breaking open the clay block,

1. The name of the captain is given in some accounts as Mainda (or Maina). Srinivasacarya, *Uḍipi-kṣetra-mahimā*, p. 14.

they discovered two lovely images of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. The former Ānandatīrtha installed at Rajatapīṭha where he appointed eight of his disciples to look after it in regular succession, while the latter image of Balarāma can still be seen at Oḍabhāṇḍeśvara. (Thus arose the singular institution of the *aṣṭha maṭhas* of Uḍipi, the *Svamis* of which carry on the administration of the Kṛṣṇa and the other *maṭhas* with singular skill and piety).

After living for some time at Uḍipi Ānandatīrtha thought of going a second time to Badarikāśrama. His disciples Satyatīrtha and Upendratīrtha accompanied him in his second northern tour. At this time the ruler of Devagiri was Mahādeva, also called Īśvara Deva in some accounts, of the Yādava family. Īśvara Deva was a tyrant. How he tormented the *saṁnyāsins* of Uḍipi will be narrated later on in this treatise. But Īśvara Deva was compelled to desist from giving much trouble to Ānandatīrtha. Reaching the Bhāgīrathī (the Ganges), Ānandatīrtha surprised the Muhammadan ruler of that region by crossing the river without a boat and talking to the Sultan in his own language. Ānandatīrtha won the admiration of the Sultan and proceeded northwards.

On the way robbers waylaid him and his disciples. But he was more than a match for the robbers. In another place he transformed the meek Upendratīrtha into a man of superstrength and pitched him against marauders who begged pardon of Ānandatīrtha. In yet

another place he destroyed a tiger which sprang suddenly on Satyatīrtha, who was carrying the *pūjā* box on his shoulders. In due course Ānandatīrtha reached Badarikāśrama where Bādarāyaṇa gave him eight *śālagrāmas* which later on the Ācārya installed at Uḍipi, Subrahmaṇya, Madhyatāḷe, and in other *maṭhas*.[1] Ānandatīrtha was told by Bādarāyaṇa to write a commentary on the *Mahābhārata*. He returned to Hastināvatī and Kurukṣetra where at the former place he spent the *cāturmāsa*. He then travelled to Kāśi where he defeated a teacher called Indrapuri (?), a champion of Advaitism. This victory secured for Anandatīrtha the title of *yati-śikhāmaṇi*. It was while in this region that the Ācārya showed the great physical strength he possessed by defeating in a wrestling match fifty persons.

While returning to Uḍipi he passed through Goa and an unidentified place called Iṣupattakṣetra. At

1. It is stated in the *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1917, p. 62 that five of these *śālagrāmas*, called also the Vyāsa stones, are said to be in the Uttarādi *maṭha* of the Mysore State, three in other Madhva *maṭhas*, "though there is some difference of opinion as to which *maṭhas* are in possession of these precious relics. From the references given above, it becomes apparent that the Rāghavendrasvāmi *maṭha* (of Nañjanagūḍu) has all along been in possession of these relics." The verse from the *Madhva-vijaya* relating to the *śālagrāmas* secured by the Ācārya, is also given on this page. But the assertion that the Uttarādi *maṭha* and the Rāghavendrasvāmi *maṭha* have got the majority of the precious stones runs against the tradition current at Uḍipi that these *śālagrāmas*, as narrated above, were deposited in the *maṭhas* in Tuḷuva itself. I had the privilege of seeing one of these beautiful *śālagrāmas* in the *maṭha* at Subrahmaṇya on May the 4th 1936 at the hands of His Holiness Viśvajñatīrtha Svāmi. It was exquisitely shining, dark black in colour, almost as large as an egg, and with a slender mark upon it which the people likened to the sacred thread. B. A. S.

Goa he surprised the people of the *grāma* of Pusava by his extraordinary musical skill. The Ācārya then reached Tuḷuva where at Kauḍipāḍi (Koḍipāḍi) he defeated another Advaita teacher named Padmatīrtha, the disciple of Vidyāśankara whom Ānandatīrtha had already vanquished. Padmatīrtha's attempts to steal the work called *Madhva-siddhānta* were frustrated by the Ācārya. From Kauḍipāḍi the Ācārya journeyed to Kabenāḍu in Tuḷuva where he stayed for a few days in the Madanādipati temple. Thence he went to the Viṣṇu-mangala temple in the territory of the Kumbḷa Rāja Jayasimhabhūpa, who now became his disciple. This prince descended from his chariot and walked in the company of the Ācārya, who was now honoured by the representatives of the twenty-eight villages of Kumbḷa. The learned Trivikramapaṇḍita of the Āṅgīrasa *gotra* desired to enter into a discussion with the Ācārya. The debate was held for fifteen days in the Amarālaya Kūḍilu *grāma*, at the end of which Trivikramapaṇḍita acknowledged himself defeated, and became a disciple of the Ācārya. According to the advice of his *guru*, Trivikramapaṇḍita wrote a commentary called *Tattvapradīpikā*.

Meanwhile Ānandatīrtha's parents had died. Aṇd his brother renouncing the duties of a householder, became Ānandatīrtha's disciple. The Ācārya then returned to Rajatapīṭha.

The great teacher is said to have performed certain remarkable deeds which reveal his wonderful

physical strength. His extraordinary abilities had created some enemies. They had heard of the Ācārya teaching his disciples at the dead of night without a lamp but merely with the lustre issuing from the nail of his toe. A certain man called Koḍañjāḍi Gaṇṭavāḷā and his brother, both renowned for their great physical strength, challenged the Ācārya to lift the flag-staff of the temple of the god Kāntadeva (of Kāntāvara ?). But the two brothers were unable to stir even the little finger of the Ācārya ! At a place called Ambātīrtha the great Ācārya performed a marvellous deed which we shall describe in detail presently. At the confluence of the two rivers Kumāradārī and Netrāvatī (probably at Uppinangaḍi), a great famine raged. This region belonged to the chieftain called Saridanta. The Ācārya came to know of the distress suffered by the people, and he went to their succour at once. At the houses of the poor, the Ācārya would make a handful of rice suffice for hundreds of people ; while at those of the rich, for thousands. The chieftain greatly honoured the Ācārya, and became one of his followers. While in this region at a place called Dhanvantarikṣetra, the Ācārya wrote one of his works called *Kṛṣṇāmṛtamahārṇava*.

The great Madhvācārya now foresaw that his end was drawing near. And it is believed at Uḍipi that he spent four months at Kaṇvatīrtha in Tuḷuva.[1] Just

1. Thus in the *Aṇumadhvacaritam* :—*kṛtvā-ca-caturaḥ māsān-uṣitvā-Kaṇvatīrthake*. Guru Rao, *Aṇumadhvacaritam*, p. 8. Kaṇvatīrtha lies about forty-four miles south of Uḍipi.

before the Ācārya's death, Naraharitīrtha got him the two precious images of Rāma and Sītā from Gañjām. For three months and sixteen days the Ācārya kept the images in his own custody and worshipped them. The Ācārya then transmitted the charge of the images to the care of his disciple Padmanābhatīrtha. And having lived for seventy-nine years (*ekonāśiti-varṣāṇi nītvā mānuṣa dṛṣṭigaḥ*), in the Piṅgaḷa Saṁvatsara Māgha Śuddha Navami, the great Madhvācārya went to Badarī.[1]

Such is briefly the life of the most celebrated son of Tuḷuva. Incredible as some of his actions may seem, there is reason to believe that this description was not the result of fanciful exaggeration on the part of the writer of the *Madhva-vijaya*, by name Nārāyaṇa, son of Trivikrama.[2] We have just referred to the prodigious deeds of strength done by the great Ācārya at a place called Ambātīrtha. The following is related about the incident in the *Madhva-vijaya* :—

tīrthārthaṃ pṛthutara-vapra pāti-vārāṃ ।
dhārāṇāṃ raya-sahana-kṣamāṃ Maheksaḥ ॥
ānītāṃ daśa-śata-pumbhir atyaśaktyā ।
prekṣyoce vipula-śilāṃ kvacit sa muktāṃ ॥
lōkānām upakṛtaye kutaś-śileyaṃ ।

1. *Madhva-vijaya*. A palm leaf version of this work is in my possession. I secured it through the kind aid of my friend Vidvān Paṇḍit Venkaṭadāsācārya of Uḍipi. Cf. Guru Rao, *Aṇumadhvacaritam*, v. 10, p. 8. Some of the details given above may be compared with the abstract of the same given by Venkoba Rao, *I. A.* XLIII. pp. 236-237, 264 n. (25); Padmanābhācārya, op. cit.

2. Cf. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 81. (Poona, 1928).

ninye no iti janatā jagāda tatra ||
netāro yati-vara mānavā nahīmāṃ |
Bhīmā's-ced iha yatate nayen na veti ||
ninye tāṃ girim iva vānarī-kṛtātmā |
līlāvat-kara-kamalena so'malena ||
tatrāpi nyadhita tayāsya sūcayate 'laṃ |
tat Tuṅgāṁ nanu nikaṣādhunāpi karma ||[1]

Maheksa(Madhvācārya) saw a big rock, capable of supporting the fall of water from a height, which had been brought by a thousand men for some *tīrtha* and abandoned through utter inability. "Why was the rock not conveyed (to its destination) for the good of the people?", he enquired. The crowd at the place replied that there were not men able to carry it there, and that even if Bhīma were to try, it was doubtful whether he could do it. Whereupon Maheksa bore up the rock easily with one hand, as in the form of Hanumān he had borne up the mountain (Gandhamādana), and placed it at the destined spot. And this rock in the Tuṅgā even now bears witness to his deed.

In silent testimony to the marvellous achievement of Madhvācārya is engraved on that big boulder called Bhīmanakallu, at the Ambātīrtha in Māvinakere, Mūḍgere tāluka, the following epigraph:—

S'rī-Madhvācāryyaiḥ eka-hastena-ānīya sthāpita-'silā (The rock brought [here] and set up with one hand by Madhvācārya).[2]

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1. Cf. Rice, *E. C.* VI. Intr. p. 27.
2. *Ibid*, Mg. 89, pp. 75, 293.

Rice has assigned this inscription to about A.D. 1240. But on the strength of the evidence cited below, we may assign this event to *circa* A.D. 1280.

This brings us to the question of the date of the birth of the great Madhvācārya. The most important considerations in the determination of his date are the tradition that is still preserved at the eight *maṭhas* of his disciples in Uḍipi, the internal evidence supplied both by the *Madhva-vijaya* and the *Aṇumadhvacaritam*, and the contemporaneity of a ruler and of one of his own disciples mentioned in the *Madhva-vijaya*.

We may dispense with the date Śaka 1117-18 as the date of the birth of Madhvācārya.[1] Likewise the date A.D. 1199 given by Sturrock, obviously on the basis of a statement made in one of the Ācārya's own works called the *Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya*, and the assertion that Kallyāṇapura was the birthplace of the great Vaiṣṇava teacher.[2]

An equally futile attempt was made by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, who not only repeated the error of the

1. This is Mr. Venkoba Rao's view. *I. A.* XLIII. p. 265.

2. Sturrock, *S. C. Manual*, I. p. 147. The compiler of this *Manual* ascribes Christian origin to the teachings of Madhvācārya. "The moral code of Madhvācārya is high one, and his teaching is held by some-not ordinary Hindus of course-to have been affected by the existence of the community of Christians at Kallianpur mentioned by Cosmos Indico Pleustes in the seventh century." *Ibid*, p. 147. It is wrong to confound the Kalian mentioned by Cosmos Indico Pleustes with Kallyāṇapur of Tuḷuva, and unhistorical to say that there were Christians in any part of Tuḷuva in the thirteenth century A.D. I do not know whether this and equally erroneous statements with which the *S. C. Manual* abounds have been rectified in the forthcoming revised edition of the *Madras District Gazetteers*. B. A. S.

compiler of the *S. C. Manual* that Kallyāṇapura was the birthplace of the great Ācārya, but accepted the wrong view that it was the same as Rajatapīṭha ![1] While rejecting the Śaka year 1040 as the date of Madhavācārya's birth, Bhandarkar accepted the date inserted in the *Bhāratatātparynirṇaya* " to be the correct date of his birth". We shall presently refer to this source of information. Bhandarkar's arguments seem to be wholly conjectural and forced. " It (Kali 4300) corresponds to Śaka 1121, which, bearing in mind the fact that some use the current year of an era and some in the past, we must regard as equivalent to Śaka 1119, the date given in the lists for Ānandatīrtha's death. But instead of taking it as the date of his death, we shall have to regard it as the date of his birth. He lived for 79 years according to the current account, so that his death must be placed in Śaka 1198. The two dates may, therefore, be taken as settled."[2]

1–2. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇvism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 82, and *ibid*, n. (1). The reference is given to the *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV. p. 314, which merely follows the *S. C. Manual.* To support his conjectures, Bhandarkar tells ua that "This agrees with the tradition existing in the Maṭha at Phalamāru, near Mulki in South Canara, to the effect that Ānandatīrtha was born in Śaka 1119 and died in Śaka 1199. *E. I.* VI. p. 263, n." *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism,* etc., p. 83, n. (4). It is not what the tradition in the Phalamāru *maṭha* in Mūlki that matters but what the eight *maṭhas* at Uḍipi have got say on the question. And even here care should be exercised as to the source we select. Thus even information supposed to emanate from one of the *maṭhas* itself may have to be rejected. Mr. B. Rama Rao asserts that Śaka 1121 Kāḷāyuktākṣi samavatsara Māgha Śu. 7th was the date of the birth of Madhvācārya. He bases his assertion on the strength of a *Kaifiyut* called the *Adhamāru maṭha Kaifiyut* which gives us this

These "settled" dates of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar have to be rejected on historical grounds; and we have to examine the validity of the arguments put forward by other scholars who have arrived at the correct date of the birth of Madhvācārya. Of these only two deserve mention—Mr. C. M. Padmanābha Ācārya and the late Mr. Kṛṣna Śāstri. Mr. Padmanābha Ācārya arrived at Śaka 1160 as the date of the birth of the great Ācārya. He utilized the fact of the contemporaneity of Madhvācārya with Naraharitīrtha, of Madhvācārya's disciple Adhokṣajatīrtha with Vidyāraṇya Svāmi of Śringeri, and of the Devagiri ruler Īśvara Deva, whom he identified with Mahādeva, with Madhvācārya himself.[1]

The late Mr. Kṛṣna Śāstri argued in this manner:- To get at the time of Ānandtīrtha, the total period of the *sthānādhipatya* of the intervening teachers Padmanābhatirtha, Naraharitīrtha, and Madhvatīrtha, *viz.*, thirty-three years, will have to be deducted, say, from

information. *Prācina Kārnāṭaka*, I. P. I. pp. 53-57. But this *Kaifiyut* was written by a man called Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa of the Adhamāru *maṭha* in the cyclic year Ksaya, Jesṭha, Śuddha 5, for the *Kuṁpanī Sirkar*, *i. e.*, the English East India Company. Mr. Rama Rao does not tell us from where he secured this *Kaifiyut*. But I am sure that it was written for Col. Colin Mackenzie, and that it may be found in the *Mackenzie Collection*, as preserved at the India Office Library. Goldstücker too asserted that A.D. 1199 was the date Madhvācārya's birth. *Literary Remains*, I. p. 248. This error has been repeated by Mr. Nundolal Dey. *Geog. Dicty*. p. 209 (2nd ed.). See also N. S. Rajapurohit, *Prācina Karnāṭaka*, II. No. 1, pp. 1, seq.

1. Padmanabha Acarya, *Shrimat Madhva Vijaya Kathamritam*, Intr. p. 1 seq. (Madras, 1909).

A.D. 1362, and this brings us to A.D. 1329. Now, the nearest year A.D. which corresponds to Piṅgaḷa, the traditional date of the death of Ānandatīrtha, was A.D. 1317. Ānandtīrtha is supposed to have lived for seventy-nine years, and consequently the date of his birth, the cyclic year Viḷaṁbi, would correspond to A.D. 1238. The statement in the *Madhva-vijaya* confirms this date.[1]

Evidence from another work may be cited to substantiate the conclusion arrived at both by Mr. Padmanābha Ācārya and Mr. Kṛṣna Śāstri. This is called *Aṇumadhvacaritam* written by one of the direct disciples of Madhvācārya by name Hṛṣīkeśatīrtha of the Phalamāru *maṭha* at Uḍipi. The following is written in the *Aṇnumadhvacaritam* :—

triśatābdottaracatuḥ-sahasrābdebhya uttare ekona-catvā-

1. *E. I.* VI. p. 263. Mr. Śāstri rightly considered the verse in the *Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya,* written by Madhvācārya himself, to be an interpolation. For in this work Madhvācārya is said to have been born in Kali 4300 (A.D. 1198). The verse in question is the following:—
catus-sahasre tri-śatottare gate saṁvatsarāṇām-tu Kalau pṛthivyām |
jātaḥ punarvipratanussa Bhimaḥ-daityaiḥ-nigūḍam Haritattvam-āha ||
Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya, Adhyāya 32, v. 131 According to this verse, as Śāstri said, there is a difference of eighty years between it and the date found in the lists. Even this date given in the *Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya* cannot be reconciled with the dates of the inscriptions of Ānandatirtha's disciple Naraharitīrtha. Hence it is an interpolation. *E. I.* VI. p. 263. Mr. Kṛṣṇamūrti Śārma rightly maintains that A.D. 1238 is the date of Madhvācārya's birth. *Journal of the Annamalai University,* III. Oct. No. 2, 1934, pp. 245–255; *ibid,* V. No. 1, pp. 96–118. S. Hanumanta Rao also places Madhvācārya in the thirteenth century A.D. *Madras University Journal,* I. No. 1 and II No. 1. But these are inaccessible to me. See *I. H. Q.*, IX, p. 969. B. A. S.

riṁśābde Viḷambi-parivatsare Āśvija-S'ukla-Daśamī-divase
bhuvi-pāvane Pājakākhye śuci-kṣetre durgayā-ca
abhivīkṣite cā-taḥ-madhyāhnna-vēlāyāṃ Buddhavāre Marut-
tānuḥ.[1]

The date of Madhvācārya's death is given thus in the same work :—

ekonāśīti varṣāṇi-nītvā mānuṣu-dṛṣṭigaḥ
Piṅgalābde Māgha-S'uddha navamvyām Badarīm yayau.

From the above the following is clear—that in Kali 4339 Viḷaṁbi Saṁvatsara, Āśvija Śuddha Dāsami Wednesday afternoon, Madhvācārya was born at Pājakakṣetra. This agrees with A.D. 1238 September the 20th Monday, the week day however not corresponding.

If we add seventy-nine years to A.D. 1239, we reach A.D. 1317 the cyclic year of which was Piṅgaḷa. And the date of the death of Madhvācārya works out correctly to Kali 4418 Piṅgaḷa Saṁvatsara Māgh Śuddha Navami =A.D. 1317 January the 22nd Saturday.[2]

1. I am indebted to my friend Paṇḍit Veṅkaṭadāsācārya for this reference to the *Aṇumadhvacaritam*, a palm leaf copy of which exists at the Phalamāru *maṭha* at Udipi. Cf. Guru Rao, *Aṇumadhvacaritam*, vv. 3–5, p. 7; Srinivasācārya, *Uḍipi-kṣetra-mahimā*, p. 13. For the verification of the dates, see Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph* IV. pp. 79, 236. In some versions of the *Aṇumadhvacaritam* the following reading is said to have been given *ekona-viṁśatitame*—which corresponds to Kali 4318 Vilambi. This is inadmissible, because the cyclic year for Kali 4318 was Iśvara, and for Kali 4319, Bahudhānya. Swamikannu, *ibid*, IV. pp. 36–37. Mr. Guru Rao too rightly says that the latter reading is inadmissible, *ibid*, p. 7. The traditon current at Uḍipi is that the great Ācārya lived for 79 years, 6 months, and 20 days. B. A. S.

2. On my writing to Paṇḍit Veṅkaṭadāsācarya about the incompatibility of the weekday of the Ācārya's birth, he informs me in

We have already mentioned some of the most prominent disciples of Madhvācārya. He vested the management of the eight *maṭhas* at Uḍipi in the charge of the following disciples :—

Name	*Maṭha*
Viṣṇutīrtha (the Ācārya's own brother)	Sōde *maṭha*
Janārdhanatīrtha	Kṛṣṇāpura *maṭha*
Rāmatīrtha	Kāṇūru *maṭha*
Narasiṁhatīrtha	Adhamāru *maṭha*
Upendratīrtha	Puttige *maṭha*
Vāmanatīrtha	Śirūru *maṭha*
Hṛṣīkeśatīrtha	Phalamāru *maṭha*
Adhokṣajatīrtha	Pējāvara *maṭha*[1]

We may now try to fix chronologically the great Ācārya's tours in southern and northern India. The

his letter dated 21-10-1935 that he had the horoscope of the Ācārya's birth recast according to the *Aṇumadhvacaritam;* and that he finds the weekday corresponds to Monday. Some of the Paṇḍits of the eight *maṭhas* inform him that Wednesday may have been put by a clerical error in the *Aṇumadhvacaritam*. B. A. S.

1. These and other details of the *maṭhas* of Uḍipi have been supplied to me by Paṇḍit Veṅkaṭadāsācārya. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar gives a list of the *gurus* of Uḍipi. *Report on Search for Sanskrit Mss.* for 1882-83, p. 17 seq. (Poona, 1928). Since these lists are based on those supplied to him from Poona, Miraj and Belgaum, they are not so trustworthy as the lists preserved in Uḍipi itself. The above list of *gurus* agrees with that given by Mr. Pavanje Guru Rao in his *Sampradāya-paddhati*, p. 4, and by Srinivasacarya, *Udipi-kṣetra-mahimā*, p. 18. We may note here that of these the Phalamāru and the Adhamāru *maṭhas* form the first *dvanda*, the Kṛṣṇāpura and the Puttige *maṭhas* the second *dvanda*, the Śirūru and the Sōde *maṭhas* the third *dvanda*, and the Kāṇūru and the Pējāvara *maṭhas* the fourth *dvanda*. B. A. S.

Madhva-vijaya mentions one southern and two northern tours. While determining the chronology of his tours, we have to bear in mind his contemporaneity with Naraharitīrtha and Īśvara Deva of Devagiri. We may be permitted to repeat one or two facts given above. Madhvācārya was born in A.D. 1238. His *upanayanam* or the sacred thread ceremony took place when he was eleven, *i.e.*, in A.D. 1249. In his sixteenth year (A.D.1254) he assumed the title of *Pūrṇaprajña.* This is the first important landmark in his chronology. The next is that relating to his southern tour. But before he undertook his southern tour, he was engaged in religious disputations. We may assume that these disputations covered about two years. So he may have started on his southern tour in about A.D. 1256. This journey must necessarily have taken him at least three years. His return to Tuḷuva, therefore, may be placed in A.D. 1260. Since he was now busy writing a commentary on the *Gītā*, he may have started on his first northern tour only in A.D. 1266. We may give five years to this northern tour, and assume that, while returning to Tuḷuva through the Kalinga kingdom, he met Naraharitīrtha in A.D. 1270.

We may pause here to examine the validity of our assumptions, by finding out whether Naraharitīrtha's dates agree with the deduction made above. Naraharatīrtha's inscriptions range between A.D. 1264 and A.D. 1294.[1] There is nothing improbable in Madhvācārya's having met Naraharitīrtha in about A.D. 1270.

1. *E. I.*, VI. p. 262.

Madhvācārya returned to Rajatapīṭha in the next year; and we may legitimately place the discovery of the image of Kṛṣna in the ship off the coast of Malpe in the three years which intervened between his return to Tuḷuva and his second northern tour. That is to say, it may be assigned to about the year A.D. 1273. This period, it may also be remembered, was spent in writing commentaries on the scriptures.

The *Madhva-vijaya* clearly says that after living for some time in Uḍipi, Madhvācārya started on his second tour to the north. Therefore, we may allot three years to his stay in Tuḷuva. The second tour to Badrīkāśrama may be determined with the help of the date of his contemporary called in the *Madhva-vijaya* Īśvara Deva of Devagiri. No such name is met with in the Seuṇa or Yādava geneology. But he has been identified with Mahādeva of Devagiri.[1]

We may be allowed to mention a few details concerning this Īśvara or Mahādeva of Devagiri as given in the *Madhva-vijaya*, and see in what manner they agree with the details one may glean from the epigraphs. In the epigraphs he is called Mahādeva; and till now it was generally believed that his reign lasted

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1. Kṛṣnaswami Aiyar, *Madhvācārya, A Historic Sketch*, p. 14. This book is unfortunately inaccessible to me. But it has been referred to by Kṛṣṇa Śāstri, *E. I.* VI. p. 263. The reference is also given to Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dist.* p. 519 (2nd ed.). Padmanābha Ācārya also refers to the same Mahādeva of Devagiri. *Madhva-vijaya-kathāmṛtam*, op. cit.

from A.D. 1260 till A.D. 1270.[1] But there is reason to believe that Mahādeva ruled till A.D. 1291, although by this time Rāmacandra Deva had successfully wrested a part of the Yādava territory either from Mahādeva himself or from his son Amma.[2] For an incomplete inscription clearly says the following:— *svasti śrī-jaya-abhyudaya S'aka varṣa 1214 neya Khara samvatsaradali śrīmanu* (*śrīmatu*) *Mahādevaru pṛthivī-rājyam-geyyuttam iddalli.* The statement in this record that Mahādeva was ruling the kingdom of the world—*Mahādevaru pṛthivī-rājyam geyyuttam iddalli*—proves that he was still king over the Yādava territory. The record breaks off after a few words, but the date given in it corresponds to A.D. 1291.[3]

Some of the above records give interesting details concerning Mahādeva which confirm, on the whole,

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1. Fleet, *ibid*, pp. 73–74 (1st ed.); 263 (2nd ed.). See also *E. C.* XI, Dg. 8, 79, 87, 97, 100, 102, 162, 163, 171, 122, dating from A.D. 1264 till A.D. 1268, pp. 26, 66, 68–70, 81, 83 ; VII. Sk. 41, Ci. 4, 21, 22 ranging from A.D. 1265 till A.D. 1268, pp. 47, 178, 181, 182.

2. Fleet asserts that Devagiri still continued to be the Seuṇa capital under Rāmacandra. *Dyn. Kan. Dts.*, p. 74. (1st ed.). But Rice maintains that Rāma Deva transferred his seat to Bettur in the Mysore State, close to Dāvaṇagere in the east. *Mys. & Coorg.*, p. 109. It is true that Rāmacandra's inscriptions appear in A.D. 1282, *E. C.* VII. Ci. 23, 24, 26, ranging from A.D. 1280 till *circa* 1290, pp. 182–3. Since Ci. dated A.D. 1282 was engraved in the 14th regnal year of Rāmacandra, we may infer that he began to reign in A.D. 1268. This year falls within the reign of Mahādeva, and therefore, Rice's assumption that Rāmacandra began to rule in the reign of Mahādeva himself seems to be correct. B. A. S.

3. *E. C.* IX. Cp. 171, p. 346 text; Sewell-Dikshit, *The Indian Calendar*, Table 1; Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph. IV*. p. 184.

the account given of this ruler in the *Madhva-vijaya*. In one record he is called *Ugra-śaārvabhauma*, thus suggesting, as Fleet remarked, that he forcibly usurped the sovereignity.[1] This assumption of Fleet is confirmed by an epigraph dated A.D. 1268, which after tracing the Seuṇa genealogy from king Jaitugi through his son Bhillama, and then through Simhaṇa, and the latter's son Śaraṅgapāṇi, directly mentions Mahādeva thus—the heroic Mahādeva seized the three worlds (*trailokyam akrāmati*).[2] The same is repeated in another record of the ruler which, after narrating that the emperor Simhaṇa shone in the world, says that " From him the king Mahādeva Rāya overcame the three worlds."[3] Mahādeva Rāya's presumption is seen in the *birudas* given to him in about A.D. 1265—*arirāya* (king over enemies), *rāya-pitāmaha* (grandfather of kings).[4]

Two more *birudas* of Mahādeva Rāya may be noted before we pass on to the notices of the ruler in the *Madhva-vijaya*. In two inscriptions dated A.D. 1265 and A.D. 1266 Mahādeva is called *pratijñā Paraśurāma* (in vows a *Paraśurāma*), and *bhuja-bala-Bhīma* (in the strength of his arms a Bhīma).[5] From these and similar *birudas* it is clear that Mahādeva Rāya considered himself to be the personification of strength and valour. It is not surprising, therefore, that he should find in Madhvā-

1. Fleet, *ibid*, p. 74.
2. *E. C.* VII. Ci. 21, pp. 181, 433.
3. *Ibid*, Ci. 22, p. 434.
4. *Ibid*, XI. Dg. 8, op. cit.
5. *Ibid*, Dg. 162, 172, op. cit. text, pp. 162, 218.

cārya, who, as the Bhīmanakulla epigraph proves, was also a Bhīma in strength, a rival of greater renown.

The *Madhva-vijaya* relates that the Ācārya on coming to the territory of Īśvara Deva, found the ruler engaged in a scheme of sinking wells evidently by the roadside. Īśvara Deva is said to have ordered the Ācārya to dig like any ordinary man; but was confounded when the Ācārya replied that he would do the digging if the ruler himself showed him how to do it. What seems clear from the above is that the ruler of Devagiri harassed the Ācārya while passing through his territory. We may not be far wrong in placing this event relating to the ruler of Devagiri between A.D. 1276 and A.D. 1286, when Īśvara Deva was ruling over the Yādava territory. If this is allowed, then, the Ācārya's discovery of the six *śalagrāmas* may be placed in A.D. 1285, and his return to Tuḷuva in A.D. 1290.[1]

From A.D. 1290 till A.D. 1310 Madhvācārya was actively engaged in touring through Tuḷuva; and it is possible that in A.D. 1316-17 that the images of Rāma and Sītā were received by him.

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1. The Muhammadan Sultan who was the contemporary of Madhvācārya, cannot be determined with certainty. Perhaps he was either Ghayasu-d Dīn Balban (A.D. 1266), or Muizzu-d Dīn Kaikobād (A.D. 1286). Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 230. (2nd ed.). The late Mr. Venkoba Rao, whose edition of Somanātha's *Vyāsayogicaritam* has just reached me through the courtesy of MM. Rao Bahadur R. Narasiṁhācārya, expressed the view that it was Balban "whom Śrī Madhvācārya met and who treated the Ācārya well." Intr. p. XXIII. (Bangalore, 1926). B. A. S.

The following table summarizes our deductions given above :—

Event	Date
Birth	A.D. 1238 (Sept. the 20th Monday [Wednesday]
Upanayanam	A.D. 1249
Became *Pūrṇaprajña*	A.D. 1254
South Indian tour	A.D. 1256–A.D. 1259
Return to Tuḷuva	A.D. 1260–A.D. 1265
I. north Indian tour	A.D. 1266–A.D. 1271
Meeting with Naraharitīrtha	A.D. 1270
Return to Tuḷuva	A.D. 1271
Discovery of the image of Kṛṣṇa	A.D. 1273
II. north Indian tour (lasting over ten years)	A.D. 1276–1286
Discovery of the six *śālagrāmas*	A.D. 1285
Return to Tuḷuva	A.D. 1290
Touring about Tuḷuva	A.D. 1290–A.D. 1310
Receives the images of Rāma and Sītā	A.D. 1317
Death	A. D. 1317 (January the 22nd Saturday)[1]

Before we enumerate his works and principles, we may note that in the Ālupa records discovered so far no mention whatsoever is made of Madhvācārya.

1. The late Mr. Venkoba Rao arrived at certain conclusions in regard to the Ācārya's tours, which are different to mine. *Vyāsayogicaritam,* Intr. pp. XXII, seq. B. A. S.

Between A.D. 1238 and A.D. 1317 kings Vibudhavasu, Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Ālupendradeva I, Nāgadevarasa, and Bankideva Ālupendradeva II ruled over the Ālupa kingdom. And only two years before the death of Madhvācārya, Soyideva Ālupendradeva had come to the throne. It is permissible to assume that because of the increasing influence of the great Vaiṣṇava preacher, the Śaivite centres were confined mostly to Kōṭa, Brahmāvūru, and Nīlāvara in the Uḍipi tāluka, Kōṭeśvara and Basarūru in the Kundāpūru tāluka, and Poḷali and Kadri in the Mangalore tāluka. This explains why the Ālupa records of this period are found only in these centres. It is only with Soyideva Ālupendradeva that the Ālupa capital reverts back to Bārakūru. And that was just the time when Madhvācārya had returned to Tuḷuva after his second northern tour. We have seen that Soyideva Ālupendradeva was a staunch supporter of the Śaivite religion. The absence of the name of Madhvācārya in any of the Ālupa records is to be attributed to the strong Śaivite tendency of the Ālupa kings, who were not inclined to favour a preacher whose avowed object in life seems to have been nothing but to wage a ceaseless crusade against Śaivism till his last days. But if the contemporaneity of king Vibudhavasu with the Madhva-pracaṇḍa-muni as given in the Puttige version of the *Grāmapaddhati* is accepted, then the description of the Madhva sage, which we shall presently give, was no other than that of Madhvācārya himself.

The following thirty-seven works are ascribed to Madhvācārya, according to the tradition current at Uḍipi:—

Gītā-bhāṣya, *Gītā-tātparya*, *Sūtra-bhāṣya*, *Aṇu-bhāṣya*, (or the two together *Bhāṣyāṇubhāṣya*), *Mahābhārata-tāt parya-nirṇaya*, *Bhāgavata–tātparya*, (*Nṛsiṁha*) *Nakha-stotra*, *Yamaka-bhārata*, *Dvādaśa-stotra*, *Tantra-sāra*, *Sadācāra-smṛti*, *Yati-prāṇakalpa*, (or *Sukha-tīrtha-yati-kalpa*), *Jayanti–nirṇaya*, *Ṛg-bhāṣya*, *Pramāṇa-lakṣaṇa*, *Kathā-lakṣaṇa*, *Tatva-sankhyāyana*, *Tatva-viveka*, *Māyā-vāda-khaṇḍana*, *Prapañca-mithyatva-māna-khaṇḍana*, *Upādhi-khaṇḍana*, *Tatvadyota*, *Viṣṇu-tatva-nirṇaya*, *Aitereya-bhāṣya*, *Taittireya-bhāṣya*, *Bṛhadāraṇya-bhāṣya*, *Iśāvasya-bhāṣya*, *Khāṭaka-bhāṣya*, *Chandogya-bhāṣya*, *Atharvaṇa-bhāṣya*, *Māṇḍūkya-bhāṣya*, *S'aṭ-praśna-bhāṣya*, *Talavakāra-bhāṣya*, *Aṇu-vyākhyāna*, *Saṁnyāya-vivṛti*, *Kṛṣṇāmṛta-mahārṇava*, and *Karma-nirṇaya*.

The above may be compared with the thirty-seven works of Madhvācārya as given in the *Granthamālikā-stotra*.[1]

1. Bhandarkar, *Report on Search for Sansk. Mss.* for 1882–83, pp. 24–25 (Poona, 1928). See alse Guru Rao, *Granthamālikāstotra*, vv. 3–13, pp. 9–10. (Udipi, 1924). The *Aṇumadhvacaritam* relates the following relating to the works of Madhvācārya :—That bestowing the standing image of Kṛṣṇa to Padmanābhatīrtha, he deposited the works at a place called Śetutila :—*tataḥ dayā-vārī-nidhigrāme Setutila-āhvaye sva-śāstra-grantham-akarot bhūgatam purṇaśemuṣiḥ*. Guru Rao, *Aṇumadhvacaritam*, p. 5. Setutila is another name of Kaḍtala (Lat. 13° 21′, Long. 74° 59′), 12 miles from Kārkaḷa on the Kārkaḷa-Someśvara road. According to some this place is 18 miles east of Kaṇvatīrtha. Srinivasacarya, *Uḍipi-kṣetra-mahimā*, p. 22. B. A. S.

We may now briefly allude to the principles preached by Madhvācārya. This champion of Vaiṣṇavism confuted the doctrine of Māyā or unreality of the world, and maintained the theory of *bhakti* or love of God which could be practised by all without distinction of caste or creed. Rāmānujācārya had preached his gospel in the eleventh century A.D. But Madhvācārya discarded as much the qualified monism of Rāmānujācārya as he did the pure monism of Śankarācārya. Following the Vaiśesikas, Madhvācārya declared that all knowledge sprang from Paramātman, whatever were the means by which it was produced. And *mokṣa* could be attained by the direct knowledge of Hari along the eighteen different paths which are possible for all from Brahmadeva to man.[1]

The scriptural authorities of this school founded by the Ācārya are besides his own writings, the four *Vedas*, the *Mahābhārata*, the original *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Pañcarātra*.[2] According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, since there is no place in Madhvācārya's creed for the Vyuhas, Vāsudeva and others, and since the name by which the Supreme Spirit is spoken of is mostly Viṣṇu, Gopāla Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā being entirely absent from his system, it is possible that he set aside the *Pañcarātra* or threw it into the background.[3]

1. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣnavism*, *Śaivism*, etc., pp. 81-86; Krishna Sastri, *E. I.*, VI. p. 261.

2. Goldstücker, *Literary Remains*, I. pp. 349-250.

3. Bhandarkar, *ibid*, p. 87. On the Pañcarātra, read Bhattacarya, *Jayākhya-Saṁhitā*, Intr. p. 6 seq. (G. O. Series No. LIV).

The sectarian marks used by the followers of Madhvācārya may be first mentioned before we pass on to a description of the great preacher himself as given to us in the *Grāmapaddhati*. The Vaiṣṇava Brahmans of the Madhva school wear today two white perpendicular lines of the clay called *gopicandana*, joined at the roots of the nose, with a black line in the middle that has a round red mark in the centre. A cross line joins the two lines on the bridge of the nose.[1] In daily life the followers of Madhvācārya wear merely the *gopicandana* marks and *pañca-mudrās* or the five marks of *śaṅkha* or the conch-shell, *cakra* or the discus, *gadā* or the club, *padma* or the lotus, and Nārāyaṇa. The last one, as will be seen presently, differs from the one given in the *Grāmapaddhati*.

Once a year, however, the ceremony of initiation takes place. This consists of stamping the *mudrās* with a heated metallic mark by the *guru*. It takes place on Āṣādha Śuddha Śayanī Ekādaśi which falls in June-July. On this occasion the seniormost *Svāmi* of Uḍipi brands only two *mudrās*-the *śaṅkha* and *cakra*-on the other *Svāmis* of Uḍipi. Then these latter impress the two *mudrās* on their lay disciples. The following *puruṣa sūkta mantra* addressed to Sudarśana is recited on the occasion:—

Sudarśana mahā-jvālā koṭi Sūrya-sama-prabhā ।
cakrāṅkita namaste astu dhāraṇāt muktidaḥ-bhava ॥

The *Grāmapaddhati*, however, has a different *mantra* to

1. Cf. Goldstücker, *Lit. Rem.*, *ibid;* Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 86.

give in this connection. We shall mention it anon. The mark of the *cakra* is impressed on the right shoulder, and that of the conch, on the left.[1]

An admirable picture of the great Madhvācārya and of the method by which he recruited disciples into his fold is given in the Puttige version of the *Grāmapaddhati*. The occasion when the Madhva *muni* is introduced is the following:—the Kōṭīśvaras about whom we have mentioned some details in connection with punishments in early Tuḷuva, were wandering at will when they came upon a Madhva sage of great resplendence. He was calm but with a vertical sectarian mark of (*gopi*) *candana* on his forehead. His arms were staff-like, and they were stamped likewise with sectarian marks. He was the very fire (*pracaṇḍam*) of the Madhva-*mata* in the Kali age. His limbs were likewise impressed with *mudrās*. On his left side were impressed the mark of lotuses (?). His left eye was raised looking at the forehead (*kapālaṁ ālokita*), and he was wrapped in meditation on the Lord whom he had won in his heart (*hṛdi pratipannaṃ*). He wore an auspicious garland of *supadma* (Orris Root), and (appeared as if) he had absorbed the essence of the *brahmāṇḍa*. He sang the praise of the Lord Nṛsiṁha and of Viṣṇu:—

1. I am indebted to Vidvān Paṇḍit Raghavendra Ballāḷa of Niḍambūr, Uḍipi, for this information. I am told that there is another method of wearing the marks called the *pañca-mudrā-dhāraṇa*. This consists of having another conch mark on the left chest ; and a discus on the right chest and on the stomach. For women the two discus marks are impressed on the shoulder. Cf. Srinivasacarya, *Uḍipi-kṣetra-mahimā*, p. 38. See *Infra*. B. A. S.

ūrdhva puṇḍrāṅkitaṃ śāntaṃ candanena ūrdhva-
puṇḍrakaṃ ।
āmūla mudrāṅkita-bāhu-daṇḍaṃ Kalau yuge Mādhva
mata-pracaṇḍaṃ ॥
punaś-ca mudrāṅkita sarva-gātraṃ vāmetare (?)
saṁsthita nīla pa(pā)traṃ ।
kapālaṃ-ālokita-vāma-netraṃ dhyāyantaṃ Īśaṃ hṛdi pakṣi
(prati)pannam ॥
kaṇṭhe samāśliṣṭa-supadma-mālaṃ brahmāṇḍa-piṇḍīkṛta
bindu-jālaṃ ।
gāyantam-īśasya Nṛsiṁha-līlām dhyāyantaṃ-ādyam-hṛdi
kōlarūpam (?) ॥ [1]

Seeing him the unfortunate Kōṭīśvaras bowed to him who was like the mount Mandāra, and confessed their sins. They told him their story, how they had been condemned for perjury (*asākṣitvena ninditāḥ*); and they begged of him to protect them (*pāhi pāhi Mahā-bhāga kṛpāle[uḥ] dīnavatsalaḥ*).

The sage in great sympathy assured them of his protection. And the kind *muni* branding the *mudrās* (on them) took them into the fold of Viṣṇu :

kṛpākara sa Bhagavān iti-uktvā ca-abhayam dadau ।
tapta mudrāṃ tataṃ kṛtvā matam Vaiṣvambhara-abhidham ॥

The following *mūla mantras* or fundamental principles called the *aṣṭākṣara mantras* were then recited in honour of the auspicious name of Viṣṇu, the Ṛṣi called Vāma-deva and the famous Chandoṇuṣṭap, which lead to salvation :—

1. *The Puttige version.*

tathāṣṭākṣara-mantraṃ-ca Viṣṇu-nāmāṅkitaṃ śubhaṃ ।
ṛṣiś-ca Vāmadevākhyaḥ Chandonuṣṭup prakīrtitaṃ ॥
tathā Nārāyaṇo devaḥ kaivalyārtha-pradāyakaḥ ।
asya-śrī-Nārāyaṇāṣṭākṣara-mahā-mantrasya ॥

Vāmadeva ṛṣiḥ Anuṣṭup Chandaḥ śrī-Nārāyaṇaḥ-devatā mahā-Viṣṇuprityarthe jape viniyogaḥ hrām-iti ṣaḍaṅgam śāntākāram-iti dhyānaṃ Om namaḥ Nārāyaṇāya mūla mantraḥ

Then in the twelve parts of the body such as the forehead, etc., the great sage made the *mudrādhāraṇam* of the *śankha*, *cakra*, *gadā*, *padma*, and the *dhvaja*. These are famous over the world as the *pañca-mudrā* :—

phālādi-dvādaśa-sthāne mudrā-dhāraṇaṃ āha saḥ ।
śaṅkha-cakra-gadā-padma-dhvajaiḥ-ca pariśobhitāḥ ॥
etā praśastāḥ lokesmin pañcamudrā prakīrtitāḥ ।
lalāṭe Keśavāya-iti tathā Nārāyaṇāya-iti-ca ॥
hṛdaye dhāraṇaṃ kāryaṃ pārśvayoḥ-tad-anantaraṃ ।
tadvat Mādhava-Govindāya dakṣiṇe Viṣṇave-iti-ca ॥
vāme.............(?) bāhumūle viśiṣyate ।
tataḥ Trivikramāya-iti kapolādhaḥ(ṛdha[?])-tu dakṣiṇe ॥
anyasmin Vāmanāya-iti S'rīdharāya-iti tatkare ।
Hṛśīkeśāya te tubhyam-iti kaṇṭhe vidhīyatāṃ ॥
idaṃ pavitraṃ paramaṃ gopanīyam prayatnataḥ ।
kadācit-nopadeṣṭavyaṃ kṛtaghnāya durātmane ॥
mayā yuṣmākam-uktaṃ yat sādhitaṃ sva-prabhāvataḥ ।
purā cakradharaś śrīmān bhītaṃ (prītaḥ?) māṃ uktavān-kila ॥
kaṇṭhe ca tulasī dāma bhrūvor madhye ardha-puṇḍrakaṃ ।
mukhe ca-aṣṭākṣaraṃ yasya Viṣṇur-eva na-saṁśayaḥ ॥

Then the great sage advised them thus :—" This holy and very secret *mantra* should be pronounced ; it should never be taught to the wicked and the ungrateful (*kṛtaghnāya durātmane*). Verily was the *mantra* secured by me from Viṣṇu who wore the *cakra*, had a *tulasī* garland in his neck, a *puṇḍraka* mark on his forehead, and the *aṣṭākṣara* in his lips. Therefore, (prosper and) continue my teachings!"

So saying the great Madhva ascetic, who was duly worshipped by them, went away. The Brahmans, who were now purified, resided in that *grāma* (location ?) having received the permission of the king.[1]

In another connection we have a more detailed description of the method of conversion adopted by the great Madhva sage. The occasion was the following:—A Brahman youth of the village of Beḷañje murdered his wife and her lover. The youth was punished by the people of the village with the permission of the king thus: he was to be expelled along with his family from the village, and he was to go on pilgrimage along with them. So they went to Mahābaleś(vara) in Gorāṣṭra (evidently at Gokarṇa), and to the *tīrtha* called Avimukta. Thence they came to Kroḍheśa (in Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa), and finally to Ananteśa(vara) at Uḍipi. Here they came across a great *muni* adorned with the *mudrās* of *śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *gadā*, and *padma*. To him they confessed their guilt and how they came to be condemned. The great sage medi-

1. *The Puttige version.*

tated for a while and then presented them with the holy *tīrtha* together with a *śālagrāma* which grew in that locality. This *śālagrāma* was called Janārdhana. The poor folk then continued their way and reached the Ghat region, where in their anxiety to eat a ripe jack fruit they forgot the *śālagrāma* they had left behind them at a distance of four *krośa*. When they hurried back to recover it, they were overjoyed to find the casket which contained the *śālagrāma* but the *śālagrāma* itself they could not remove because it had got itself transfixed in that place. Although a heavenly voice assured them that spot would become their own property and that god Janārdhana would become their family god, yet they returned disconsolate once again to the great Madhva sage. He now converted them into Vaiṣṇavism by the seven following methods– *tapta mudrā*, *aṣṭāksara mantra*, *mudrā haraṇa (?)*, *mudrā lepana*, *mṛt-snāna*, *mudrā lakṣaṇa* and *mudrā dhāraṇa kārya*:—

Munim-ālokayāmāsuḥ pūrvadṛṣṭaṃ mahātmanā I
so-pi dṛṣṭvā mahātejāḥ pālayāmāsa śāstrataḥ II
tapta mudrāṃ tataḥ kṛtvā mataṃ Vaiṣṇavasaṁjñakaṃ I
tathaiva aṣṭākṣaraṃ-mantraṃ parañcopadideśa-saḥ II
ā no bhadre-ti mantreṇa mudrā-haraṇam-ucyate I
amandair-iti sūktena mudrā-lepanam-iṣyate II
akṣibhyānta (?)-iti mantreṇa mṛdā snānaṃ viśiṣyate I
phālādi-dvādaśa-sthāne mudrā lakṣanaṃ āha saḥ II
śaṅkha-cakra-gadā-padma dhva (bhujaiḥ ?) ca pariśobhitaṃ I
eteṣām-ca praśastāś-ca loka-mudrāḥ prakīrtitāḥ II
lalāṭe dhāraṇaṃ kāryam ato-deveti mantrataḥ I

idaṃ Viṣnurcā-nityaṃ hṛdaye dhāraṇam smṛtaṃ ॥
dakṣiṇe bāhumūle-tu trīṇi pada-iti mantrataḥ ।
tathaiva vāmamūle-tu Viṣṇoḥ-karmāṇi mantrataḥ ॥
tad-Viṣṇuḥ-iti mantreṇa kapole dakṣiṇe smṛtaḥ ।
tad-viprāsa-iti mantreṇa kapole vāmake śubhe ॥
Viṣṇoḥ-nuketi mantreṇa uttamāṅge vidhīyate ।
prathat (pratak ?) Viṣṇukaṇṭha-deśe mudrayā-cakra-saṁjñayā ॥
praviṣṇava-iti kukṣau saṁyakt-avidhīyatāṃ ।
yasya tripūrṇā mantreṇa pṛṣṭa-deśe vidhīyate ॥
tadasya priya mantreṇa vāma pārśve viśiṣyate ।
tāvām vāsmī (vāsti[?])-iti mantreṇa dakṣiṇe pārśvage śubhe ॥
iti-eva dvādaśa-aṅgeśu veda mantraiḥ vidhīyatāṃ ।
idaṃ pavitraṃ paramaṃ gopanīyaṃ prayatnataḥ ॥
kadācit-na-upa-deśṭavyaṃ kṛtaghnāya durātmane ।[1]

6. THE BHĀGAVATA SĀMPRADĀYA

Round Ananteśvara, an essentially Śaivite temple, lived in early days the Smārthas of the Bhāgavata *sāmpradāya* from whom as well as from the Kōṭīśvaras, Madhvācārya recruited disciples into his fold.[2] This is

1. *The Puttige version*, Ch. 194. Cf. the description given in the *Padma Purāṇa*, Vol. IV. Ch. 25, pp. 1799–1810. (Poona, 1894) where the *prātapta-śaṅkha-cakra vidhiḥ ūrdhva-puṇḍra-dhāraṇa vidhiḥ, aṣṭākṣara-mantra-abhyāsa prakāraḥ*, etc. are given in detail.

2. The following conclusively prove that the Ananteśvara temple was a Śaivite temple : the image of Īśvara itself in the temple ; the shrine (*guḍi*) of Subrahmaṇya and the *nāgakallu* or serpent stones near the *vṛndāvana* and the *bhojana-śālā* ; the stone Nandi or bull which has been partially destroyed by the people ; and the flag of the bull which has been replaced by the Garuḍa *paṭa* in our own days. B. A. S.

not surprising, since there was one fundamental conception that was common to the preaching of Madhvācārya and that of the Bhāgavata *sāmpradāya* sect: it was the path of *bhakti* along which the votaries of both the sects could reach *mukti*.[1] The origin of the Bhāgavata sect is, however, still an unsettled problem.[2] An equally difficult question, at least so far the history of Tuḷuva is concerned, is the advent of the Bhāgavatas into Tuḷuva.

Nevertheless it is permissible to assume that since no mention whatsoever is made of the Bhāgavata sect in the Ālupa records of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, they may have come to Tuḷuva somewhere in the middle of the twelth century. We base our assumption on the following identity of Tuḷuva tradition with the evidence of epigraphs.

1. The Bhāgavatas of Tuḷuva claim to be Śaivites but observe the Ekādśis like the Vaisṇavites. They wear the *gopicandana* but not the *mudrās*. On the Bhāgavata sect, read G. A. Grierson, *Bhaktimārga* in James Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religions*, II. p. 539, seq. (Edinburgh, 1909). B. A. S.

2. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar maintains that the Bhāgavata system based on the Pañcarātra *samhitās*, "must have developed in about the third century B. C...." *Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism*, etc. p. 54. (Poona, 1928) But we are yet nowhere near the solution of this question. Read, D. L. De, *Pañcarātra and the Upanisads, I. H. Q.*, IX. pp. 645–662; Amarnatha Ray, *Śri Kṛṣṇa and the Source of the Bhagavata-gītā, ibid*, pp. 188–196; J. Przyluski, *The Śatvant Śatvata, and Nasantya, ibid*, pp. 88–91, may also be read in this connection. Rice quotes an opinion of Bühler—which I am unable to trace—to the following effect—that the Bhāgavatas are "the oldest Hindu sect of which we know, older than Buddhism." *E. C.* III. Intr. p. 22. It has been reported in the newspapers that Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has come across the name of Bhāgavata in a Brahmi inscription. B. A. S.

The oldest *maṭha* of the Bhāgavatas is at Bāḷekuduru close to the ancient harbour of Hangārakaṭṭa in the Kundāpūru tāluka.[1] According to the tradition current in Tuḷuva, the founder of the *maṭha* was Kaivalyāśrama Svāmi. When he visited Māyāguṇḍi near Uḍipi, he was requested by Parapaḷi Nāyaka to use his spiritual powers and cause a spring to rise in a tank which that generous soul had dug on the rock at Māyāguṇḍi. Kaivalyāśrama Svāmi acceded to the request of Parapaḷi Nāyaka, sat in the tank, and in no time caused a spring to rise in it. But the spring gushed forth so violently that the Svāmi was drowned. Parapaḷa Nāyaka, frightened to death, was told, however, in a dream by the Svāmi that that was to be his *vṛndāvana*. It was accordingly done so by Parapaḷi Nāyaka.[2]

Tradition, therefore, connects the earliest memories of the Bāḷekuduru *maṭha* with Parapaḷi Nāyaka who lived, as we have seen, in A.D. 1138. This would mean that the Bhāgavata *sāmpradāya* took firm roots in Tuḷuva only in the first quarter of the twelth century A.D.[3]

1. But the original seat seems to have been near Kundāpūru itself. This points to a coastal migration of the sect in early times. My first visit to the Bāḷekuduru *maṭha* in December 1932 proved barren. But I still hope to procure some valuable information from that *maṭha*. B. A. S.

2. This was related to me by the priests of the Durgā temple at Māyāguṇḍi in Puttūru, near Uḍipi, on 15-1-1933. B.A.S.

3. A copper plate grant in the Kūḍli Śriṅgeri *maṭha*, assigned to *circa* A.D. 1154 but of doubtful authenticity, mentions the victory which Vidyaśaṅkara Tīrtha of Śriṅgeri won over the Rāmānuja doctrine and the Bhāgavata-*ārādhya*. The ruler given in this grant is Puran-

A most famous name among the Bhāgavatas of Tuḷuva is that of Bhaṭṭācārya Prabhākara, who is reputed to have been the compiler of the *Grāmapaddhati*, and, as some maintain, to have been himself the founder of the Bāḷekuduru *maṭha*. This latter statement, however, seems to be incorrect, if we are to reply on the evidence of the following stone inscription found in the Iśvara temple in the Nāḍamaduvu village of Sāgara tāluka in the Mysore State. This inscription relates that Viṭṭhaya Senabova was the spiritual son (*dīkṣā-putra*) of the *rāya-rāja-guru* Bhaṭṭācārya, and the son of Hāruvigoppa Vāmana Hebbāruva and Śātakkā. The epigraph is dated *S'aka varuṣa 1220 neya Hemaḷambi samvatsarada Phālguṇa S'u. 15 Ā*. which works out to A.D. 1298 February Thursday the 27th, the week-day not corresponding.[1] The ruler mentioned in the grant is the

dhara Rāya of the Kadamba family. But the copper-plate mentions Vidyāraṇya Svāmi of Śriṅgeri as well. Since this is inadmissible, because Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda came after Vidyāśaṅkara Svāmi, and since the grant contains may passages which make no connected sense, its evidence cannot be relied upon. *E. C.* VII. Sh. 79, pp. 29–30, text pp. 78–90. We could have identified Vidyātīrtha Svāmi with Vidyāśaṅkara of the *Madhva-vijaya* but for the fact that the latter is distinctly spoken of as having hailed from Kudyapustūrāya of Tuḷuva. If the above Kūḍli grant were authentic, we could have placed Vidyātīrtha Svāmi's victory over the Bhāgavata-*ārādhya* before Madhvācārya's sojourn to the south, *i.e.*, in about A.D. 1256–59. But under the circumstances, this is impossible. I may also note that, according to Mr. Govindācārya Svāmi, the Bhāgavata *sāmpradāya* followers, due to the pressure brought about by the Muhammadans in western India in the eighth century A.D., migrated to the south and peopled the Telugu, Tamil and Karnāṭaka lands. *I. A.* XLII. p. 196. B. A. S.

1. *E. C.* VIII, Sa. 99, pp. 109, 297; Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.* IV. p. 198; Sewell-Dikshit *The Indian Calendar*, Table 1.

Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kōṭi Nāyaka of Hosagunda. It cannot be determined whether Bhaṭṭācārya was the *rāja-guru* of that ruler; neither can it be ascertained when and how he came to Tuḷuva.[1]

But what seems certain is that the Karnāṭaka too contained centres of Bhāgavata sect. We shall briefly sketch the history of the Bhāgavata *sāmpradāya* in the Karnāṭaka. The most prominent centres were Harihara-pura, Bhaṇḍigaḍe, Jambiṭige, Talakāḍ, Tīrthamuttūru, and Muḷbāgal. The Smārthas of Hariharapura assert that their *Svāmis* are descended in spiritual succession from Bhaṭṭapādācārya, one of the immediate disciples of Śankarācārya. The *maṭha* contains two shrines—one dedicated to Nṛsimha, and the other to Śāradā. The former is said to have been set up by Sureśvarācārya, another immediate disciple of Śankarācārya. The car festival (*rathotsava*) of both Nṛsimha and Śāradā takes place at an interval of about twelve days in the month of Vaiśākha (March) every year. The disciples of the *maṭha* are confined mostly to Koppa, Mūḍgere, and Tīrthahaḷḷi. In A.D. 1393 in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Harihara Rāya II, the viceroy Sābaṇṇa Oḍeyar granted a stone *śāsana* to Rāmacandra Sarasvatī Oḍeyar of Pratāpa Hariharapura *maṭha*, embodying certain gifts of rent, in confirmation of the royal grant made by Harihara Rāya himself to the same spiritual head of the *maṭha*.[2]

1. Śri Brahmānanda Svāmi of the Bāḷekuduru *maṭha* died on Tuesday the 26th June 1934. He had a good following in South Kanara, Shimoga, and in some places in the Mysore State. B. A. S.

2. *E. C.* VI. Kp. 49, p. 85; *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1916, p. 9, In a

About fifteen miles from Hariharapura is another Smārtha centre in the village of Bhaṇḍigaḍe. The god in this *māṭha* is Gopāla Kṛṣṇa; and its disciples are known as Kōṭadavaru, because they hailed from Kōṭa in Tuḷuva.[1]

About a mile from Hariharapura is the *agrahāra* of Jambiṭige which contains a small neat temple of Nīlakhaṇṭheśvara built, however, so late as A.D. 1733. It has about fifteen houses of well-to-do Smārtha Brahmans.[2]

Talakāḍ in the Tirumukūḍlu-Narsīpura tāluka is an important seat of the followers of the Bhāgavata *sāmpradāya*. Since the village named Koppāla, a few miles from Talakāḍ, belongs to this *maṭha*, it is also called by the name Koppāla *maṭha*. This *maṭha* was founded by Kṛṣṇānanda Svāmi, who was third in apostolic descent from Padmāpādācārya, the immediate disciple of Śankarācārya. The spiritual succession is thus given:—

Śankarācārya
|
Padmapādācārya
|
Viṣṇu Svāmi
|
Kṣīra Svāmi
|
Kṛṣṇānanda Svāmi

stone inscription found at Hariharapura dated A.D. 1573 Mādhava-sarasvatī is mentioned as the head of the Hariharapura *maṭha*. *My. Arch. Rep.* for 1932, pp. 204–205.

1–2. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1916–17, p. 9.

In succession to Kṛṣṇānanda Svāmi, after a long interval, came Abhinava Bālakṛṣṇānanda Svāmi, whose disciple was Bālakṛṣṇānanda Svāmi. The disciple of the latter is the present *Svāmi*.[1]

In the Tīrthahaḷḷi tāluka we have two Smārtha centres—one at Tīrthamuttūru and the other at Muḷbāgal. The disciples of the *maṭha* at Tīrthamuttūru are a sect of Brahmans known as the Pañcagrāmadavaru (or those of the Five *grāmas*), with whom the other Smārthas do not mix. The god of this *maṭha* is Nṛsimha.[2]

The head of the Smārtha *maṭha* of Mūḷbāgal claims spiritual descent from Padmapādācārya mentioned above as the immediate disciple of Śankarācārya. It is said that Padmapādācārya was appointed head of the *maṭha* at Dvārkā by Śankarācārya himself. According to the tradition current at Mūḷbāgal, Agniruddha Kṛṣṇā-

1. *Mys. Arch. Rept.* for 1911-12, pp. 11-12. The *maṭha* contains some spurious records dated Śaka 819, and Śaka 916 of Mādhavamantri of Vijayanagara history. *Ibid.* Rice has edited one of these grants which he assigned to *circa* A.D. 1437. But since the ruler mentioned therein was called Vijaya Vidyā Deva Rāya, and since it was only a copy supplied by the people, Rice declared that it was unreliable. In this spurious record the Koppāḷa *maṭha* is called the *maṭha* of Agniruddha Kṛsnānanda Svāmi, otherwise known as the southern Kāśī of the Gajāraṇya-kṣetra. The village of Koppāḷa is described in this record to have been presented to Kṛsnānanda Svāmi by the minister Mādhava of Vijayanagara, in the presence of the god Arkeśvara on the bank of the northern stream. The god worshipped in this *maṭha* is Vēṇugopāla Kṛṣṇa. *E.C.* III. Intr. p. 22, TN. 47, p. 76.

2. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1916, p. 9. An inscription dated A.D. 1037 mention the Pañcagrāmas. *E.C.* XI. Dg. 126, p. 74. *The Puttige version* of the *Grāmapaddhati* has a detailed description to give of the Pañcagrāmas which we abstain from citing. The *Sahyādri-kaṇḍa* is said to refer to these Brahmans. P. I. Adhyaya, 147. B. A. S.

nanda Svāmi, twenty-seventh in apostolic succession from Padmapādācārya of the Dvārkā *maṭha*, came to the south about three centuries ago, and stayed at Muḷbāgal. On the invitation of the Ikkeri king Bhadrappa Nāyaka, he went to the Tīrthahaḷḷi tāluka, and founded a *maṭha* named after Mūḷbāgal at Bhadrāsamudra, and received a grant of an *agrahāra* from the Ikkeri king. Before leaving for Tīrthahaḷḷi, however, he founded a *maṭha* at Talakāḍ, and appointed a *Svāmi* to it. The Mūḷbāgal *maṭha* thus claims that the *maṭhas* at Dvārkā and Talakāḍ are its branches. It is said that "some papers in possession of the *maṭha* show that its claim was admitted by an assembly of disciples and scholars that met at Surat about thirty-five (*i.e.*, now fifty) years ago". It is maintained that Kṛṣṇānanda Svāmi is described in grants ranging from A.D. 1660 to A.D. 1662, as the promoter of the doctrines of Viṣṇusvāmi, who, according to the published succession list of the Dvārkā *maṭha*, was the immediate successor of Padmāpādācārya. The god here as at Talakāḍ is Gopāla Kṛṣṇa. Mr. Narasimhācārya's conclusion in regard to both the *maṭhas* may be noted:- "It may therefore be concluded that the *maṭhas* at Mūḷbāgal and Talakāḍ came into existence in about the middle of the 17th century."[1]

We may note in passing that in a copper-plate grant assigned to A.D. 1661, registering the gift of two villages named Raṇaghata and Hirekalyāṇi, to the head of

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1. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1919, p. 38.

the *mathu* Viṣṇusvāmi, by the Vijayanagara ruler Ranga Rāya, the following apostolic succession is given:—

Nārada
|
Vyāsa
|
Śukha
|
Gauḍapāda
|
Govinda
|
Kṣīrasvāmi
|
Viṭṭhaḷa
|
Śrīdhara
|
Viṣṇusvāmi[1]

Whatever may be the claims of priority which the Mūḷbāgal *maṭha* can put forward over the *maṭhas* of Dvārkā and Talakāḍ, one fact seems clear from the above account of the Smārtha *maṭhas* of the Karnāṭaka, namely, that no Bhāgavata *sāmpradāya maṭha* in that region seems to be so old as the Bāḷekuduru *maṭha* of Tuḷuva which dates back to the twelfth century A.D.

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1. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1919, p. 37. In A.D. 1812 the Mysore ruler Kṛṣṇa Rāja Oḍeyar III gave a *sanad* remitting some specified taxes to Kṛṣṇānanda *Svāmi* of the same *maṭha*. The *sanad* was written in Persian, Marāṭhi and Kannaḍa. The reason given for the remission was that the Svāmi represented to the State that the balance left after the payment of the *jōḍi* to the government did not suffice for the up-keep of fhe *maṭha*. *Mys. Arch. Rep., ibid,* p. 43. Sturrock confounds the Śivaḷḷi Brahmans with the Bhāgavata Brahmans, and relates that the headquarters of the latter is Śivaḷḷi ! *S. C. Manual,* I. pp. 147-8. B. A. S.

Popular conception assigns the advent of the Kānapāṭhi Jogis into Tuḷuva in the ninth or tenth century A.D. This is erroneous, as will be shown in a later treatise in which the question of the introduction of Muhammadanism into Tuḷuva will also be discussed.

CHAPTER VI

LIFE IN EARLY TUḶUVA

Summary :—1. The different peoples of Tuḷuva. 2. Seasons and State of Agriculture. 3. Commerce. 4. Dress and Ornaments. 5. War. 6. Amusements. 7. Means of Communication. 8. Sources of Revenue. 9. Education. 10. Religion. 11. Customs and Manners. 12. A Picture of a Tuḷuva Household. 13. The *Būḍu* or Manorial House of a Tuḷuva Chieftain.

1. THE DIFFERENT PEOPLES OF TUḶUVA

The Pāḍadānas or folk-songs of Tuḷuva are a valuable source of information for a study of the life which the Tuḷuvas led in early and mediaeval times. Tuḷuva is rich in these folk-songs which have not yet been utilized for historical purposes. There are innumerable Pāḍadānas in the Tuḷu language. Out of these we shall select only three kinds of Pāḍadānas that have a direct bearing on the history of Tuḷuva. These are the Pāḍadānas concerning heroes like Kōṭi and Cennaya ; historical folk-songs of the type of Deva Pūñja which describe the wars between the Veṇūru and Bangar rulers ; and ordinary folk-songs which are sung on marriage and such other ceremonial occasions.[1]

1. Most of the well known Pāḍadānas have appeared in the *Pāḍadonolu* by the Rev. Männer. Mangalore, 1886. A. C. Burnell translated them in the pages of the *I. A.* Vol. XXIII, seq. Mr. Ganpat Rao Aygal has published a few of them. And my own collection which contains altogether different variants of most of these Pāḍadānas, has been enriched by perfectly new Pāḍadānas not found either in the collection of Männer or in those of Mr. Aygal. Strictly

The activities of the Tuḷu people centred round their village which with its wet and dry lands, its ferry master and his boats, its local trade and cottage industries, its little public school and thatched abode of the astute village astrologer, its boar hunt and such other inexpensive games, its well defined Billavar house and Buṇṭ habitation, its village assembly and rules of social ostracism, and finally its *būḍu* or the manorial house, was a self-contained unit which was responsible for the preservation of the traditional culture of the Tuḷu people.

The country was inhabited by practically the same people we see in it now, but the names of some seven or eight prominent classes are mentioned in the folk-songs of Tuḷuva. They are the Billavars, the Buṇṭs, the Brahmans, the Jainas, the Mogers, the Māpiḷḷas, the Pombadas and the Holeyas. Reference, of course, is made to the Koragars, the Kuṇbis, the Vakketars, and in later Pāḍadānas, also to the native Christians. Of all these peoples the Billavars and the Buṇṭs seem to have enjoyed the most prominence, as can be made out from the fact that one of the longest and most well known of the folk-songs, *Kōṭi Cennaya*, deals entirely with the daring deeds of two Billavar boys; while the

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speaking any account of the life of the Tuḷu people based on the Pāḍadānas ought to give in brief some of the main folk-songs which are the basis of the remarks made in this chapter. But considerations of space compel me to refer the reader to the pages of the *I. A.* where Burnell has, on the whole, given an accurate rendering of the Tuḷu Pāḍadānas. B. A. S.

achievements of a Buṇṭ hero are sung in a famous Pāḍadāna called *Agōḷi Mañjaṇṇa*. Here and there mention is continually made of the Buṇṭ Bāragas without whose sanction and suggestion not even the Ballāḷa, the chief of the Tuḷuva manor, found it advisable to execute the smallest of his plans. The name Ballāḷa, however, bespeaks a Karnāṭaka origin. There were the Brahmans, who were, as else where, the custodians of learning. Besides these, the Kuṇbis, who may be reckoned to be one of the earliest inhabitants of Tuḷuva, and the Holeyas, who had something to do with the ownership of land, also figure in the Pāḍadānas. In the village of Aḍakanelliñjine the Koragars lived in their own sheds called *koppu*, while the Mogers lived in their *vōṇi*, and the Bākaders (Bākuḍers) lived on the plains.[1] In the Pāḍadāna called *Bobbariye* the career of the Māpiḷḷas is described. Christians are referred to in the song called *Toḍakinār*.[2]

We may have some idea of the people in Tuḷuva from the Pāḍadāna of *Bobbariye*. The seven children of Murava Byāri and Fātima started from their home at Sulikall Kaḍañjar on a life of trade and went to Peiryer Kaḍañjar. An astrologer called Nāḍu Balaya told them that they would succeed in their enterprise if they came across a *puñjapaṭṭa* (small building) built on twelve *māgaṇes* where cocks crow, and if they built "a roof over Brahmā and his post". "If Puñja

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 41.
2. *Ibid*, p. 96.

is the *bhūta* for the *paṭṭa* for the thousand people in the twelve villages he must ride in a palanquin at full speed and must cry out thrice" said they.[1] These above-named people, including the Brahmans, lived on agriculture.

The Kuṇbis, who appear to be the same people as the Kurumbars or Kuḍumbis of the southern peninsula, are described as having a temple of their own. When Kōṭi and Cennaya followed their guide Cennaya of Eḍambūru, through the forest of Kemmuḷe, they saw something about which they questioned him thus :— "What is it in the distance, Cennaya of Eḍambūru, what is it that in height equals a cocoanut tree and in circumference an umbrella and is shaped like an umbrella? Is it a mosque of the Māpillas? Or a temple of the Kuḍumbis? Or a temple of the Jainas? Or simply a temple? Or is it a *guḍi* belonging to the *bhūta* Bhramara?"[2]

The Pombadas, or the traditional devil-dancers, spent their time in the propitiation of the *bhūtas*, who formed the powerful deities of the village. When the rains set in, as can even now be seen all over Tuḷuva, the Pombadas set themselves to making umbrellas and such other monsoon requisites; while with the advent of summer, they got everything ready to personate the spirits of the dead heroes. A Poṃbada's services were called into requisition by no less a personage than the

1. *Ibid*, XXV, p. 240.
2. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 47.

Ballāḷa himself, who would "get up early", and go "in search of a man to represent the *bhūta*".[1] And then to the Pombada thus would the Ballāḷa say—" O Devil-dancer ! Today in my *būḍu* a *sthāna* is to be dedicated to a new *bhūta* Pañjurḷi. I have asked for an auspicious day, and today is the day. Therefore you must come to represent the *bhūta* and dance. You must come in the evening and be ready. All your neighbours will come at this time. You must come soon. Otherwise there will be delay on your account. Take care ; you must come. Now I am going".[2] Such indeed was the polite order which the Ballāḷa gave to his tenant, the devil-dancer.

The Holeyas or Pariahs were mostly concerned with the servile work of the higher classes. The Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe finding the two young heroes, Kōṭi and Cennaya, obdurate, as regards the grant of a field, sent his nephew to pacify them. "And the nephew then took some precious shawls in both his hands, and said to the brothers—'O my heroes ! make peace, and I will give you whatever you want'. 'Give your shawls to the Pariahs that have long served you ! We will never enter the hall we have once left', replied the brothers."[3]

The Māpiḷḷas are spoken of as a trading class. Indeed, the Pāḍadāna called *Bobbariye* (Bābu Byāri ?) seems to deal with the advent of Muhammadan traders

1. *I. A.* XXVI, p. 67.
2. *Ibid*, p. 67.
3. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 32.

into South Kanara. They are mentioned as traders in stone, cocoanut fibre and such other articles in which even to this day they deal. In the Pāḍadāna called *Attāvara Doyyonguḷu*, we are informed that they occupied a high place in the government of the Bangar kings of Pāṇemangalūru; and that they remained on terms of utmost goodwill and respect with their Hindu brethren of Uddara (Uddaḷa), near Manjēśvara.[1] It is customary for the *bhūtas* called Doyyonguḷu of Uddara, during their annual festivals, to go to the *masjid* of Uddara and give an assurance to the memory of a now-forgotten Mahammadan general, who, it is said, once presented them with lands in the same place.

Besides these Māpiḷḷas, there were the Mogers who are described both as fishermen and as warriors in the Pāḍādanas. The Brahman whom Cennaya had intended to slay, warns them of the "hostile reception which they (*i. e.*, Kōṭi and Cennaya) would meet at the hands of the Koragars living in their sheds called *koppu*, the Mogers in their sheds called *vōṇi*, and the Bākaḍers of the plains," of the village called Aḍakanelliñjine. And when the two heroes actually reached the village, the Mogers, who were "carrying bows" with "each a blade of grass in his hand," fell prostrate before them crying for protection.[2]

The Mogers were sometimes compelled to perform feats of strength by the Ballāḷa. The Ballāḷa of

1. Aygal, *Doyyoṅgoḷu*, p. 2. (Mangalore, 1924).
2. *I. A.*, XXIII, p. 41, op. cit.

Mardāḷ wanted to build a *sthāna* for the *bhūta* Pañjurḷi. He had felled as many trees as possible with the aid of the carpenters, and then he wanted to have them dragged to the place where the *sthāna* was to be built. "One day he went to Polippu and called all the fishermen, and said to them–'How many males are there in your house?' and when one fisherman answered that they were four in all, and another two, the Ballāḷa said, 'O you fishermen! hear, each one of you: trees have been felled in the forests for the purpose of building a *sthāna* for the Ballāḷa's *būḍu*. All these trees should be brought to the *būḍu* because the day is fixed for the building of the *sthāna* and for raising the upper storey; therefore the work is stopped. Therefore, tomorrow all of you must come together; one or two hundred of you must join together and bring the trees to my house. The man who does not come will be fined. And if he does not pay the fine, I will see that nobody gives him chunam or fire."[1]

The Brahmans and the Jainas, who occupied a high position in Tuḷuva society, were mainly given to the study of scriptures and the use of arts. The former would always refer to their *prāsana* book for every little incident that needed an explanation. In such grave matters like the building and consecration of a *bhūta sthāna*, the advice of the Brahman astrologer was most keenly felt. The Ballāḷa of Mardāḷ, who will figure often in these pages, having got all things ready "went

1. *I. A.*, XXVI, p. 65.

to the fortune-telling Bhaṭṭa's house. When he went he found the Bhaṭṭa sitting in the verandah and telling fortunes." The Ballāḷa said, "O Bhaṭṭa! I came to visit you; according to your fortune-telling on that day my racing buffaloes survived. If not, they would have certainly died. Now I have to get a *sthāna* built; and a cot and other ornaments for Pañjurḷi *bhūta* are all ready. Now you must find out the auspicious day, and tell me on what day we should establish Pañjurḷi *bhūta*, and dedicate the *sthāna* to him. For this purpose I am come to you."[1]

And when Pañjurḷi thus wanted to make himself felt on the plains below, and chiefly in the royal *būḍu* of the Ballāḷa Mardāḷ, the *prāsana* book of the Brahmans proved another source of income to them. From astrologers they now became village doctors, and aided the villagers in the matter of stopping the spread of diseases. The *bhūta* Pañjurḷi thought of a plan. He slipped into the cow-pen of the *būḍu* and entered into the bodies of the buffaloes. The result was a violent coughing among the cattle of the *būḍu*. In utter despair the Ballāḷa hurried to the house of the Bhaṭṭa, with two cocoanuts, the husk of which had been removed, as presents. "Then the Ballaḷa said, 'O Bhaṭṭa! In my *būḍu* my racing-buffaloes are ailing. They are on the point of death. Whatever I do is of no avail. They never had such sickness before. Please, therefore, discover the cause and use some means to stop the dis-

1. *I. A.* XXVI, p. 66.

ease. You only can do it,there is no other way'."[1] And the Bhaṭṭa came to the rescue of the Ballāḷa not before the latter had added half a rupee to the cocoanuts in the shape of fees for his astrological calculations. Then the Bhaṭṭa said,- "You see! There is great distress in your house. But because the present you have placed has come forth at the sign of Meṣa, I can say it is a *bhūta* with a hog's face...Now he asks sacrifice from you ...and to have a *sthāna* built for him and sacrifices offered."[2] Thus did the Brahman stop the disease in the Ballāḷa's house.

Over and above this vocation of theirs, the Brahmans are described as tilling the land. The Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru, to whom the two young heroes, Kōṭi and Cennaya, has been introduced by Cennaya of Eḍambūru, in order to persuade the brothers to remain in his own principality, as a safeguard against his enemy, the Ballāḷa of Pañja, offered them the field tilled by Brahmans. "Oh, heroes! It now behoves you to remain in my kingdom. Do you want the field called Berampoḷḷi cultivated by Brahmans, or that called Guttuberke cultivated by the Buṇṭs, or that called Maṭṭil Nālaja cultivated by the Billavars?" asked the Ballāḷa.[3]

While so much in detail is known about the Brahmans, little can be gathered about the Jainas except that they had *bastis* of their own, that many of them were Śeṭṭis or heads of trade guilds, and that they had

1-2. *I. A.* XXVI, p. 52.
3. *Ibid,* XXIII, p. 48.

Ballāḷas among them, some of whom seemed to have believed in spirit worship. In one Pāḍadāna we have a traditional account of the manner in which the great statues of Gōmaṭa at Kārkaḷa and Vēṇūru were built.[1]

As regards the Billavars and the Buṇṭs, however, very much can be gathered from the Pāḍadānas. Although there is nothing to prove in the folk-songs that the Buṇṭs were given to warfare and the use of deadly weapons, yet they are always mentioned with respect as the Bāragas, which term is applied to them in some parts of Tuḷuva even today.[2] The activities of the Billavar heroes are described in the long Pāḍadāna called *Kōṭi Cennaya*, which we have referred to in these pages. In one version of this song, these Billavar heroes tell the Brahman who was in charge of *dharmakaṭṭe*, that they wore the thread to mark their religion but were Billavar by caste ![3] The Billavars are always described as the age-long and privileged toddy-drawers of the land. When Cennaya wanted to pick up a quarrel with Buddyanta, Kōṭi advised him thus:—"You, Cennaya, are cruel. Anger and strife may happen between you and the foolish Buddyanta. Our caste-occupation is to extract *tāṛi*. Do you, Cennaya, attend to that business."[4] Then, again, when the poor Joti Brahman girl, who had been left blindfolded in the forest, because she has

1. *I. A.* XXV, p. 216, seq.
2. The Pāḍadāna of Kānta Bāre and Pūva Bāre deals with the activities of these two Buṇṭ heroes. B. A. S.
3. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 40.
4. *Ibid*, XXIV, p. 148.

attained puberty before marriage, had her bonds loosened, she asked her deliverer, Sāma Āḷva Baidya of Parimaḷe, why he had come to the forest. And he replied :—
"I came to take palm-juice from the palm-trees which are in the forest. This forest belongs to the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe, and I am the palm-climber of this forest".[1]

What an amount of importance was attatched to the work of extracting juice from the palm-trees can be seen from the fact that the palm-climber of Parimaḷe had been given a camel by the Ballāḷa to carry to his own house thirty maunds of palm-juice every day. Sāma Āḷva told the girl of the Joti Brahman caste that, when he had heard her crying, and had seen her from the top of a palm-tree, he had hastened down and tied his camel to a palm tree. Then the girl questioned him why he wanted a camel. To which he replied, "I take the palm-juice on the back of the camel. I take thirty maunds of palm-juice every day. I cannot carry it on my head. Therefore the Ballāḷa has given me a camel. He is very kind to me."[2]

The revenue from liquor formed a very important source of income of the Ballāḷa's establishment.[3] On what terms the Ballāḷa gave his palm-tree plantations for tapping to the toddy-drawer, we are not able to find out. But that the Ballāḷa owed much, if not all, of his greatness to the exertions of the toddy-drawer of

1. *I. A.* XXV, p. 296.
2. *Ibid*, p. 297.
3. See *infra* Section 8.

his *būḍu* can be made out from the most generous manner in which he promised to assist Sāma Āḷva in regard to the celebration of a marriage. The Joti Brahman girl whom Sāma Āḷva had rechristened Dēyi Baidyedi, was betrothed, according to one version, to his nephew Sāyana Baidya ; and Sāma Āḷva went to his master, the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe to receive aid and permission from his patron to celebrate the marriage. The Ballāḷa at-once answered—"Ask me whatever you want ! O Āḷva, tell me how much you require," and, again, " O Sāma Āḷva, why are you afraid ? I will help you. I will give you whatever you may require."[1] And although what poor Sāma Āḷva asked for was only half a *korjī* of rice,—which, his sister shrewdly observed, had, according to etiquette, to be returned to the Ballāḷa—yet the spontaneous offer of help from the Ballāḷa proves that the master of the royal *būḍu* considered his palm-juice climber not in the light of a servant but in that of a worthy friend.

2. SEASONS AND STATE OF AGRICULTURE

The principal occupation to which the high and the low devoted their attention was agriculture. The lands cultivated were not the high grounds but those on a lower level. High lands were used as grounds for pastures or as arecanut plantations. All arable lands were divided into three kinds—the *bailu*, the *majelu*, and the *beṭṭa*. The *bailu* ground is described by

1. *I. A.* XXV, p. 296, op. cit.

Buchanan as the lower part of the valleys which are watered by small streams, from whence canals are dug to convey the water to the fields which by this irrigation are able to give annually two crops. The *majelu* land is higher than the *bailu*, and is provided with small reservoirs which ensure one crop, when the rains last only for two or three months. From some of these reservoirs the water is let out by a sluice. It is raised from others by means of the *yātam*, or by a basket suspended between ropes. The *beṭṭa* land is the highest part of the rice grounds, and is provided with neither streams nor reservoirs, so that the crop depends entirely on the rains. In some places there is another kind of rice ground called *paṭla*. During the rainy season it is so inundated that it cannot then be cultivated; and as the water dries, the rice is transplanted. On the *bailu* land there are three crops in the year; the first *yeṇelu*, the second *ṣuggi*, and the third *koḷake*. This last is only produced by a few sprouts particularly favoured with water.[1]

This division of the agriculture seen by Buchnan in the year A.D. 1800 was in vogue since early times in Tuḷuva. We find in the Pāḍadānas definite reference to the *yeṇelu* and *suggi* crops. When the Ballāḷa of Perimaḷe had finished apportioning the fields between the two brothers, Kōṭi and Cennaya, on one hand, and Buddyanta, on the other, " he advised them to make some offering to Buddyanta, whenever they might sow

1. Buchanan, *A Journey*, III. p. 37.

it. With the intention of sowing the *yeṇelu* seed at the proper time, they gathered all the refuse of the field and set fire to it. And then after eighteen days of the month of Paggu (*i. e.*, April–May) had passed, they ploughed the field with two pairs of he-buffaloes. Thus did they cultivate the *yeṇelu* crop."[1]

When they cultivate the fields, and transplant crop, the Tuḷu people sing folk-songs like the following:—

Oh ! Payyo !

Oh ! work ! Oh ! work ! Oh ! work, work – Oh ! little Payyo !
Where Payyo was born, there was a kingdom.
To one mother there was one child.
Oh ! work ! Oh ! work ! Oh ! work, work, Oh ! little Payyo (Chorus)
In the southern kingdom was Payyo born ;
When Payyo was a little suckling child,
His mother was called to Heaven ! (Chorus)
(And) when he learned to take food,
His father was called to Heaven. (Chorus)
He has out-grown his infancy, the little Payyo ;
He has gathered wisdom, and he has learned the arts, Payyo. (Chorus)
(And) he has taken quickly to the writing on sand. (Chorus).[2]

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 32.

2. The original of this folk-song is with me. It is sung by the farmers in Baṇṇiñje of Uḍipi. *Payyo* means a child. B. A. S.

And it was over the second crop of the *bailu* land, *viz.*, the *suggi* crop, that there broke out a great quarrel between the two brothers and their rival, Buddyanta, which ended in the death of the latter and the starting of the former on a life of wild adventure· The *suggi* crop is cultivated in the Tuḷu months of Nirnāḷ and Bōntel (*i. e.*, October-November). When Kōṭi made a wide opening in one of the banks, the water flowed out with a rapidity equal to that of rivers during the monsoon. Seeing this, Buddyanta called out his servants and they shut up the opening made by Kōṭi by means of grass. Kōṭi then said–"Take care! Buddyanta! The *suggi* crop is the only means of food for the monsoon for you as well as for us! If you have enmity against us, avenge yourself on our persons, and not on the crop that we have cultivated. Let, therefore, the water which is flowing out according to custom, flow out in its proper course."[1]

That the Tuḷu people had also dry lands can be made out from the reply given by the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru to the heroes who requested that a harrow and a pick axe called Rāma and Lacaṇa (Lakṣmaṇa) be given to them. "I have dry lands, sowing sixty *muras* of paddy, banks which burst and walls which fall down. Therefore, I want the harrow and pick axe," said he.[2] It is evident, therefore, that in early times, the same system of cultivation prevailed which we see today in Tuḷuva.

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1. *I. A.*, XXIII. p. 34.
2. *Ibid*, XXIV. p. 150.

The Pāḍadānas enable us to know something about the produce of a field. After confessing that they had killed Buddyanta, Kōṭi and Cennaya went to the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe, and requested him to give them a field called Bākimār in which five *seers* of rice could be sown, and 500 *muras* produced, and which lay in front of the Ballāḷa's mansion.[1] When the Ballāḷa, however, replied that the produce of that field was reserved for governmental purposes, the heroes begged him to present them with that paddy field which lay to the south of the *būḍu*, and in which three *seers* of rice were sown and 300 *muras* produced.[2] We can have an idea of the produce of the land also from the parting words of the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe to Deyi Badiyedi, the mother of the two heroes, who had cured him of a severe pain in the leg. "As you have given me medicine and cured me, I wish to give you a present. I will give you land enough to sow four *muras* of paddy and a house. It will produce one *korjī* of rice for you annually."[3]

How much a field yielded can be gathered by the method of agriculture adopted by the Tuḷu people. They ascertained the time of cultivation with the aid of

1. *I. A.* XXIII. p. 37.

2. *Ibid*, p. 37. In this version it is correctly stated that the two brothers approached the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe. But in Ms. No. 15 (*I. A.* XXIV, p. 150) the heroes are said to have gone to the Eḍambūru Ballāḷa. This is impossible, since it was the Parimaḷe Ballāḷa who had originally promised to give food and clothing to the twins. (*I. A.* XXIII p. 36). The twin brothers afterwards took shelter under and fought for the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru against his enemies. B. A. S.

3. *I. A.* XXV, p. 308.

the astrologer. The two brothers questioned their rival, Buddyanta, as regards his designation. He was walking in a great haste. "I am going to the hut of the astrologer Bīra Ballya at Maṭṭi to ascertain the day for sowing the *kambuḷa*," said Buddyanta.[1] That they knew the value of manuring the fields and of tilling the soil in a proper manner can be seen by the way in which they worked in the fields. Then the heroes went to Erajha, calling the following persons- a servant named Kaṅaḍa Kaṭṭire, a Muggere called Irala Kurave, and Baila Bākuḍa, and ordered them to cut the grass and the sides of the banks of the *kambuḷa*, to heap some soil to be burnt, and to scatter some leaves (over the field). "We know a good week and day in which to begin the cultivation. Now we want to plough with four yokes and to sow in a corner", they said to each other. "We left three months in the middle and began to cultivate the *kambuḷa* in the month of Sōṇa. In the month of Sōṇa we made the servants chop leaves in pieces. We made them plough five times, and harrow nine times. We made them plough in such a way that there was no difference between the soil and water. Buddyanta made his servants plough his fields nine times and not even a blade of grass bent!"[2]

That the method of ploughing has not materially changed since early times can be made out by the more detailed description given by Buchanan of the

1. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 146.
2. *Ibid.*

yeṇelu crop in Tuḷuva. "The kinds of rice that are transplanted for the *Yeṇelu* crop on *Bylu* land are cultivated as follows:—Between the 14th of May and the 14th of June, water the ground intended for raising the seedlings for two days, and then plough it twice; all the water, except two inches in depth, being let off at each ploughing. The two ploughings must be repeated every other day, until the eighth time. The field, before the last ploughing, is manured with ashes, and with dung, in which, while in the cow-house, the leaves of every kind of bush and tree have been mixed. The mud is then smoothed with the *Mutu Pallay* or plank drawn by oxen. The seed, prepared by causing it to sprout, is then sown very thick, the water being three inches deep. Next day the water is let off. On the fifth day, when the shoots come up, they get as much water as covers the half next the ground, and every day, as the plants grow, the quantity of water is increased. On the ninth day the water is let entirely off, and is not given again until the eleventh day. If worms affect the plants, about the end of the third week the water is again let off for three days, and some ashes are sprinkled over the field to kill these destructive animals. The seedlings must be transplanted between the 30th and 35th days."[1]

For an efficient system of cultivation they wanted some implements over and above the human labour which they could always command. The two heroes

1. Buchanan, *A Journey*, III, p. 38.

proceeded on their way after having a passage-at-arms with the Ballāḷa who had refused to give them what they wanted. "And while they were walking, they resolved to get back from the plough-wright the implements of husbandry, which they had given him to be repaired, and which they used for cultivating the field *anilaja*; namely, the plough made of the tree called *bēdijña*, having a handle made of the tree called *tiruva*, some iron nails, and a yoke made of the tree called *koraji*."[1] And for not receiving promptly from the ploughwright the ploughtail, the plough-share, and the plough-shoe, they punished him with death. These simple and crude implements have survived to our own davs. Buchanan says the following as regards the implements while describing a double-ploughing of the *yeṇelu* crop. "The mud is then smoothed with the *Mutu Pallay* or plank drawn by oxen. The plough in use here is neater than usual in India but is an implement equally wretched."[2]

The harrows used in ploughing were usually caḷled *Basarūru paṇṇu koṭṭure*. The wife of Buddyanta, who had just been sent to his account by the two brothers, on seeing the red-coloured water of the stream, remarked that it must have been the water which her husband had spat out when chewing betelnut. "This is not water spat after chewing betelnut but blood," said the servant-maids. When they had passed

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 38.
2. Buchanan, *A Journey* III, pp. 38–39.

on a little they saw a harrow (always described as *Basarūru paṇṇu koṭṭure* in the text) dressed up.[1]

The different kinds of cultivated lands wanted some kind of irrigational devices by which water could be diverted from a lower to a higher level or from a softer to a harder ground. The Tuḷuvas paid some attention to this necessity ; for the Pāḍadānas mention the use of pikota, which even the women could handle with ease. The two brothers after defeating the warriors of Savalandāḍka and Nelli, were directed to the house of Paḷḷi Bannaya. On reaching his house, however, they found that Bannaya was away on some work. His wife received them well but while they sat down to chew betelnut, Cennaya swooned. Kōṭi then begged the wife of Bannaya to give him a little water. "Having heard this, she went inside, took a jug of silver, and went to the seat by the well. She held a pikota, which was so high as to reach the sky, let it down and drew pure water from the bottom of the well."[2] In another place the pikota is thus described. Dugaṇṇa Kāver of Ekkār and Timmaṇṇatikāri (Timmaṇṇa Adikhāri) of Tibēra wandered through the *berke* of Tangoḍi. And while describing their sojourn, the Pāḍadāna relates how "Koḍamaṇṭāya required that both a *guḍi* and a palace should be built for him. A pikota worked by three hundred men fell in pieces."[3]

1. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 150.
2. *Ibid*, p. 212.
3. *Ibld*, XXIII, p. 92.

Kōṭi and Cennaya would not have been able to find out their way so easily to the house of Paḷḷi Bannaya, had it not been for the cowherḍ boys of the village of Pañja. This principality of Pañja was a great rival of Eḍumbūru. But unlike Eḍumbūru and some other small states, it paid sufficient attention to the condition of cattle and pasture. "While the younger brother lay with his head on the elder brother's leg, and while the elder brother was searching for the lice, Cennaya saw a company of bo̊ys playing together. A thousand cows and a thousand she-buffaloes were feeding on the grass in the plains of Pañja."[1]

It was because they had such good pasture grounds that they had an excellent breed of cattle. When Paḷḷi Bannaya's wife, Kinni Dāru, recognized the two youths as her own brothers, she hastily ran into and out from her house, and with some grass in her hand, "called a red-cow that had gone to graze. She drew five *seers* of milk from the cow and boild it down to two *seers*."[2] Even supposing it was only two *seers* of milk she drew at one time, as another version of the same story informs us, yet it shows a better state of pasture than that which is met with to-day in Tuḷuva.

That a land with such rich pastures could not but be happy is evident from the present which Sāma Āḷva, the privileged toddy-drawer of Parimaḷe, gave his royal master, the Ballāḷa, in return for a reward of twelve

1. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 211.
2. *Ibid*, p. 213.

pagodas from his master. Sāma Āḷva said, "May I speak one word to my master? If you will not be displeased with me, I will say it." The Ballāḷa ordered him to say on. Then he said, "O Sir! I wish to give a small present to you. I wish to give you a pair of racing buffaloes."[1] When he heard this, the Ballāḷa exclaimed in astonishment—"What! a pair of racing buffaloes! Who do you think would wish to give me such a big present? I think that the present which I have given you is a very small one. A landlord may give presents to his tenants. But a tenant will be ruined if he thinks of giving presents to the landlord."[2]

Cultivation with the Tuḷuvas depended, as it does now, on a shrewd observation of the seasons. In Tuḷuva the Śālivāhana Śaka has been in vogue. But the Tuḷu year is luni-solar and is divided into twelve months: *Suggi* (March 15th-April 13th), *Paggu* (April 14th-May 14th), *Bēṣa* (May 15th-June 14th), *Kārtel* (June 15th-July 16th), *Āṭi* (July 17th-August 16th), *Sōṇa* (August 17th-September 16th), *Nirnāḷ* (Kanyā) (Sept. 17th-Oct. 17th), *Bontel* (October 18th-November 16th), *Jārde* (November 17th-Dec. 15th), *Perārde* (December 16th-January 13th), *Puyintēl* (January 14th-February 12th) and *Māyi* (February 13th-March 14th).[3] Of these Bēṣa and Āṭi alone are from the Sanskrit language.

The agricultural habits of the people can be made out from some of their felicitous proverbs like the

1-2. *I. A.* XXV, p. 303.
3. Cf. Buchanan, *A Journey*, III, pp. 27-31.

following :—*Kīrte kāyoḍu, Rōhini porpoḍu, Margasiroḍu muddoḍu, Ārda polompoḍu, aḍarada kīrada phāḍḍi batta baṅgāra korōḍāvu*. (The ground must be hot when under the star Kṛttikā [*Kirte*]; it must be hotter, to the point of baking, when under the star Rōhiṇī; the mud must be turned into paste while under the star Mṛgaśiras; and it must be swept away by the heavy rains under Ārdrā. And then only will the corn ploughed with a mere stick yield gold in return !)

3. COMMERCE

The Pāḍadāna of *Bobbariye* gives us a list of articles in which the people traded. The children of Murave Byāri and Fātima, by name Kāyiri, Kalasappa, Geṇḍa, Bombaya, Sinkiri Suni, Summuni, Ananta, Sarapoḷi and Sūna Jana Nāyaka, said, " 'Now let us go and trade in the villages'. They put on their shoulders a vessel holding about one-fourth of a *seer* and a vessel of bell-metal into a bag. 'We wish to sell a thousand bundles of sugar and coir of cocoanut fibre', they said. They sold the sugar and the coir. They got a bamboo and a plaited cocoanut leaf from each house. They built a shop of cocoanut leaves on the sea-shore with sixteen partitions of thick bamboos. They put sixteen kinds of goods within the sixteen partitions. The goods were—sago, oil-seed, wheat, Bengal gram, *reṅke* (a kind of grain), *rāgi*, rice-flour in a basket, red tender cocoanuts, chunam in shells, oil in a wooden vessel, bunches of arecanuts, betel leaves heaped in a basket, toddy in

leaf head-covering was found in a lotus tank, and they saw the marks of his feet descending into it but not ascending.[1]

The arecanut head-covering was a special feature of the Tuḷuva dress. The richest as well as the poorest wore it. "Śāyana Baidya went to the Ballāḷa, who was sitting in his hall with great enjoyment. He had a hat of arecanut shell ornamented with a crest of peacock's plumes. On his head were garlands of jassmine flowers and of the flowers called *ketaki*."[2] In the Pāḍadānas the Ballāḷa is always represented, while in state, to have worn the jassmine flowers and an arecanut spathe on his head.

Warriors too wore this arecanut head-dress. After passing a happy time at the *būḍu* of the Ballāḷa, Kōṭi and Cennaya thought of going out to play. The Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe encouraged them in this, and their uncle Sāyana Baidya being sent for, they were taken back to their native place called Erajha. So Sāyana took them to Erajha. When he left the *būḍu* it was known to Ellūr Abbe of the Cāvaḍi, and as the children were leaving the *būḍu*, Ellūr Abbe saw them. She took off her *padumarekke* girdle of silver and presented it to them. "She brought a hat of parrot-colour for Kōṭi Baidya, and a hat of the colour of the *pudu* bird (pigeon) for Cennaya. She had them dressed in these, and presented them by her own hand with a dagger called *Rāma kenguḍe*."[3]

1. *I. A.* XXV, p. 241.
2. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 32.
3. *Ibid*, XXIV, p. 142.

Warriors besides carrying swords by their side, putting marks of sandal paste, and dressing themselves in silken robes from Kāvūru, used to wear ear-ornaments too. Cennaya and Kōṭi before going to battle put on marks of sandal paste, and opened the box and took a black silken cloth from Kāvūru, and a signet ring from a curved box, and put it on. They put jewels in their ears and a thick cloth on their shoulders.[1] With very poor people, however, the arecanut head wear serves a double purpose : as a protection for the head and as a cup wherewith to drink water.

The Pāḍadānas also contain notices of the dress of women. In the contemptuous letter written by the Ballāḷa of Pañja to his rival the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru, the former said how the latter being a weakling in the charge of the two heroes, Kōṭi and Cennaya, who had killed the great wild hog, was only fit to dress himself in the robes of a woman when the day of battle would come. The Ballāḷa of Pañja wanted the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru to send him the two brothers thus—" When you send them, let them stand up to fight. When they stand up, let the Ballāḷa leave off male customs and let him dress as a female ; let him put two cocoanut shells for his breasts ; let him put on a small jacket, let him tie his hair into a knot, let him put collyrium on his eyes ; let him put a *sirā* (*sārī*) round his middle, let him be dressed with flowers." Thus ran the letter.[2]

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1. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 270.
2. *Ibid.*

have been manufactured or mined in Tuḷuva, lead us to suppose that the people must have got them from places outside the district.

In Tuḷuva itself, however, there were some well known manufacturing centres. Very many of the articles, as, for example, chunam, cocoanut fibre, etc., have been the sole monopoly of the fisher-folk like the Mogers, and the Māpiḷḷas of the coast. We may note the names of a few cloth manufacturing centres of Tuḷuva. King Dharma after finishing his toilet at the hands of the barber, Binnaḍi Kāra of Ejanagara, asked his followers to tell him the remedy for having touched the barber. They advised him to take an oil bath in a tank which was constructed for the purpose;[1] and when he had finished it, his servants asked their royal master from where they could get the silken clothes with which they could wipe off the water from his head. "A black silken cloth manufactured at Kāvūru, a white silken one made at Bōḷūru, a silken cloth called *sopu kambaḷi*, a silken cloth made at Iravadūru, a silken cloth of which one piece could stretch to three hundred *gāvuḍas*,[2] a silken one which can be soaked with a tear, and a silken cloth which can be hidden between the nail and the finger, are required," said the king. All the silken clothes were brought and the king dried his head with them.[3]

1. *I. A.*, p. 114; *ibid*, XXIII, p. 98.
2. 1 *gāvuḍa* = 12 miles.
3. *I. A.*, XXIII, p. 98.

Kāvūru, Bōḷūru and Iravadūru (near Perḍūru), were in those times centres of cloth manufacture. Bōḷūru has still some families of traditional weavers. If the Pāḍadānas can be believed, Kāvūru and Bōḷūru seem to have been well known for their silk cloth. They are often mentioned in the Pāḍadānas as places where silk cloth was manufactured. The Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe "reared the children (Kōṭi and Cennaya), supplying them with food, a *mura* of rice, and a piece of thick *pachade* cloth, and a *mandiri*. He also presented them with a white silk cloth from Bōḷūru, a black silk cloth from Kāḷūru (Kāvūru), and a girdle too."[1]

How they built ships and traded can be gathered from the Pāḍadāna of *Bobbariye*. The children of Murave Byāri and Fātima realizing that their trade in the interior was a failure, resolved to embark upon a voyage. " 'We have not put on fine hanging cloth or even a *muṇḍu* (a small coarse cloth). We have not collected fifty or hundred pagodas in a year. Therefore, we must go and trade in a ship. So let us sell our small she-buffalo worth seven pagodas,' said they. And they sold the she-buffalo. They put three pagodas in their waist-cloths, and five pagodas in a bag. Fishermen of seven houses and Byāris (Māpiḷḷas) of seven houses were collected together, and (they) went to Periyer Kaḍañjar. They visited Brahmā and folded their hands. 'Byāris! Are you in your caste or ejected?' asked the villagers. 'We are in our caste, not ejected',

1. *I. A.*, p. 142.

with girdles ; they put golden necklaces on their bodies, they tied turbans of the colour of parrots and pigeons on their heads ; they mounted a palanquin ; they armed themselves with their dagger, equal to that of Rāma's."[1]

Armed thus they went to their protector, the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru, who, in order to test them, asked them whether they were men who could save his kingdom or bring ruin upon it. "In the upper-storey of your mansion there is a *mura* of sessamum seed. Please order that to be given to us," said the brothers in reply. The Ballāḷa ordered his servants to hand over the *mura* to the heroes. "The elder brother, Kōṭi, then showed the dexterity of his hand ; when he had showed it, the seeds flew up in the air in powder as fine as red turmeric. Then the Ballāḷa said—'I have thus seen your skill ; now I want to see the skill of your brother, Cennaya.' 'O my lord,' said Cennaya, 'your swinging cot has four iron chains. Please order one of them to be given to me.' 'Can iron be cut by a weapon of iron ?' said the Ballāḷa. 'If iron cannot be cut by iron, will one man be able to slay another ?' said Cennaya. 'If this be so, will the chain be refused to you ?' said the Ballāḷa. And he ordered one of the chains to be given to Cennaya. When the latter showed his skill, all the four chains fell in pieces."[2] It is heroes of this type that the Tuḷuva people remember with pride and admiration.

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 88.
2. *Ibid.*

Besides swords and arrows, the Pāḍadānas also mention guns. The reference to guns, however, is of a more recent date. But there seem to have been some people, who are supposed to be traditional manufacturers of gunpowder. The gun is mentioned in the Pāḍadāna *Kōṭi Cennaya*. On the way through the great forest of Kemmuḷe, a Brahmaṇa priest demurred to offer *pūjā* on their behalf to the god. 'You had better see us perform a *pūjā* with an upright heart!', said the heroes, and stood with bent heads on a flat stone and prayed. "Let a drum be tied to an arecanut tree and another drum hung on an areca-tree, and let all the musical instruments be heard! Let the sound of a horn and of a gun be heard! Let a torch that has been extinguished burn again! Let a golden plate be placed at the door!" The Brahmā *bhūta* heard their prayer and all men and women trembled.[1]

The Tuḷuvas had also war-drums. We gather this from the words of the Brahman astrologer who, as already noted, foretold the career of the two heroes. After informing them that they would meet with certain people, he continued—" Kemēr Ballāḷa of the village named Pañja keeps a watchful guard. Therefore, be very cautious on your way. If you think that what I say is false, on your way to Nelliñje, you will see white stone berries and Kōṭi Baidya's palanquin, and hear the sound of the war-drum."[2]

1. *I. A.* XXIV. p. 243.
2. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 41.

rice and paddy from all the villages. They fastened the ropes and made straight a small mast. They said the wind was coming, and raised the silken sail''.[1]

The description of a vessel given in the above long passage may be taken to be a fair example of a Tuḷuva ship. The method of getting together the neighbouring fisherfolk and Māpiḷḷas, and the remarkable spirit of good-will revealed in the above Pāḍadāna on the occasion of the building of a ship still prevails in Tuḷuva today.

In addition to work in chunam, sugar, cocoanut coir, and ship-building, the Tuḷuvas had recourse to another industry. This was the manufacture of and trade in liquor. On reaching the house of Payya Baidya, that lay between the rival principalities of Pañja and Eḍambūru, Kōṭi and Cennaya called loudly Payya by name three times. His wife answered only for the second call, and coming out for the third, said, " He is not present. He is gone to draw toddy from the *kadamba* and date trees in the forest called Sanka (Sanka *male*) in the east''[2] This is the same tree which has become memorable in history because of its connection with the origin of the Kadambas of Banavase. It is called in Tuḷu *īndad*a *mara* and *baini*.

We may note here something about the tapping of palmyras. Sāma Āḷva, the rescuer of the Jōti Brahman girl, was a typical Tuḷuva palm-climber. In Tuḷuva

1. *I. A.* XXV, pp. 239–241.
2. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 42.

palm-climbers go early in the morning to the large palm-tree gardens, with a curved bill-hook, a dry gourd and a climbing rope twisted into a ring which they place round their ankles which are protected by small pieces of leather, and begin tapping the tender cocoa-nut shoots with a polished stone. Sāma Āḷva went in a like-manner to the forest of the Parimaḷe Ballāḷa. "On a certain day he went to the forest as usual, and tied the camel to a tree; and with his knife and dry gourd he climbed a palm-tree and took the pot containing the juice and passed it into his gourd."[1] The work of tapping is generally over late in the afternoon, although in some towns the tappers usually climb the cocoanut trees in the evening. In an earlier section it has already been noted how important this industry was to the establishment of the Ballāḷa.

Another industry in which the Tuḷuvas were, as they are, proficient was masonry. The statue of Gomaṭa at Kārkaḷa, the Jaina bastis of Mūḍubidri and the temples of Kollūru and Kadri, to mention only a few, are examples of the architectural skill of the people. The Pāḍadāna of *Kalkuḍa* is a panegyric on the architectural ability of the Tuḷuvas.

No mention of the industries of Tuḷuva can be complete without an account of the manufacture of hats and umbrellas. The heavy rains of Tuḷuva necessitate the manufacture of hats and umbrellas of

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1. *I. A.* XXV, p. 295.

verandah. The Ballāḷa sent a man to bring some medicine from a physician named Barma, living in the village of Sañje Mañje. Kōṭi cut the whole of the enemy to pieces and brought the battle to an end."[1]

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1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 89.
2. *Ibid*, p. 41, op. cit.

6. AMUSEMENTS

The Tuḷu people were fond of manly games. Among the various games mentioned in the Tuḷu Pāḍadānas, the following deserve some special notice: cock-fighting, buffalo-racing, the game of cashew nuts, *palle* berries, cocoanuts, and *yeṭṭu.*

The game of letting cocks fight against one another seems to have been an ancient pastime of the Tuḷuvas.[1] " Dugganna Kāver of Ekkār and Timmaṇṇatikāri of Tibēra were noted for their skill in cock-fighting and their knowledge of bullocks. In the month of Bēse, following that of Paggu, they passed the village called Ekkaraparāra, taking with them two hundred and thirty spurs, four or eight cocks, and about thirty or fifty men."[2] How Dēre Baidya went to the field where this game was held has already been seen. In Tuḷu the game is called *kōrikaṭṭuni* and *kōrida-jūju.*

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1. Read Saletore, *QJMS*. XVII, pp. 316–327.
2. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 91.

The Ballāḷa of Mardāḷ, who intended to propitiate the *bhūta* Pañjurḷi, got together carpenters and workmen in order to build a *sthāna*. To pitch upon a place, he had, as we have already seen, to go and consult the Brahman astrologer. "The next day, being Friday, when the sun arose and came above the horizon to about a man's height, carpenters came to the Ballāḷa with their axes, ready to fell trees, and stood before him with clasped hands. Then the Ballāḷa said to them—'O Carpenters! Are you come? Sit down in the verandah, I will come shortly.' So saying he ordered a big pot to be filled with water, and taking the water and four *seers* of jaggery and four sugar-canes, and twenty tender cocoanuts with him, the Ballāḷa called the carpenters to him and went with them to the forest; and seeing good trees asked the carpenters and got them felled at their suggestion. After the trees were felled, the Ballāḷa and the carpenters being exposed to the hot sun became thirsty, and felt as if saffron powder had been put into their eyes, and began to breathe hard. Then the Ballāḷa gave to each carpenter one tender cocoanut and one pot of water and a quarter *seer* of jaggery."

When they had thus refreshed themselves, they again fell to their work, and before the sun went down, got ready planks and posts for the sawyers who were to come on the next day. "In the meantime", the story continues, "the sun set and it became dark. Then all of them went out of the forest and took their way home.

After they (had) reached the *būḍu*, the Ballāḷa gave to the carpenters their *batta* which consisted of rice, cocoanuts, salt, tamarind, chillies, curry-stuff, and onions, and everything else they needed, and ordered them to come earlier on the next day, and sent them away."[1] And afterwards "the sawyers were called and the work was given on contract. And they were told to do the work quickly and finish it in fifteen days."[2]

Those who carried loads on their heads were paid in the following manner. The Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe sent Dēyi Baidyedi home loaded with presents. "While they were yet far off, Sāma Āḷva's sister recognized her son and daughter-in-law and called her sons and said—'Look at Dēyi Baidyedi! When she went from among us, she went alone. Now, when returning many bearers with infants, cradle, and cow and calf, are accompanying her!' 'Yes,' said they, 'fortune is smiling upon us'. So saying they came to meet Dēyi Baidyedi. Afterwards Dēyi Baidyedi told her husband to go to the garden and fetch large young cocoanuts to distribute them among the coolies who had brought the cradle, and when he had brought them, she gave two to each cooly, and said—'You must be tired with bringing my loads in the hot sun. You must be very thirsty; therefore, drink of these tender cocoanuts.'" Afterwards she brought rice and gave them rice at

1. *I. A.* XXVI, pp. 62–63.
2. *Ibid*, p. 65.

and he who owns two only, may, if he pleases, send them to us, or he may send them to Buddyanta ".[1]

The sowing of seeds and the planting of a plantain tree in the field were the next two important items in their programme. " Then they (*i. e.*, the brothers) caused the buffaloes to be washed and boiled rice to be served to them. They also caused fodder to be served to those who were willing to eat it, and supplied tender cocoanuts to those who would not take fodder. To the coolies they said—' Go home in enjoyment '. Then they brought some seed in baskets to their fields for sowing them; while Buddyanta had his seed carried to his fields in a palanquin. The two brothers then planted a plantain tree in their fields and sowed them and returned home ".[2] This description holds good of a *kambaḷa* in Tuḷuva even today.

Another well known game in which Kōṭi and Cennaya excelled was that of the *palle* berries (or the large beans of *entada monastachya*). They asked their uncle how they could play that game without the necessary requisites, and then Sāyana told them thus—" O my children! You know how to play but you do not know the toys. Go to the bank of a river, and get round and heavy stones. Go to the bushes and get some *palle* berries; a basket full of them. Go to the thorny shrubs, and get some *kaniñja* berries. Go to the prickly shrubs for *kȧdeñjekai* berries. Go to the reeds,

1. & 2. *I. A.* XXIII, 33.

and get some bundles of their canes. Go to the bell-metal smith and get some small bell of bell-metal. Go to the blacksmith, and get a shield for your dagger called *Rāma kenguḍe.*" "They all got the toys in three days, which ordinarily required about twelve days to make ".[1]

Flat stones were in constant demand for the games in ancient Tuḷuva. There was, for example, the game of stones and cashew nuts called together by the name *yeṭṭu* which has been thus described by Burnell :— A small circle is described on the ground and cashew nuts are put down by the boys, each putting down a certain number. The players strike at the nuts from a certain distance with a flat piece of stone. When a player succeeds in driving the nuts out of the circle he wins them. If one fails to hit the nuts, the next boy strikes, and if he hits, he is allowed to strike till he fails in hitting one. Every player has the right of striking at the nuts till he fails in hitting. So one by one strikes at them, and when all are driven out and the circle is cleared, the players put down the nuts again. The nuts which are placed within the circle are called *pieci*, and the flat piece of stone is called *palle.*[2]

Another purely indigenous game was called the *palli* and *kuṭṭi*. It is referred to in the Pāḍadāna on *Koḍadabbu.*[3] The youth Koḍadabbu is said to have been

1. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 143.
2. *Ibid*, XXV, p. 309, n (38).
3. This long and interesting Pāḍadāna has not yet been published. One version of it is with me. It is a Pāḍadāna of the Holeyas. B. A. S.

coats. On the death of Dēyi Baidyedi at the hands of her rival physician, Birmaṇṇa Baidya, according to one version of the story, the Ballāḷa handed over the little twins to the charge of their uncle Sāyana Baidya. The children grew up into little boys, and one day "they saw Buddyanta's children playing with cashew nuts; and when they saw this, they went to Sāyana Baidya and asked him to give them some cashew nuts, and also implements for the game. He gave them trousers and coats, and had a horn blown in their honour."[1]

The rivalry that began on the play-ground lasted till the end of their lives. Buddyanta and his children could never tolerate the rising of Kōṭi and Cennaya to fame and power. Once while playing with cashew nuts and berries, Buddyanta's wife snatched away the berries from the hands of the twin brothers and beat them. They went crying to their uncle Sāyana Baidya. "Oh! Uncle! Buddyanta's wife took away our berries by force and beat us," said Cennaya. "You did not listen to my advice," said Sāyana. "As she took the berries by force, they belong to her now; but Uncle Sāyana, where is that which the Ballāḷa presented to our mother?" asked Kōṭi and Cennaya. They were, of course, referring to the grant of land made by the Ballāḷa.[2] Their uncle told them that there were two divisions of a *kambaḷa* at Handioṭṭibail, and that to get further information, they had to go and see the Ballāḷa person-

1. *I. A.*, XXIII, p. 29.
2. *Ibid*, XXIV, pp. 120, 150.

ally. "The Ballāḷa has got his face shaved and looks well, there is hair on our faces. We will not go as we are to see such a handsome face," said they. "Children, take *pancoḷi* betel leaves from a vine on an arecanut tree and *mundoḷi* from a vine on a mango tree. Dress yourselves with *kāyeri karpoḷi* clothes, put these betel leaves into a cloth and go to the *būḍu*," said their uncle.[1] On presenting oneself before such an august personage like the Ballāḷa one had, therefore, to use a special dress.

An ordinary man, however, wore simpler dress. To him the singular Tuḷuva head-covering made from an arecanut bark, sandles for the legs, and a cloth round the waist, with a small shawl thrown across the shoulders was enough to ward off the roughest weather. The *bhūta* Bobbariye wanted a large *sthāna* at Mūḷūru, and so he went there. He wanted to make himself known to the people which he did by digging a well called Māyadanga with the help of a thousand coolies. He disappeared in it but not before an unfortunate Pongaḍa had seen him. Bobbariye took a promise from the Pongaḍa that the latter would not inform any one of the former's disappearance. But the Pongaḍa broke his word and Bobbariye punished him by sinking "him in a lotus tank for seven nights and eight days. Then the family of the Pongaḍa searched for him and called aloud, and collected a hundred people of Mūḷūru. All of them together prayed for him." Then the areca-

1. *I. A.* XXIV, pp. 120, 150.

leaf head-covering was found in a lotus tank, and they saw the marks of his feet descending into it but not ascending.[1]

The arecanut head-covering was a special feature of the Tuḷuva dress. The richest as well as the poorest wore it. "Śāyana Baidya went to the Ballāḷa, who was sitting in his hall with great enjoyment. He had a hat of arecanut shell ornamented with a crest of peacock's plumes. On his head were garlands of jassmine flowers and of the flowers called *ketaki*."[2] In the Pāḍadānas the Ballāḷa is always represented, while in state, to have worn the jassmine flowers and an arecanut spathe on his head.

Warriors too wore this arecanut head-dress. After passing a happy time at the *būḍu* of the Ballāḷa, Kōṭi and Cennaya thought of going out to play. The Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe encouraged them in this, and their uncle Ṣāyana Baidya being sent for, they were taken back to their native place called Erajha. So Sāyana took them to Erajha. When he left the *būḍu* it was known to Ellūr Abbe of the Cāvaḍi, and as the children were leaving the *būḍu*, Ellūr Abbe saw them. She took off her *padumarekke* girdle of silver and presented it to them. "She brought a hat of parrot-colour for Kōṭi Baidya, and a hat of the colour of the *pudu* bird (pigeon) for Cennaya. She had them dressed in these, and presented them by her own hand with a dagger called *Rāma kenguḍe*."[3]

1. *I. A.* XXV, p. 241.
2. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 32.
3. *Ibid*, XXIV, p. 142.

Warriors besides carrying swords by their side, putting marks of sandal paste, and dressing themselves in silken robes from Kāvūru, used to wear ear-ornaments too. Cennaya and Kōṭi before going to battle put on marks of sandal paste, and opened the box and took a black silken cloth from Kāvūru, and a signet ring from a curved box, and put it on. They put jewels in their ears and a thick cloth on their shoulders.[1] With very poor people, however, the arecanut head wear serves a double purpose : as a protection for the head and as a cup wherewith to drink water.

The Pāḍadānas also contain notices of the dress of women. In the contemptuous letter written by the Ballāḷa of Pañja to his rival the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru, the former said how the latter being a weakling in the charge of the two heroes, Kōṭi and Cennaya, who had killed the great wild hog, was only fit to dress himself in the robes of a woman when the day of battle would come. The Ballāḷa of Pañja wanted the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru to send him the two brothers thus—"When you send them, let them stand up to fight. When they stand up, let the Ballāḷa leave off male customs and let him dress as a female ; let him put two cocoanut shells for his breasts ; let him put on a small jacket, let him tie his hair into a knot, let him put collyrium on his eyes ; let him put a *sirā* (*sārī*) round his middle, let him be dressed with flowers." Thus ran the letter.[2]

1. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 270.
2. *Ibid.*

As regards the jewels worn by the women of Tuḷuva, we have their specimens in the description given of Kalkuḍa's sister Karluṭṭi who, desirous of seeing her brother's face after twelve long years, started from Kellata Mārnāḍ, her native place, to the north in search of him. She prepared a meal for her brother, "tied it in a leaf, and combed her hair, putting a chaplet of pearls on her head. She put jewels on her neck and in her ears; jewels called *vate* and *koppu*; coloured garlands, copper rings; jewels called *calaki* on her hands; silver rings called *pilli-menṭi* on her toes. She put collyrium on her eyes and a mark on forehead. She tied round her waist a black cloth and she put on a green jacket. With all these things did she dress herself."[1]

5. WAR

To the Tuḷuva women must be attributed in some measure the spirit of struggle which characterized the Tuḷuvas of early and mediaeval times. When the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe had sent for Dēyi Baidyedi, she was in a very precarious condition. "On leaving the Ballāḷa's house (Dēyi) walked by the sides of the paddy fields and began to feel the pangs of child-birth, little by little. She stood on the road, clasping a cocoanut tree bearing fruit of a red colour and dropped tears. At this time one Buddyanta came up, and on coming up he said 'Oh my mother! O Billavar girl! Is it the

1. *I. A.*, XXV, p. 224.

overflow of blood in your veins? Or is it the pride of wealth (that makes you stand thus)?' Dēyi replied—'If I have done this out of pride, I shall suffer hardship. If out of trouble, the children that shall be born of me will relieve me of it.'[1] And a heavy penalty did the poor wiseacre, Buddyanta, pay, indeed, for his insolence. Dēyi Baidyedi's twins, the redoubtable Kōṭi and Cennaya, as we have a ready seen, twisted his neck and placed his dead body to guard over his own fields. And the woman whom Buddyanta had taunted was no other than that Jōti Brahman girl whom Sāma Āḷva had rescued in the great forest of Parimaḷe. Life in a Billavar household had, indeed, made her a proud Billavar woman.

In the Pāḍadānas some warlike people are mentioned. Thus the kind-hearted Brahmaṇ astrologer, as we have already seen, had warned Kōṭi and Cennaya that they would have to fight against certain people in the *koppu*, in the *vōṇi*, and on the plains. These were the Bākuḍers, the Koragars, and the Mogers.[2] They will figure again presently.

But heroes like Kōṭi and Cennaya carried other weapons too along with them. Before going to fight against the Ballāḷa of Pañja, they took a little rice-water and made preparations for going out to battle with all the weapons of war. "They each put on a necklace on his body; they ornamented their waists

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 29.
2. *Ibid*, p. 41, op. cit.

with girdles; they put golden necklaces on their bodies, they tied turbans of the colour of parrots and pigeons on their heads; they mounted a palanquin; they armed themselves with their dagger, equal to that of Rāma's."[1]

Armed thus they went to their protector, the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru, who, in order to test them, asked them whether they were men who could save his kingdom or bring ruin upon it. "In the upper-storey of your mansion there is a *mura* of sessamum seed. Please order that to be given to us," said the brothers in reply. The Ballāḷa ordered his servants to hand over the *mura* to the heroes. "The elder brother, Kōṭi, then showed the dexterity of his hand; when he had showed it, the seeds flew up in the air in powder as fine as red turmeric. Then the Ballāḷa said—'I have thus seen your skill; now I want to see the skill of your brother, Cennaya.' 'O my lord,' said Cennaya, 'your swinging cot has four iron chains. Please order one of them to be given to me.' 'Can iron be cut by a weapon of iron?' said the Ballāḷa. 'If iron cannot be cut by iron, will one man be able to slay another?' said Cennaya. 'If this be so, will the chain be refused to you?' said the Ballāḷa. And he ordered one of the chains to be given to Cennaya. When the latter showed his skill, all the four chains fell in pieces."[2] It is heroes of this type that the Tuḷuva people remember with pride and admiration.

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1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 88.
2. *Ibid.*

Besides swords and arrows, the Pāḍadānas also mention guns. The reference to guns, however, is of a more recent date. But there seem to have been some people, who are supposed to be traditional manufacturers of gunpowder. The gun is mentioned in the Pāḍadāna *Kōṭi Cennaya*. On the way through the great forest of Kemmuḷe, a Brahmaṇa priest demurred to offer *pūjā* on their behalf to the god. 'You had better see us perform a *pūjā* with an upright heart!', said the heroes, and stood with bent heads on a flat stone and prayed. "Let a drum be tied to an arecanut tree and another drum hung on an areca-tree, and let all the musical instruments be heard! Let the sound of a horn and of a gun be heard! Let a torch that has been extinguished burn again! Let a golden plate be placed at the door!" The Brahmā *bhūta* heard their prayer and all men and women trembled.[1]

The Tuḷuvas had also war-drums. We gather this from the words of the Brahman astrologer who, as already noted, foretold the career of the two heroes. After informing them that they would meet with certain people, he continued—"Kemēr Ballāḷa of the village named Pañja keeps a watchful guard. Therefore, be very cautious on your way. If you think that what I say is false, on your way to Nelliñje, you will see white stone berries and Kōṭi Baidya's palanquin, and hear the sound of the war-drum."[2]

1. *I. A.* XXIV. p. 243.
2. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 41.

Some idea of a Tuḷuva fort can be gathered from the following words of the nephew of the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe who, when told about the angry departure of the two brothers Kōṭi and Cennaya, because of their not having received a courteous treatment at the hands of their patron, remarked thus to his uncle : "They should not be left unpursued, in their own land. We must construct a fort on the paddy field called *koḷala* and must give them battle."[1]

The Tuḷuvas gave a good account of themselves on a battle field. In the final struggle between Eḍambūru and Pañja a battle scene is thus described—" Then the five hundred men of Eḍambūru and three hundred men of Kolapāḍi, together with the Ballāḷa's son-in-law Rukku Ballāḷa, who rode on a white horse, and held a white umbrella, went forth to the battle-field. The battle was to be fought in two fields : one in which seven *seers* of rice and the other in which seventy *seers* of rice, could be sown. And Cennaya was to command the field of seven *seers*. The Ballāḷa's son-in-law, Rukku Ballāḷa, stood at a place which was separated from the battle-field by three rice-fields, in each of which thirty *seers* of rice could be sown. Before going to the battle, Cennaya said to Kōṭi, 'When, my brother, shall we again see each other's face ? ' They talked a great deal to each other and clapped their hands on their shoulders with joy. Then they advanced with their faces towards the battle-field. Cennaya went to

1. *I. A.*, XXIII, p. 38.

the field of seven *seers*, and Kōṭi to the field of seventy *seers*.

"Cennaya began the battle in the field of seven *seers*. He slew a great number of the enemy, who fell down dead, like bundles of *suggi* crop; and completely routed the enemy and thus ended the battle in that quarter. Then he came to the field of seventy *seers*, where the battle lasted seven nights and eight days, during which they tasted neither food nor drink. 'Come back, my brother, I will proceed with the battle', said Cennaya. Kōṭi answered—'O my brother, listen to me. You will not be able to stand the attack of the enemy. Wheel-fireworks are showered on our heads; quoits are hurled at our necks; our breasts receive sword cuts; and from behind are discharged showers of arrows. I know that it is your habit to do everything with the greateat circumspection, fight with the greatest caution'.

"While Cennaya was bravely fighting, Kōṭi sat down to chew betel, when Candagiḍi shot an arrow at him from behind. The arrow struck him in the lower part of the leg. He cried out—'O my brother! the cur of Pañja has bitten me from behind. If it had been a dog of high breed, it would have met me in front. Therefore, I will not look at the arrow with my eyes, and I will not touch it with my hands'. So saying he kicked the arrow back with his leg. The arrow struck Candagiḍi in the breast and he fled from his body to Kailāsa, and he was then borne to the Ballāla's

verandah. The Ballāḷa sent a man to bring some medicine from a physician named Barma, living in the village of Sañje Mañje. Kōṭi cut the whole of the enemy to pieces and brought the battle to an end."[1]

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The game of letting cocks fight against one another seems to have been an ancient pastime of the Tuḷuvas.[1] "Dugganna Kāver of Ekkār and Timmannaṭikāri of Tibēra were noted for their skill in cock-fighting and their knowledge of bullocks. In the month of Bēse, following that of Paggu, they passed the village called Ekkaraparāra, taking with them two hundred and thirty spurs, four or eight cocks, and about thirty or fifty men."[2] How Dēre Baidya went to the field where this game was held has already been seen. In Tuḷu the game is called *kōrikaṭṭuni* and *kōrida-jūju*.

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1. Read Saletore, *QJMS*. XVII, pp. 316–327.
2. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 91.

the great quarrel between the Buṇṭ children and the Billavar lads.

A game equally famous as the one mentioned above was the buffalo race. How the enmity that began with the cashew nuts developed in the *kambaḷa* field has been already dwelt upon. The *kambaḷa* as (the field where) the buffalo-race is held is known in Tuḷuva, witnesses even today a great concourse of people. The most remarkable *kambaḷa* in Tuḷuva is that which is held at Oṇḍār in the Kundāpūru taluka, and the next most famous is the *arasu kambaḷa* (the king's buffalo race) at Paḍapaṇambūru, near Mūlki. The essential idea underlying a *kambaḷa* is the thorough ploughing of the paddy fields once a year. The buffaloes that are driven in the race are not generally used for agricultural purposes. They are carefully reared, and on the day of the race brought to the field, decorated with silver trappings, amidst great pomp. To each of the buffaloes let in the field, is tied a plank called *muṭṭuna paḷāyi* nearly four feet in length, in the centre of which is a small circular piece of wood, upon which the man who drives the buffalo takes his stand. This circular piece of plank has got a small hole bored in it, and as the animal careers, the water underneath rushes up to the sky in the shape of a delightful fountain. That buffalo, or pair of buffaloes, which while running is able to send the water to the highest level, that is marked by a plantain bunch or leaves suspended above, is thought to have won the race.

There is method and etiquette on the *kambaḷa* field. In the *arasukambaḷa* of Paḍapaṇambūru, for instance, the following is the order of the buffaloes that are to come to the field :—First those of the *arasu* or king, next those of the Aikaḷabāvadakuḷu, followed by those of the Sīmantūrubāvadakuḷu, Piliyoṭṭu Parāri, Putrabāva, or Arasubaṇṭe, Pañjita *guttu*, Kubēra *guttu*, Bilikuñja *guttu*, Tarapāḍi *guttu*, Attūra *guttu*, Kolnāḍu *guttu*, Kolkaḍu *guttu*, and nearly forty other *guttus* of minor importance, too numerous to be mentioned here.[1]

In the Pāḍadānas we have some account of the *kambaḷa*. Kōṭi and Cennaya had just finished cultivating their *yeṇelu* crop. Meanwhile to choose a day for celebrating the *kambaḷa* in his field, Buddyanta was going to ask the opinion of Maṭṭi Bīra Balaya. " Tuesday was found to be an auspicious day ". The heroes too wanted to celebrate their *kambaḷa*. But out of spite, Buddyanta gave out that the astrologer had named Tuesday as the day for Buddyanta and the next day for the two brothers to sow seeds and begin ploughing. Hearing this Kōṭi addressed his younger brother thus—" You go to the lower parts, and I will go to the upper parts, in order to get the he-buffaloes and coolies. He who owns four he-buffaloes should send two to us, and two should he send to Buddyanta ;

1. *Gutta* or *Guttu* here means a household, but the original meaning seems to have been a farming contract or lease. Read, Saletore, *S. P. Life*, I, pp. 210, seq.

and he who owns two only, may, if he pleases, send them to us, or he may send them to Buddyanta ".[1]

The sowing of seeds and the planting of a plantain tree in the field were the next two important items in their programme. " Then they (*i. e.*, the brothers) caused the buffaloes to be washed and boiled rice to be served to them. They also caused fodder to be served to those who were willing to eat it, and supplied tender cocoanuts to those who would not take fodder. To the coolies they said—' Go home in enjoyment '. Then they brought some seed in baskets to their fields for sowing them; while Buddyanta had his seed carried to his fields in a palanquin. The two brothers then planted a plantain tree in their fields and sowed them and returned home ".[2] This description holds good of a *kambaḷa* in Tuḷuva even today.

Another well known game in which Kōṭi and Cennaya excelled was that of the *palle* berries (or the large beans of *entada monastachya*). They asked their uncle how they could play that game without the necessary requisites, and then Sāyana told them thus—" O my children! You know how to play but you do not know the toys. Go to the bank of a river, and get round and heavy stones. Go to the bushes and get some *palle* berries; a basket full of them. Go to the thorny shrubs, and get some *kaniñja* berries. Go to the prickly shrubs for *kadeñjekai* berries. Go to the reeds,

1. & 2. *I. A.* XXIII, 33.

and get some bundles of their canes. Go to the bell-metal smith and get some small bell of bell-metal. Go to the blacksmith, and get a shield for your dagger called *Rāma kengụḍe.*" "They all got the toys in three days, which ordinarily required about twelve days to make ".[1]

Flat stones were in constant demand for the games in ancient Tuḷuva. There was, for example, the game of stones and cashew nuts called together by the name *yeṭṭu* which has been thus described by Burnell :— A small circle is described on the ground and cashew nuts are put down by the boys, each putting down a certain number. The players strike at the nuts from a certain distance with a flat piece of stone. When a player succeeds in driving the nuts out of the circle he wins them. If one fails to hit the nuts, the next boy strikes, and if he hits, he is allowed to strike till he fails in hitting one. Every player has the right of striking at the nuts till he fails in hitting. So one by one strikes at them, and when all are driven out and the circle is cleared, the players put down the nuts again. The nuts which are placed within the circle are called *pieci*, and the flat piece of stone is called *palle.*[2]

Another purely indigenous game was called the *palli* and *kuṭṭi*. It is referred to in the Pāḍadāna on *Koḍadabbu.*[3] The youth Koḍadabbu is said to have been

1. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 143.
2. *Ibid,* XXV, p. 309, n (38).
3. This long and interesting Pāḍadāna has not yet been published. One version of it is with me. It is a Pāḍadāna of the Holeyas. B. A. S.

a master of the game. It may be described as a game played with two wooden sticks, one about two or three feet long, another five inches in length, in which the smaller is hit with the bigger ; and the winner is said to be he who is able, on striking successfully, to send the smaller one to the greatest distance on the ground.

The game called *candagiḍi*, or merely *giḍi* (hawk), is referred to in the Pāḍadāna called *Kōṭi Cennaya*. The heroes Kōṭi and Cennaya finding a man called Candagiḍi, a friend of their inveterate enemy the Ballāḷa of Pañja, hiding himself behind a wall, taunted him thus : " How many kinds of eagles are there ?", said Cennaya. " There is the red eagle, the black eagle, and the yellow eagle ", said Kōṭi. Then they asked him to show them the way to Kemēr Ballāḷa of Pañjā.[1]

The above were some of the favourite games of the ordinary people. The chieftains, however, took a keen delight in more martial pursuits. Boar-hunting was a pastime which found particular favour with the Ballāḷas of Tuḷuva. The eastern parts of Tuḷuva, where some of the prominent principalities like Pañjā, Eḍambūru, and Parimaḷe were situated, served as the best hunting grounds in the district. Hunting as a royal excursion has been eulogized in the Pāḍadānas. Even in the folk-songs of such a people like the Pombadas, who never seem to have occupied a status like that of the Billavars or the Buṇṭs, hunting is mentioned with admiration. Thus do the Pombadas sing during their marriage cere-

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 420.

mony: "That Yekkaṇa Sāle, who has built a two-storeyed palace known as the palace of seats, gave orders for going on a hunting party. The Mallāḍikāra, who has the charge of dogs, will go for hunting. They say that we should go to the forest called Mannapaikuḍi or Hill of Mud, a forest as yet never entered by man for hunting. They say that we should go to those depths for spreading our nets, where never before man fished. They have made a way for the hunting party to go. Yekkaṇa Sāle is the man who does all this."[1]

The status of a Ballāḷa's establishment depended, among other things, on the number of hunting dogs he maintained, and the hunters he had under him. When Kōṭi and Cennaya reached the territory of Eḍambūru, they found the land covered with forests. "We had only heard up to this time that the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru was a very poor king; and that his kingdom was in a very bad condition. Now, we actually see it. In this country, there is no practice of hunting. There are no great festivals, nor the sport of driving he-buffaloes in the fields. The food that we eat is like an anchor in our hearts, suspended by the chain of the water that we drink. Our clothes do not become dirty and our dagger gets rusty," so spake the brothers to one another.[2]

Meanwhile the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru had sent spies to see what his new guests were saying about him.

1. Saletore, *I. A.* LVII, pp. 21-21.
2. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 48.

When he found that they held him in utter contempt for having kept his land in a state of decadence, he at once " caused letters to be written to those who lived in remote countries ; and to the people of the town, he caused a proclamation to be made by the beat of a bell-metal drum, that there should assemble in the town every male who had a tuft of hair on his head ; every one of the tribe called Kolkars with a stick in his hand; every hunter having a pistol ; the bowmen of the tribe called Mugers ; two hundred men of Eḍambūru and three hundred of Koḍapāḍi. Accordingly all the people assembled. The two brothers living in Ekkaḍka Erryangaḍa were then sent for. When they came into the Ballāḷa's verandah, the Ballāḷa ordered them to accompany him to a hunt".[1]

But they wanted hunting dogs which could be secured only on the Ghats. So " it was necessary to write a letter to one Kaṇḍa Buḷēri, living in a spot called Karmisāle in the town of Ijjya on the Ghats",[2] to bring with him twenty or twenty-four dogs, including twelve of those always kept bound. The messenger was one Bagga. And the hunter, whose popular designation was Mallōḍigāre (Mallāḍikāra) hurried at once to the low country of Tuḷuva, with four splendid dogs called Kāḷu (that was served with a rice of a black sort), Taṇḍu (that was given broken rice and bran), Boḷḷu (that received green rice) and Kāgu (that ate a coarse kind of

1 & 2. *I. A.*, XXIII, p. 85.

rice). And with the dogs and the hunters by his side, the Ballāḷa of Eḍmbūru went on a hunting expedition.

"The people of the whole town went to the chase, and the Ballāḷa's son-in-law Rukku Ballāḷa rode on a white horse. After meditating for some time what forest they should enter, they at last surrounded the forest called Sanka in the east. They threw stones on the bushes and held the dogs in the slips. They entered the forests, but although they hunted a long time, they were not able to find either deer or wild hog. They then resolved to enter the forest overgrown with the plants called *simulla*. They surrounded it, as they had done the first, threw stones on the bushes, and held the dogs in the slips. The deer, the hare, and the wild hog did not come out of the bushes. Thus the chase proved quite useless. Now they resolved to hunt from the place called Anekallāvu to Tuppekallāvu, and surrounded the latter place. All the most prominent places were occupied by the best hunters. They threw stones on the bushes, and in a pit as deep as the height of man they found the king of pigs, a little smaller than an elephant and bigger than a horse. It suddenly sprang out of the pit and grunted aloud and went straight to where Kōṭi Baidya was standing. Its grunt, when its hair was standing on end, was like the roar of thunder. Its tusks, when it ground them, shone as bright as lightening. Kōṭi was now in a strait. He could not fly from the beast without bringing a stain upon his heroism, and he

could not fight with it without risking his life. In this strait he prayed to the *bhūta* Brahmara of Kemmuḷe, craving his help. He set an arrow to his bow, and discharged it with such great force that it entered the body of the mouth and came out from it through the anus. The cries of the beast were heard in the three worlds, and its groans resounded through the four worlds ".[1]

A more proficient sportsman was the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe, whose great hunt we shall describe when dealing with the household of a Tuḷuva chieftain. On receiving a pair of racing buffaloes as a present from Sāma Ālva, the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe thanked the Baidya, and then informed him that there would be a hunting party soon. With the Ballāḷa of Parimale there was a definite time for hunting. " Oh, Sāma Āḷva, in a few days, during the months of Kanyā, I wish to go on a hunt." The Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe was a master of the game. Although he had a Mallō (*i. e.*, a Mallāḍikāra) by his side, yet he himself led the hunting expedition. It was while chasing a beast that a thorn pierced his leg and that he fell senseless down. And this it was that had made him send for Dēyi Baidyedi, whose marriage had just then been celebrated with the aid of Sāma Āḷva's royal master.

7. MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

Man to some extent performed the work of beasts of burden. The most popular vehicle carried on man's

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 86.

shoulders, as given in the Pāḍadānas, was a sort of a hammock called in Tuḷu *mañcil*. Kōṭi and Cennaya after having finished their toilet at the hands of the expert barber from the Ghats, "next got into a palanquin of the colour of parrots, and each of them tied to the waist a dagger like that of Rāma".[1] They were on their way to the Ballāḷa's palace. The *mañcil* was carried by the Bōyis on their shoulders.

Ferry-owners were people of some consequence in early times. They were called *kartus*, and they controlled large villages and sometimes even a town. The Pāḍadāna of *Jārantāya* has the following—"One Tuesday at noon, the hero Jārantāya came to the Atrel ferry, riding on a white horse and holding a white umbrella. He ordered the ferryman, Kanya, to bring the ferry boat. The ferryman replied: 'The boat does not belong to me. I am not to get my fare; the boat has been kept by one Bermaṇe (Brāhmaṇa) Kōṭe Baḷer for crossing the river on Tuesdays and Sundays!'" Thus did Jārantāya get into the boat in which he murdered the boatman.[2]

It is evident, therefore, that the Tuḷu people had definite days for ferrying persons across rivers. The Pāḍadāna of *Koḍadabbu* confirms our surmise about the ferry-owners. When Kaccūru Māldi, the mother of Koḍadabbu, crossed a place called Baḍaberamuṇi, and

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 82.
2. *Ibid*, p. 91.

visited god Maheśvara in Bārakūru, she came to the ferry of Bārakūru. Seeing no boats in the river, she cried—"Why is it you have not got boats tied in a pair and ready, O ye men!" When the boatmen heard these words, they sent for the captain of the boats called Tambu Marakala.[1]

Kartus or ferry-owners are often mentioned in the Pāḍadāna of *Kaṇapāḍitāya*. A younger brother and an elder brother having had some difference of opinion with each other, at last thought of going to the *kartu* or ferry-owner of Mangalore. Riding on white horses and having white umbrellas over their heads, "they passed the *barke* of Pañjipāḍi and ascended the hill called Aḍḍadaṇḍa. They came to a place named Sararsīme in the village of Mogernāḍ. They came to Payyayyi of Pāṇemoger, and passed the pleasure garden in Baṇṭa-vāḷa. They passed a banyan tree on the bank of the river at Aindalpaṭṭa in the village of Ambadāḍi. They passed the spot Pilipañjar and Uḷavattu in Tumbe. They passed the temple of Varadeśvara and the *guḍicāvaḍi* at Mañjabīḍu. They passed the tank called Gujjaṛa-kedu (and) arrived at last at Mangalore." And the *kartu* (master) of Mangalore saw them and questioned them why they were travelling southwards. And the brothers said that they had quarrelled with one another, and that one of them was going to a country where his eyes could not see and his ears could not hear.[2]

1. *Koḍadabhu*, op. cit.
2. *I. A.* XXIII, pp. 92–93.

The rivers had sometimes bridges of ropes built over them. On their way to Eḍambūru, Kōṭi and Cennaya led by Cennaya of Eḍambūru, approached the *guḍi* of the *bhūta* Brahmara. The very name of the *bhūta* caused terror in the heart of Cennaya of Eḍambūru who, imagining the heroes to be as great cowards as himself, warned them not to proceed further but to sit under a trunkless *śānti* tree. "They crossed a bridge of ropes and reached the place and came to the yard of the *guḍi*" of the *bhūta* Brahmara.[1]

These *bhūtas* protected the people against thieves. It is interesting to observe that the mention of robbers occurs only once or twice in the Pāḍadānas. This is how the *bhūta* Pilicāmuṇḍi was introduced in the village of Tumbe. "A man named Mañju Pañja obtained a piece of land called Tumbejalajanana, and cultivated one crop on it. Depredations committed by thieves became very great, till not even a single tender cocoanut remained on the cocoanut trees. The paddy stored in the yards did not remain and there was no paddy in the rice-fields. Mañju Pañja told his eldest daughter that he would introduce a *bhūta* that would be able to put all the thieves to death, and that he would go to the kingdom of Bāloḷi." He thence went to the kingdom of Bāloḷi, and requested the Ballāḷa to come to his aid. "What *bhūta* shall I give you?" said the Ballāḷa. "There is the *bhūta* Pilicāmuṇḍi worshipped by you.

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 47.

Give him to me ", said Mañju Pañja, and he give three hundred pagodas to the treasury of the Ballāḷa.[1]

But nowhere else in the Pāḍadānas did the tenants of the Ballāḷas buy a *bhūta* at such a high price. For, as will be narrated hereafter, the Ballāḷas of Tuḷuva were capable of maintaining peace in the land. This is best seen in the story of the wanderings of Karluṭṭi. She, as we have seen, desired to meet her brother, the famous architect, once again after a long absence. While the brother was working at Yēṇūru (Vēṇūru), his sister, who thought that he was away on the Ghats, said to herself at Kallata Mārnāḍ, her native place—"Twelve years have passed since my brother went away, and since then I have not seen my brother with my eyes, and I have not heard of my brother with my ears. My arms ache for want of clasping him. My eyes are weak from not seeing him. I will go and search for my brother. I will find him wherever he may be."[2]

Then taking with her some food for herself as well as for her brother, "She started and met with a good omen. She passed by a water course at Atka (Aḍka) and went to Bēlūr. When the people of Bēlūr told her that her brother had gone to Belgoḷa, she went to Belgoḷa, where again she was informed that he was away at Yernāḍ. She went there and then again she was told that Kalkuḍa was in the Nāḍ. From Nāḍ she went to Nagar and thence to Kollūru and Peddūra, and on to

1. I. A. XXIII, p. 95.
2. *Ibid*, XXV, p. 224.

Kārkaḷa through Ubār (Uppinaṅgaḍi), until she arrived at Yēṇūru."[1] It was a long distance, indeed, which the determinate daughter of Sambu Kalkuḍa traversed to find out the whereabouts of her brother, the celebrated architect of Tuḷuva. And in the course of her wanderings, especially within the limits of Tuḷuva, no robber waylaid her and no shop-keeper cheated her.

One of the reasons why there was security on the public roads in early times in Tuḷuva was due to the fact that roads were studded with rest-houses in which kind-hearted men were stationed. The Brahman, for example, who gave Kōṭi and Cennaya food and drink, as we have already seen, was one of such rest-house keepers. These rest-houses were called *kaṭṭe* in Tuḷuva. The ordinary *kaṭṭes* were different from *dharma-kaṭṭes*. We infer this from the conversation that took place between the Brahman and the two brothers. The latter found that he had three kinds of drinking cups—one for giving water to aristocats and princes, another, a smaller one, for Brahmans, and third one of bell-metal for people of all castes. They remonstrated that they would not drink from a cup which had been handled by a thousand people. They then asked him to pour water on the dagger's point. But when the Brahman saw the shining steel, his knees gave way under him and he fell down senseless. "Kōṭi asked of the people—'Is this water put here by yourselves or by the permis-

1. *I. A.* XXV, p. 225.
2. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 152.

sion of the king' ? " Kōṭi himself was not sure whether it was a *dharma-kaṭṭe* or one owned by a private person, although before they had approached the rest-house, he had spoken to his younger brother thus—"See here, brother, there is the spot named *dharma-kaṭṭe.* If you look towards it, you can see it, and your call can be heard there. A poor Brahman keeps holy water here."[1]

The story of Koḍadabbu furnishes us with an example of an ordinary *kaṭṭe.* " With Kodaṅge Bannāre in front, Babbu walked on the road that led to the house of the Mangalore Uḷḷaya, Buddyanta. And they neared the Mañjananda-*kaṭṭe.*"[2] It was evidently a rest-house that was maintained by a person called Mañjananda.

The beasts of burden of early times which figure in the Pāḍadānas are the elephant, the horse, the ox, and the camel. With the Ballāḷas and person of high rank, the elephants were common. Aḍūru Baidya on his way from Kāpi (Kāpu) to Purāl, " passed the *aśvattha* tree to which they tie elephants ", and " the little banyan tree to which they tie horses".[3] In the story of the *bhūta* Mūḍader (Kāḷabhairava), the *bhūta* is represented to have " descended from the temple of Somanātha (Someśvara) and passed by nine tanks, and then he came to a palace at Ullāḷa. Here he saw one Canta who had two riding elephants to ride."[4] The Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru sent a man to the two brothers with these words :—" If you defeat in battle an elephant, a horse,

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 40.
2. *Koḍadabbu,* op. cit.
3. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 19.
4. *Ibid,* XXIII, p. 189.

and an army, too, I shall give you a *mura* of rice." The heroes in the court of Eḍambūru, therefore, had to fight against elephants. "They went to the Ballāḷa and saluted him. Five hundred elephants were loosed to fight with the heroes of Eḍambūru." "If you come with justice, I will show you the road to my heart, but if you come with injustice I will cut you to pieces like bees", said Cennaya. A troop of horses was brought out to them but Cennaya mounted on a horse and killed it by pressing it so that it vomitted up its food.[1]

In the above description we have just seen how horses were tied to banyan trees. Bīra Kalkuḍa, being called a bastard, determined to find out who and where his father was. So "he started from his house and passed by a water-course, a high hill, a Brahman (?) tree, where an elephant was tied, a small banyan tree, *santandaḍka*, a stream, Kokkaḍa, and Nīreñki, and come to a cool platform round a *saroḷi* tree". Meanwhile his father after having finished the great work entrusted to him by the king of Belgoḷa, returned home laden with presents, and the father and son met near the *saroḷi* tree. "His father being much tired sat with his rewards to take rest on the platform and there the boy tied up his horse."[2]

In addition to the horse there was the camel in Tuḷuva. The very fact of a camel having been used

1. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 267.
2. *Ibid*, XXV p. 222.

in Tuḷuva shows that the people had some sort of an overseas trade with those who reared this animal. How the Parimaḷe Ballāḷa presented Sāma Āḷva with a camel to carry the heavy load of liquor home, we have already mentioned in an earlier context.

8. SOURCES OF REVENUE

And now it remains to be seen why the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe gave his privileged toddy-drawer such a valuable present. When Sāma Āḷva had finished celebrating the marriage of his nephew with Dēyi Baidyedi, the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe said that he intended to give him (Sāma Āḷva) a present after the marriage of his nephew. "Sāma Āḷva said—'O Sir, everything we enjoy is on account of your bounty. Then why should you give us a present?'. At this the Ballāḷa said—' As you are my friend, the palm-elimber of my forest, therefore, I ought to give you a good present '. At this, Sāma Āḷva said—' The rice and the salt we eat is yours. What need is there that you should give us any present?' But the Ballāḷa, not minding these words, called his accountant and told him to go and bring twelve pagodas. He brought and gave them to the Ballāḷa, who called Sāma Āḷva, and gave him the twelve pagodas. Sāma Āḷva stretched forth his hands, bowed his head, and took the pagodas, and thanked the Ballāḷa for his present. The Ballāḷa said to him— ' O Sāma Āḷva, you must take these twelve pagodas, and get a golden bangle prepared out of them, and

wear it upon your waist. This is my present to you. Next year I will give you besides a golden chain to put on your wrist '. He replied—' O Sir, by your kindness alone I am living comfortably '. At this the Ballāḷa said—' You get me fifty pagodas every year for the toddy you draw out of the palm-trees of the forest of Parimaḷe. If it were not for you, I would not get so much. There is none so bold as to go to the forest. A stupid fellow will not be able to supply your place. If my tenants are rich and able to pay, I shall not become poor.' "[1]

Another important source of revenue was that derived from land. There were special fields that yielded State revenue. This is made out from the conversation that took place between the two brothers Kōṭi and Cennaya and the Ballāḷa in the latter's manorial house. The two heroes after murdering Buddyanta, went, as we have already seen, to the *cāvaḍi* or hall of the Ballaḷa of Eḍambūru in order to receive a gift from him.[2] And they spoke thus to the Ballāḷa :—" On the northern part of your house there is a paddy field producing three hundred *muras* of rice and sowing three *seers* (of paddy). Please give us that field. " " The revenue of that field is for governmental taxes. Do not ask for it ! Ask for another, children, " said the Ballāḷa. " There is a paddy field to the south of the *būḍu*

1. *I. A.* XXV, p. 303.

2. *Cāvaḍi* is also the name given to a verandah in front of a house. B. A. S.

producing five hundred *muras* of rice, and sowing five *seers* of paddy. Please, give us that one," said they. "The produce of that field is to be used for the servants of my house. Therefore, heroes, ask for another pressnt", said he.[1] Evidently there were crown lands in Tuḷuva.

A third source of revenue was from toll-gates. A continual mention of toll-gates with a description of articles taxed, makes us believe that there must have been definite octroi boundaries in the principalities of the Tuḷuva Ballāḷas. Kōṭi and Cennaya, after having killed the ploughwright and the washerman, both of whom had been impertinent to them, marched along the road chewing betelnut. "There was a toll-gate on the way, and as they approached, the toll-man Dēre saw them coming and asked them who they were. They said that they were travellers. 'Look! there is the toll-gate. Pay me the toll before going away', said the toll-man. 'Toll! What is it on? Do we carry any packs on our heads? Do you see any loads on our backs? Is it on any cattle that we have brought with us? Have we brought a whole family with us?" said the brothers. To this the toll-man Dēre answered—" The toll on the dagger, five feet long, that you carry with you amounts to a cash. Pay that to me and go away."[2] Hence,

1. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 150. The Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru given in this version is evidently an error for the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe. According to one version of the story it was the uncle of the heroes, Sāma Baidya, who advised them to go to the Ballāḷa. B. A. S.

2. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 39.

loads carried on head and on the back, cattle, and a whole family were taxed on the boundary limits. In another version of the same story, it is clearly stated thus—" Do men or women follow us, Dēre ?"[1] And Dēre's answer to the heroes reveals the fact that arms too were taxed by the Ballāḷa's Government.

The Ballāḷa derived revenue also from his great gardens. Large plantations of arecanut, plantain cocoanut, or palm trees covering some times five or six acres of land are called *tōṭa*. And the wealth of a land-lord was measured not so much in terms of cash money which the tenants paid annually but in the rice *muras* and the yield from these gardens. The Ballāḷa of Mardāḷ feeling the necessity, as we have seen already, of building a *sthāna* for the *bhūta* Pañjurḷi, thought of giving his idea a concrete shape. And with the aid of the Brahman astrologer, he fixed "the eleventh of the next month " as the most auspicious day for building the *sthāna*. " Tomorrow I will go and bring all the things required for the purpose, " said he. Early next morning he got up and went to the gardens of the Kuṇbis and going from house to house, he got from thence plantain leaves and bunches of plantains, and the tender rinds of plantain trees, and red and white pumpkins, and vegetables of various kinds, and caused them to be carried by servants and sent them to his house. And then he went to his garden and called the

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 152.

pūjāri and told him—" Oh Pūjāri, go and get a hundred ripe cocoanuts from the cocoanut trees."[1]

The servants of the Ballāḷa's Government were strict and impartial. Kōṭi and Cennaya met the toll-gate keeper Dēre whom they thus accosted:— " Never has any man set so low a price on our dagger, and now he has been born." To this the toll-gate keeper Dēre answered :—" Is it wonderful that you should be asked to pay the toll ? If the son of a Baṇṭa should pass this way, he would pay toll on the slippers of his feet. Should the Śeṭṭi's son Śēnaya pass, he would pay toll on the white umbrella in his hand. If the son of a king should pass this way he would pay toll on his palanquin."[2] The honest Dēre paid dearly with his life for his impartiality, but for once the twin heroes had met with a man who set duty above all other considerations.

Among the servants of the Ballāḷa who, as we shall presently see, maintained his authority with a judicious use of presents and punishments, the *pujāri* or priest and the accountant have already appeared. Likewise have we come across the Brahman who was in charge of the *dharma-kaṭṭe*. Besides these there were other village dignitaries—the ploughwright, the washerman, the oil-maker, and the bell-metal smith. According to one version of the Pāḍadāna on *Kōṭi Cennaya*, Eḍambūru contained all these village servants. How

1. *I. A.* XXVI, p. 67.
2. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 39.

the ploughwright Hinkiri Bāṇār, the washerman Bālu, and the oil-maker Sanku together with Dēre the toll-gate keeper suffered hardships at the hands of the twin heroes will not be repeated here.[1] The town-crier and the master of the hounds were also looked upon as prominent persons attached to the manorial house of a Ballāḷa. The town-crier made known the proclamations of the Ballāḷa to the people by the beating of a bell-metal drum; and the latter was considered as a person without whom the Ballāḷa never went on his hunting expeditions. And then there was the palm-climber whose importance we have already described. The Eḍambūru Ballāḷa seems to have had spies, too, as is evident from the manner in which he compelled Kōṭi and Cennaya to submit to a trial of strength.

9. EDUCATION

To make the Mallāḍikāra come hurrying to the palace or the barber come post-haste from Erajha, the Ballāḷa had recourse to letter-writing which is thus described in the Pāḍadānas. It is in connection with the twin heroes Kōṭi and Cennaya, who had grown into fine striplings. On receiving a complaint from them that Kali was sitting on their faces, while the faces of their rivals, the children of Buddyanta shone, because of Lakṣmī, their father Sāyana Baidya, according to one version, went straight to the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe, and reported that it was high time to have them shaved.

1. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 15.

And the Ballāḷa at once gave orders that the ceremony be performed in the same manner it was done in his own household. Forthwith the royal barber called Isara Kambḷi, living in the lands of one Kaṇḍa Bollare-svāmi, in a place called Karmisāle, in the city of Ijjyā on the Ghats, was sent for. And Nārayaṇa Rangōji, the hereditary clerk of the Ballāḷa's *būḍu*, was ordered to write a letter at once to the barber. And " Sāyana Baidya then sent a servant to a place called Uddanda-boṭṭu, and caused some raw leaves of a young palm-tree to be brought and to be exposed to the morning sun. In the evening he caused the leaves to be taken out of the sun, and had them tied up in bundles. He had the middle parts only of the leaves preserved, their ends he had cut off. The clerk held one of those trimmed leaves in his hand and it bent; so he caused oil and turmeric to be put on it. Then he asked Sāyana Baidya what he should write on it."[1]

Writing is also mentioned in the Pāḍadāna on *Koḍadabbu*. When the Uḷḷaya Buddyanta of Mangaḷūru desirous of finding out a spring in the well called Kañcinaḍka, which he had caused to be dug in the fort at Bārakūru, wanted to find out a person who could divine the nature of springs, he went to his Brahman adviser who told him that he could get aid only from a Pariah boy called Babbu, who lived with Koḍanga Bannāre in the village Uppūru. " Then he took a palmyra leaf and wrote a letter. And he sent post-haste

1. *I. A.* XXIII, pp. 30-31.

a Pariah messenger with the letter to the Yerejōgu of Koḍanga Bannāre."[1] In the same Pāḍadāna on *Koḍadabbu* we have the length of the palmyra leaf. On receiving the letter from Buddyanta of Mangaḷūru, Koḍanga Bannāre gave to the Pariah messenger, who had thus brought him a letter, " milk in a cup and water in a *cambu*". He then " read the palmyra leaf which was a *gēṇa* in length, and he read it to the length of a *māru* ".[2]

Instruction in reading and writing was received in schools called in Tuḷu *garaḍi*. The best example of a *garaḍi* is that given in the Pāḍadāna on *Kōṭi Cennaya*. It is called the *garaḍi* of Peru Perumunde. Kōṭi and Cennaya were directed to the house of Candagiḍi, the school master who owned the *garaḍi*, by Paḷḷi Bannaya. They approached Sandagiḍi's (*i. e.*, Candagiḍi's) house and called him loudly by name. "When they called him, he was not there but his wife answered the call. 'Do you know, girl, where he has gone ? " asked they. ' He went to a *garaḍi* at Peru Perumunde to teach boys to write and play,' said she".[3] We shall have to see more about this school presently.

Writing was in the primary stages taught on sand. This is how the seven children of Murave Byāri and Fātima learnt the art of writing. " They brought many a handful of fine sand from the sea-shore and put it on

1. *Koḍadabbu*, op. cit.

2. A *gēṇa* = a span from the tip of the thumb to that of the little finger ; a *māru* = a space to which a man can extend his arms. *Koḍadabbu*, op. cit.

3. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 214.

the western verandah. They wrote on sand, and learnt writing on it. They got planks. They brought short leaves of the palm-tree from Uddandaboṭṭu, put them in the sun when it was low in the east and heaped them up in the evening when the sun was dark. Next day they cut off both ends of the leaves and bound the middle parts into books. They had five handfuls of leaves, and three of written books. They clearly read the writing on the leaves and only murmured books. Their writing on sand, planks, and leaves was done well."[1]

That the Tuḷuvas knew writing in the days of Kōṭi and Cennaya there can be no doubt. This is proved by the reference made in their Pāḍadāna to a stone inscription. When Cennaya and his brother had levelled the palace of the Ballāḷa of Pañja to the ground, they caused the Ballāḷa to be brought before them, and after showering a volley of abuse on him, ended their speech thus:—"Seven feet of land in the village of Pañja we shall annex to Eḍambūru." Having thus severely reproached the Ballāḷa, they told him that they would leave the village. On one side was Pañja. and on the other was Eḍambūru, and between them was a *śilā*-stone, serving as a boundary-mark. They saw the stone, and it was covered with writing. "Look here, brother, see this writing on this stone," said the

1. *I. A.* XXV, p. 239. The name given to the iron pencil which was used for writing is *kaṇṭāvu*. No mention is made in the Pāḍadānas of *kaḍata* or cloth manufactured out of the charcoal and gum, on which accounts were written in later days. B.A.S.

younger brother. " My qualifications are only that I was born before you and that I have grown up speedily, but writing, wit, and wisdom are all your part," said Kōṭi. Then the younger brother knelt down. Was it to dig the stone? Or was it to read the writing on it? He read the writing and said to his brother thus—" O my brother! In former times, Eḍambūru was very powerful and Pañja paid tribute to Eḍambūru. Now Pañja has become powerful and Eḍambūru pays tribute to Pañja. Seven feet of the land of the village of Eḍambūru have been annexed to Pañja. Therefore it is now necessary to change the place of this stone." Having said this, he dug up the stone, and moved it seven feet back, and thus annexed seven feet of land to Eḍambūru.[1]

There is reference to sewing in the Pāḍadānas. Cennaya of Eḍambūru led the heroes to the palace of the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru. And while they were passing through the famous forest of Kemmuḷe, their guide spoke to them thus:—"He (the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru) has ordered me to take you to him I can do it; but look here, my heroes! We shall have to go through the forest of Kemmuḷe. If you see anything in that forest do not say to any one that you have seen it. If you hear anything, do not say that you have heard it. If a pregnant cow goes into the forest, it brings forth a dead calf. If a pregnant woman goes there she miscarries. If a bird able to fly goes there, its wings are

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1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 46.

torn. If a creeping ant goes there, it can creep no more. Therefore, oh you heroes, you should follow me as a child follows its mother, as chickens follow the hen, and as the thread follows the needle."[1]

The description of the ship which the enterprising children of Murave Byāri of Sulikal built proves again that the Tuḷu people knew how to tack the sails and construct an awning. Silken flags are continually mentioned in the Pāḍadānas. When Kocāḷva Ballāḷa of Nandārabeṭṭu wanted to be a patron of the *bhūta* Ambadāḍi Pañjurḷi, he spoke to it thus—"To a *bhūta*, that desires to come to me, I will not say nay. If you will cast aside your present form, and come to me, I will have a woollen couch prepared for you, and cause a silken flag to be raised. I will offer to you a pig made of bell-metal."[2]

The names of some musical instruments are given in the Pāḍadānas. When their uncle had got ready for Kōṭi and Cennaya a coat and a pair of trousers each, he had a horn (*kombu*) blown in their honour. The two heroes on reaching the house of their brother-in-law, Payya Baidya of Paḷḷi, asked him who the two most intimate friends of Kemēr Ballāḷa of Pañja were. And Payya answered in return that Cāmuṇḍa Bernāye and Candagiḍi Baidya were the most faithful friends of the Ballāḷa. Candagiḍi Baidya was the same person about whom we have already mentioned a few details. It was

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 46.
2. *Ibid*, p. 94.

his wife who had replied to the two heroes that her husband had gone to a *garaḍi* at Peru Perumunde to teach the boys to write and play.

The following was what they witnessad in the *garaḍi*. "In a small hut consecrated to the *bhūta* in the village Peru Perumunde, Candagiḍi was teaching a number of boys to play dexterously on the flute. They went towards the place. Candagiḍi saw them afar, ordered the sound of the flute to cease, and all men to be silent, and shut the door." On receiving no reply to their call, the heroes broke open the door and discovered Candagiḍi hiding behind a pillar. " I have heard that you are teaching some boys to play on the flute. Teach my brother Cennaya," said Koṭi. " I will teach him. The new comer shall be the pupil and he who was here before shall be the master ", said Candagiḍi. Then they played on the flute.[1]

In addition to the horn and the flute, there was the *pañcavādya*. In the Pāḍadāna on *Koḍadabbu* mention is made of the *pañcavādya*. The mother of Koḍadabbu, Kaccūru Māldi, travelled on and on till she reached the limits of Bārakūru. " She came to the temple of Maheśvara in Barakūru. There was the usual music (*vādya*) accompanied by the *pañcavādya* and the horn called the *sannata* and the fire-works called *sakananda*".[2] The five kinds of musical instruments were the follow-

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 44.
2. *Koḍadabbu*, op. cit.

ing—the lute, the cymbals, the drum, the trumpet, and a kind of hautboy.[1]

10. RELIGION

The Pāḍadānas do not inform us when the great religions were introduced into Tuḷuva. But one significant fact revealed in the folk-songs is that most of the *bhūtas* descended from the Ghats. This is how the story of Pañjurḷi begins—"A sow gave birth to a twin brother and sister. 'Now we must descend the Ghats! What god shall we serve? If we serve the god Sīḍalinga in the south, he will probably accept our services, but his male attendants will not allow that. If we should offer to serve the god Mahālingeśvara in the north, he may probably accept our services, but his male attendants will not let us serve him. Now there is the god Jimmappa in the east, mightier than all the gods and the *bhūtas*. He is remarkably powerful, but his male attendants will interfere. There is the god Subrāya on the Ghats. He will permit us to serve him, but his male attendants will not allow that' ". So spake Pañji Gujjare, king of the pigs, and Pañji Kāḷi, queen of the pigs.[2] In the Pāḍadāna on the acts of Kaṇapāḍitāya, the *bhūta* is represented as having "descended into the Tuḷu country

1. Mānner, *Tuḷu-English Dicty.*, p. 376. The *pañcavādya* of Tuḷuva is evidently the same as the *pañca-mahā-vādya* mentioned in Kannaḍa inscriptions. B. A. S.

2. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 21.

from the Ghats".[1] Likewise the story of the *bhūta* called Muṇḍipāḍitāya known in Kāśi as Kāḷabhairava, and Vaidyanātha, speaks of the *bhūta* as having descended into the Tuḷu country from the Ghats.[2] King Dharma after finishing his toilet at the hands of the barber Binnaḍi Kāra, said " that he wanted to descend to the Tuḷu country and see the Tuḷu people ".[3] It was this Dharma who later on became known as the *bhūta* Toḍakinār. The same wish was expressed by the two boys born in the palace at Nāgaloka and Devaloka, who afterwards became known as Attāvara Doyyonguḷu.[4]

The Tuḷuvas were aware of more humane agencies. The reference to god Subrahmaṇya on the Ghats, as we have just seen, is to a Brahman centre. And the mention of the gods Īśvara, Nārāyaṇa, and Brahmā bespeaks a knowledge of the Hindu religion. A Pāḍadāna begins thus :—"In the beginning when god Nārayāṇa created the earth, Īśvara sat on his right and Brahmā on his left."[5] We have already seen how in the question which the two brothers, Kōṭi and Cennaya, put to their guide Cennaya of Eḍambūru about the structure which lay head of them, they showed a knowledge of the temples of the Hindus and of the Jainas, and of a mosque of the Māpiḷḷas.[6]

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 92.
2. *Ibid*, p. 94.
3. *Ibid*, p. 98.
4. *Ibid*, p. 192.
5. *Ibid*, p. 15. This Pāḍadāna has no title.
6. *Ibid*, p. 47, op. cit.

The Ballāḷas seem to have naturally been influenced by Hindu customs. The spies sent by the Eḍambūru Ballāḷa to find out what the two brothers were doing, reported that Kōṭi and Cennaya were speaking very contemptuously of his government, and that, among other things, they suggested that all "the *śrāddhas* of your ancestors, which have remained unperformed should now be performed."[1]

The Tuḷuvas believed indeed in God and in Heaven, although the spirits of the dead heroes made up their lower hierarchy. When the great battle was ended, and Kōṭi lay wounded, the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru, whom the hero had saved from utter ruin, met the heroes with these words—" O great hero! You are he that saved the whole of my kingdom!" 'It is well,' said Kōṭi, 'but, my lord, pour some water into my throat that I may go to heaven. I will leave this body and go to Kailāsa' ".[2]

The only specific reference to serpent worship is in the Pāḍadāna on Koḍadabbu. Bāle Kaccūru Māldi, the mother of Koḍadabbu, was born in Kōṭeśvara in the Kundāpūru tāluka. " Once she said that she wanted to go from Kōṭeśvara (to Bārakūru). Having said that with a *naḍupadi nāga* and a *kaḍupoti berma* in her hands, and with a *mūli* of mud and a *mūli* of bronze and a *nāga-darbe* stick, she came to the south ".[3] Kaccūru Māldi was known for the many charms she could perform.

1. *I. C.* XXIII, p. 49. 2. *Ibid,* p. 90.
3. *Koḍadabbu,* op. cit.

In the Pāḍadānas the building of a *sthāna*, or as it is more popularly known a *sāna*, is always described as the work that required great pomp and trouble. To build a *sthāna* the aid of a Brahman astrologer was necessary. How fervently the Ballāḷa of Mardāḷ prayed to the Brahman to come to his *būḍu* in order to fix a day for the opening ceremony of a *sthāna*, we have seen already in an earlier connection. The same Pāḍadāna tells us how much it cost a Ballāḷa, over and above the price of building materials such as trees, stones, etc., to build a *sthāna*. The Ballāḷa of Mardāḷ after informing his nephew that he, according to the advice of the Brahman, was thinking of erecting a *sthāna* for the new *bhūta*, continued thus—" Therefore I must begin the work of building the *sthāna* next Friday. I must call the carpenters, and then begin the work. I cannot do well this without fifteen pagodas. I am, therefore, anxious not knowing what to do. What do you know of my anxiety ? "[1]

Although the Ballāḷa showed great anxiety in the matter of constructing a *sthāna* for the *bhūta* Pañjurḷi, yet he soon collected all the materials required for a *sthāna* with the aid of his tenants and friends. The Ballāḷa urged the Brahman to come to the *būḍu* and the latter consented saying—" Well, I will come. What can I do when you are so urgent ? I cannot deny you. Therefore, I will come. And I will tell you what things are necessary on the day. Twelve *seers* of rice and twelve

1. *I. A.* XXVI, p. 61.

bundles of betel-leaves, forty-eight betel-nuts, twelve bunches of the flowers of the areca-nut tree, forty-eight kinds of parasitic plants, a bundle of firewood of the jack-tree, ninety-six tender cocoanuts, ninety-six ripe cocoanuts, forty-eight grains of rice and forty-eight *seers* of baked rice, forty-eight *seers* of beaten rice, ninety-six *seers* of jaggery, twelve dried cocoanuts, one hundred plantain leaves, one hundred ripe plantains, twelve *seers* of *ghī*, forty-eight *seers* of oil, and three *seers* of butter; you must procure all these and then find out a good man to represent the *bhūta*. Let all these things be procured; and on that day send for me early in the next morning, and I will come to you. And what else can I do?" [1]

That was not all. The *sthāna* had to be equipped. The Ballāḷa of Mardāḷ "got a cot prepared for Pañjurḷi *bhūta* and got a wooden railing on three sides of it, and got it painted. Then he sent iron to the blacksmith's shop and got a trident prepared with a chain and small jingling bells attached to the three points of it; and also a sword and goglets and stool and all other necessary ornaments prepared".[2] It was when he had thus got ready all the required articles that he went to the house of the fortune-telling Brahman astrologer.

To the *bhūtas* who attended on the gods, the people performed an illumination that lasted for thirty days. "Thirty days in honour of the goddess Parameśvari of

1–2. *I. A.* XXVI, pp. 61, 66

Purāla ! Thirty days' play with bulls ! Three days' fighting with cocks ! Thirty days' play with areca-nuts, and gambling with cocoanuts ! Thirty days' festival ! Thirty days' illumination of the *guḍi* ! The ceremony of raising Viṣṇu's flag and the figure of Garuḍa ! Aḍūru Dēre Baidya intended to go ! " Thus is related in the Pāḍadāna on *Jūmādi*.[1]

The Tuḷuvas represented some *bhūtas* as destructive agents. In the Pāḍadāna on *Pañjurḷi*, the Ballāḷa of Kukyāli named Karenke, after instructing the Pombada called Kāntu, who was to personate the *bhūta*, consoles him by saying that whereas he himself would be getting only a vow from the poor, the Pombada would get a feast and a sacrifice from the rich, and that, therefore, he would do well to be a *bhūta*. "If you go to a forest you will be called a pig, but be a *bhūta*, that is, the master of a thousand people. Īśvara has given you authority to kill a man, who was to have lived twelve years more, if he had not disregarded you ! So great a *bhūta* you are ! "[2]

In Tuḷuva the man who personates a *bhūta* is a Pombada by caste. And the priest of a *bhūtasthāna* is generally a Baidyenāye (or a Billavar), the only exception being in Ekkār, near Mūlki, where the *pūjāri* is a *Vokkēlme* or a Buṇṭ. That the Tuḷuvas distinguished evil spirits from *bhūtas*, can be made out from the description of the great forest deity of Kemmuḷe,

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 19.
2. *Ibid*, XXV, p. 274.

the *bhūta* Brahmara, who in the Pādadāṇa on *Kōṭi Cennaya* is thus pictured. The brothers had finished praying to the *bhūta* and "before the words had left their lips, Brahmara had granted their prayer. The doors that had been shut opened, and the lamps that had been put out became lighted, and all their prayer was fully answered. They then prayed that the *bhūta* should descend from the seventh storey of the *guḍi*, and come down to the third, and that he should hold a golden plate in his hands, and receive their offerings. Then Brahmara descended from the seventh storey to the third, riding on a white horse. Holding a silver umbrella, he wore a garland of white conch shells on his right shoulder, and on his left, a garland of black shells. He held discus on his head and his breast was covered with a square shield."[1]

But Kāntu Pombada who acted the part of Pañjurḷi may be taken to be the type of a Tuḷuva devil-dancer, It was not enough to get painted, if, for example, a man wanted to imitate a Pañjurḷi, like a pig, or to sing the origin and prowess of a *bhūta* like a squirrel. There were many preliminaries to be got ready, there was the ceremony of getting possessed, and finally there was the dancing. And in no Pāḍadāna is the whole picture so faithfully depicted as in the story of *Pañjurḷi* in which the Ballāḷa of Mardāḷ, with the aid of the Brahman astrologer, had got everything in perfect trim, and was only awaiting the arrival of the Pombada priest.

1. *I. A.*, XXIII, p. 47.

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A Pombada Devil-dancer

Photo by M. S. R.] [Copyright

When the sun was about to set they "got the *sthāna* cleansed. And the Bhaṭṭa lit a fire for a sacrifice with firewood from the jack-tree ; and gave oblations of *ghī*, to the *bhūta* ; and gave sacrifices according to a certain number. As the sacrifices were over, the sun set ; then the devil-dancer also came. Then the Bhaṭṭa sitting before the fire took tender cocoanuts and ripe cocoanuts, and beaten-rice and baked-rice, and honey, and *ghī*, and butter, and curds, and milk, and prepared *pañcāmṛta*, and then the Bhaṭṭa took the sandal stone and rubbed sandal wood upon it and prepared sandal. Then the Bhaṭṭa called the Ballāḷa and told him—'Now take the devil-dancer yourself to the tank, and let him bathe there and come'. So saying he sent them ; and before they returned he made everything ready in the *sthāna*. And then they came and entered the *sthāna* and stood before the sacrificial fire. Then the Bhaṭṭa said—'Now be not dilatory. Give the devil-dancer the flowers of the arecanut tree and some grains of rice ; and let him stand in front of us. Give him the sword and the bell'.

"Having done so, all of them prayed—'O Lord ! if you are Pañjurḷi *bhūta* of a truth, let it become known to us in this way.' So saying all of them at once threw rice upon the devil-dancer. Then the music was played. Suddenly the devil-dancer began to tremble and cried out with a loud voice and ran round the *sthāna* and ran to the tank and bathed again, and came back and took the sword, and began to pierce his belly with

it. Then the Bāragas, who had come together in the *sthāna*, took away the sword from the hands of the devil-dancer, and prayed thus—' O Lord Pañjurḷi, if you are of truth, now you must open your mouth and speak to us. We have taken much pains to believe in you. Now you must be pleased with us and take the sacrifice which we offer, and order us and save us.'

" At this the Pañjurḷi said ' O Ballāḷa, I came down from the sky, yet I had no ladder to do it. Do you hear me ? I am he that came down without a ladder. Great magicians tried for seven days and seven nights to catch me; and yet they could not catch me, but I am to come here. Now I must go about to the great towns and see renowned places and seek for a habitation. I am come to help the men of this world. Take courage. Do not be afraid. I am very much pleased with the sacrifice which you have offered. And yet you must henceforth give me two *tambilas* every year. If you fail in this, I will give you trouble. Then you must not complain of me. Now I am very glad that I have first drunk milk in your house. In future I will help you, so that no sickness or disease attack your children or your cattle. Now bring me food ; the devil-dancer is getting very tired. I must not give (him) much trouble. Bring me all sorts of cakes and puddings and milk, and I will take my food.'

"'At this the Ballāḷa said—'O Bāragas ! Pañjurḷi has spoken well. He is the demon of truth. Bring him the food that he has asked. Let him take it.'

"'All the Bāragas hearing these words, brought food to Pañjurḷi. Pañjurḷi when he was about to take the food, asked the Ballāḷa—'O Ballāḷa! How is the *triśūla* which you have got prepared for me? I wish to see it, bring it here before me!'

"Then they brought the *triśūla* to Pañjurḷi *bhūta* and gave it to him. Then Pañjurli took the *triśūla* in one of his fingers, and said—'All of you see this; now, though the *triśūla* is so big, it is only so to you; but it is not so to me. To me this is a straw. It is not big in my eyes. And now I must see all the other ornaments which you have prepared for me!'

"At this, they brought the mask (*aṇi*) which they had prepared for Pañjurḷi and gave it to him. He saw the mask and was quite delighted with it, and putting it on his face, trembled and cried out in a loud voice, and said—'You see, the mask which you have prepared for me is very beautiful.'

"'And again he said—'Now bring the goglets!' And so the goglets were brought. In this manner they did everything; and the *bhūta* enjoyed the feast, and having finished the dedication the assembly dispersed."[1]

The good feeling that existed between the different communities is seen in the Pāḍadānas which mention how Muhammadans and Hindus lived harmoniously together. In the village of Uddara or Uddaḷa, near Manjēśvara, a great devil-dancing ceremony

1. *I. A.* XXVI, pp. 68–69. Contrast the barbarous account given by Lavie in Sturrock, *S. C. Manual*, I. p. 139. B. A. S.

is held. It is of the *bhūtas* called the Doyyonguḷu. When the *ayana* of the Doyyoṅguḷu takes place every year, it is customary for the Pombada priests to go to the mosque of the Māpiḷḷas and to assure the latter of the sympathy and support of the Hindus. This is in memory of the success which had attended the arms of a Māpiḷḷa general during the mediaeval ages when he had prayed the Doyyonguḷu for help, and when, as we have already mentioned, he presented them with grants of land.[1]

Another example of the amity that prevailed among the two communities is given in the Pāḍadāna of *Bobbarye*. In this we are told that the children of Murave Byāri determined to go on trading in a ship, as narrated in an earlier context. And with the money which they got by selling their she-buffalo, they collected some fishermen and Māpiḷḷas and went to Periyer Kaḍañjar. And when they neared the temple of Brahmā, the Byāris were brought to "a halt by the villagers." "If you are in your caste you may come into the temple yard and touch the door and then tell us what you want," said the villagers.[2] It was a remarkable privilege, indeed, which the Māpillas received at the hands of their Hindu brethren.

11. CUSTOMS AND MANNERS

The difference that existed between the customs prevalent among the Brahmans and those which were

1. Cf. Aygal, Doyyongolu, pp. 2–4. *Supra*, p. 464.
2. *I. A.* XXV, pp. 239, seq.

common among the Billavars is given in the cruel case of the young maid of the Jōti Brahman caste, who afterwards became known to Tuḷuva tradition as Dēyi Baidyedi. To the Baidya saviour who had with great respect come near her and promised to loosen her bonds, the poor girl related thus her sad story. "In that case I will tell you, hear me. If you ask me where I came from, I came from Parimaḷe. A Brahman maid is like an earthen pot. A copper pot may be touched by any one, but an earthen one must not be touched by outsiders. When a dog touches an earthen pot, it is thrown away. This is the custom among the Brahmans. If you ask my parents' names, I will not tell you. I am not married. I am a virgin maid. I am thirteen years of age. Nobody came to ask me in marriage, and as I reached puberty before marriage, they tied my hands and eyes and left me in the forest. If a girl obtains puberty before her marriage, they do not allow her to remain in the town but send her to the forest. This is the custom among the Brahmans". The Billavar hearing this custom replied–"O maid! your custom is not among other castes. Is it a sin in a girl to attain puberty before marriage? In our caste we have no such custom. We always marry after a girl attains puberty. It is very rarely that we marry before that."

Then the girl continued–"There is another custom among the Brahmans. If a little girl, still a child, should lose her husband and becomes a widow, she is

not allowed to marry again. God has created different customs for different castes."

And the startled Baidya gave her the following reply–" These Brahmans are very hard-hearted men. They do not show any mercy to their offspring. It would be better for them to kill her (a child) at once than to bring her and leave her in the forest in this manner. No other castes are so hard-hearted as the Brahmans. It seems to me that this custom is not given to you by God, but instituted by men themselves. God will never ordain that they should sacrifice young women to tigers and bears, to be devoured by them."[1]

Sāma Āḷva, who said these words, showed how humane and wise the Billavars were by giving the forlorn girl in marriage to his own nephew Sāyana Baidya. He said to his sister, the mother of Sāyana Baidya, thus–" We must celebrate a marriage. We must not do everything according to our will. We must first tell the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe. After informing him we must inform all the leaders of our caste. We must prepare all things necessary for the marriage. We must get half a *korjī* of rice prepared. We shall require oil, jaggery, cocoanuts, salt, tamarinds, coriander, and saffron, etc."[2]

But the next question was that of fixing the day of marriage. This was the work of the devil-priests. After giving them betel-leaves and betel nuts to eat,

1. *I. A.* XXV, p. 296.
2. *Ibid*, p. 298.

and a mat to sit upon, Sāma Āḷva requested them to help him as regards the celebration of the marriage. And "then the devil-priests consulted among themsleves, and said to Sāma Ālva 'You must have the marriage celebrated on the ninth day of the next month. It is an auspicious day!' Sāma Āḷva consented and said–'By that day I will have everything ready.' Then the priests asked him–'For what numbers of persons are you preparing the feast?' 'For eight hundred persons', replied he, and asked them–'Will that be enough?' They replied–'It is according to your ability. We will not constrain you.' So saying they dispersed and returned to their homes."[1]

Sāma Āḷva had in the meanwhile already got all the necessary articles ready. In this matter he had secured the aid of those persons who had come to his house to drink palm-juice. And they were the Buṇṭs, and the Koragars, the Holeyas and the other low castes. "Sāma Āḷva told the Holeyas to bring one *mura* of salt and told the Koragars to bring baskets, etc., prepared for him. When the fishermen came to his house to drink, he told them to supply him with enough fish for a marriage feast. And when the Buṇṭs came to his house, he said to them–'O ye sons of Śeṭṭis! There is to be a marriage in my house; you must do me a favour.'"[2]

The permission of the Ballāḷa had next to be secured. So the palm-climber hurried to his master's

1. *I. A.* XXV, p. 300. 2. *Ibid*, p. 298.

būḍu. The following conversation between the Ballāḷa and his privileged Baidya illustrates the cordial feelings that existed between a Tuḷuva master and his servant. "As I was starting to come here in order to tell you,' said Sāma Āḷva, 'your servant came to call me, and I have accompanied him.' On this the Ballāla said—'O Sāma Āḷva! Tell me what has happened in your house? Then Sāma Āḷva began from the beginning and related to him the whole story, and the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe said to him—'You have no daughter. Therefore, God has given you this daughter. Marry her to your nephew'.

"To this he replied—'So think I and I do according to your help'. Then the Ballāḷa said again—'Ask me whatever yo want. Do not be afraid.' Then he said—'Everything requires your help.' Then the Ballāḷa said again—'Ask me whatever you want.' Then he said—'Upto this day I have never once given a big feast. Therefore, this time I must give a feast to all my castemen in the town. If I do not, they will excommunicate me.' Then the Ballāḷa asked him—'O Āḷva! Tell me how much you require?' He replied—'Sir, I shall require half a *korjī* of rice. I want your help in this. This is the chief item.' Then the Ballāḷa said—'O Sāma Āḷva, why are you afraid? I will help you. I will give you whatever you require.' Then Sāma Āḷva replied—'It is true that you will give me this now. But must not I return it afterwards? What shall I say of a feast which is to be given by contracting

debts? Many have come to poverty and sold their lands and homes by contracting debts during marriages. If one becomes poor, the rich look down upon him. The poor man is lighter than cotton.' At this the Ballāḷa said—'Do not talk too much, but go home and make everything ready. Whatever is wanting, I will supply.' "[1] No doubt the Ballāḷa took a paternal interest in the welfare of his Baidya. But as Sāma Āḷva's sister and nephew, and Sāma Āḷva himself, remarked, custom required that they had to return back unto the Ballāḷa all that they had received from him. "It is true he will supply us now," said the nephew, "but we will have to return it to him afterwards. We are happy when we borrow, but it is very difficult to return what is borrowed afterwards."[2]

When the devil-priests had fixed the day of the marriage, and the Ballāḷa had guaranteed support to Sāma Āḷva, invitations were sent to the latter's relatives and caste people and friends. How the invitations were sent the Pāḍadānas unfortunately do not inform us. We are to suppose that they must have been conveyed by word of mouth. When once again the devil-priests questioned Sāma Āḷva as to the number of persons he was going to invite to the marriage, he said—" One person from each house." And the persons thus invited were not to come to Sāma Āḷva's house empty-handed. The devil-priests on hearing that he intended to invite one person from

1-2. *I. A.* XXV, pp. 299, 300.

each house, said--"Yes, that is right. If you invite one person from each house, you will get a load from every house, and it will not be necessary for you to buy vegetables, etc." Invitations to a marriage in ancient Tuḷuva, therefore, carried deep obligations with them.

The relatives and friends, however, were not to come only with loads of vegetables. When Sāma Āḷva had finished talking with the devil-priests, "in the evening, men, women, and children came to his house. The sister of Sāma Āḷva received them, and spread mats for them, and made them sit down, and gave them betel-leaves and nuts, and thus showed them respect. Sāma Āḷva's wife brought lamps and kept them in the rooms and lighted them. All the neighbours who came to the marriage helped them in preparing for the feast. Vegetables of various kinds were brought and cut into small pieces, and made into curry, fowls were killed and prepared in curries of various kinds, sweet-meats were made, rice was boiled, and everything was made ready for the marriage day."[1] This singular feature of society even now prevails in Tuluva.

And so when everything was got ready, betel-leaves and nuts were received and given back, and on the ensuing week, on a Sunday, the bride was taken to the bridegroom, and the actual ceremony of marriage at last arrived. And then "guests began to come in, relatives, and friends came, and all were made to sit in the marriage pandal. Then the devil-priests of the *sthāna*

1. *I. A.* XXV, p. 301.

came and sat in the place of honour. They called Sāma Āḷva and asked him if the bridegroom was ready. So the bridegroom and the bride adorned themselves and were brought and made to sit on the raised spot reserved for them. Then the women of the town who had come to the marriage sat in a semi-circle before them. The men sat on one side, the chief men of the caste in the front row. They called Sāma Āḷva and told him to perform the marriage ceremony. He called his sister to him to join him in pouring water. She said—' O brother, do it yourself with your wife. Pour water, you and your wife, and give Dēyi Baidyedi in marriage to my son.' Then he asked the priests of the *sthāna* whether they consented to what his sister had said. They replied—'If you agree to it, we also agree.'

"'He asked his relatives and friends and they also consented. Then he stood up and called Sāyana Baidya to him and told him to stand with his face to the east; and next he called Dēyi, his own daughter, and told her to stand with her face to the west, and made them give to each other their right hands, and took a water-pot and poured water and gave the bride to the bride-groom. Then (he) asked the priests what he should do next. 'Now let the bridegroom and the bride sit down,' said they, 'and let the relatives and friends sprinkle rice upon them.'

" Then, one by one, they went and gave money into the hands of the bride and bridegroom and sprinkled

rice upon their heads. Afterwards when the *seṣa* (the sprinkling of rice) ceremony was over, all the men and women stood up, and taking rice in their hands, threw it simultaneously upon the bride and the bride-groom, blessing them at the same time saying,—'May you live till the sun and the moon cease to shine! May you live till your hair becomes white! May you get children and grand-children, and may you increase abundantly.' Then the priests told Sāma Āḷva to present a new *dhōtra* to the bridegroom and a new *s'īre* to the bride. Then the bride and the bridegroom put on new clothes and came and prostrated themselves before their relatives and friends, who blessed them and said—'May God bless you with long life and save you!'

"Then the priests said—'Now make haste; it is getting late; rice and curry is getting cold; let the guests sit down to dinner!' Then all the guests and friends went out of the pandal and servants came with brooms to sweep the place. Afterwards the chief men of the caste came and made all the people sit in rows, and pieces of plantain leaves were placed before each person. The relatives and friends were made to sit in the front rows; and all were made to sit according to rank. Those who had come uninvited were made to sit in the hindmost row. Then rice was brought and served, and curry was brought and served. Then they were told to eat. Then they began to eat. Afterwards *pāyasa* (a thick gruel like preparation made of cocoa-nut juice and jaggery, rice and pulse) was served and

over the *pāyasa* sugar was served in plentifully. All the people partook of as much as they liked, and were satisfied, and said they had never tasted such a good dinner. So they arose from the dinner, and the plantain leaves on which they had eaten were all removed and given to the Koragars. The Koragars found on the plantain leaves quantities of rice, which had been left by the eaters; and they ate it and they were glad. So the pandal was swept and cleansed, and again a second party (*i. e.*, those who had not taken their meal at the first time) sat down to dinner; and after they had finished their dinner, a third party (*i. e.*, those who were employed as serving their guests, etc.) sat down to dinner. After all had thus finished their dinner, all the guests sat down, and the chief men of the caste and the priests of the *sthāna* called Sāma Āḷva, and said to him—' O Sāma Āḷva, none have ever prepared so well for a marriage feast as you have. God's blessing is upon you! You are a fortunate man.' Some indeed said—'He would not have found a girl in the forest if he were not a fortunate man.' Then they said to Sāma Āḷva—'Now we will go.' Then he said, clasping his hands—'You have helped me in celebrating the marriage of my nephew. As you have been so kind, this marriage has been celebrated with much success.' At this they said—'Do not complement us; all has gone off so well on account of your good fortune; we have done nothing. Now we are going.' Then he gave them betel leaves and nuts, etc., and showed them respect.

So they went away gladly. Then his relatives also prepared to go. But he prevented them and said 'You must stay here four days more.' So they stayed."[1]

As days passed Dēyi Baidyedi was on the way to motherhood. Here it is interesting to note the food that was given to pregnant women in Tuḷuva. The Pāḍadāna on *Kallurṭṭi* enlightens us on this point. Sambu Kalkuḍa received "letter after letter, messenger after messenger" from Bēlūr. "These letters and messengers are sent on first but I will supply the pregnant woman (his wife) with medicine; and I am coming," said Sambu Kalkuḍa. He supplied her with five *seers* of mustard, three *seers* of pepper, some dried cocoanuts, a pot full of oil, and a bell metal measuring half a *seer* instead of a stone.[2]

The account of the birth of Kōṭi and Cennaya Baidya is thus given in their Pāḍadāna. "On a lucky day of the month of Sōṇa, the water of pregnancy came in the womb of Dēyi, and her womb grew larger. In the beginning of the ninth month of pregnancy, she was called to the *būḍu* of Parimaḷe Ballāḷa to give him medicine."[3] And when she had cured him of his illness, the time came for her delivery. And "the Ballāḷa at once ordered her to be taken to a comfortable place and sent for midwives. The midwives came and helped her, and she brought forth twin boys."[4] According to another version, Dēyi Baidyedi refused to be

1. *I. A.* XXV, pp. 301–302.
2. *Ibid*, p. 221.
3. *Ibid*, XXIV, p. 119.
4. *Ibid*, XXV, p. 307.

confined in the Ballāḷa's *būḍu*. " 'I will not bring forth my child at the *būḍu* built by you,' said she to the Ballāḷa. The Ballāḷa got her a hut and a yard belonging to one Brahman, a tenant of some dry land. He took off his waist-belt of silver, and placed it for her to hold on. 'By holding this, with one single pain, will you bring forth the children from your womb, and be well. I shall come to give names to your children,' said he."[1]

Likewise in a third version of the story we have the following—"By this time Dēyi felt pain and (her attendants) hung a rope to facilitate the delivery, praying to the *bhūta* Brahmara of Kemmuḷe."[2] "Thus did she bring forth and the first *śatakam* and the holy water of God was brought to her, and she bathed on the fortieth day. After some days and months were (had ?) passed, Dēyi went to a temple,[3] to obtain merit ; and offered at the feet of God an areca flower and a handful of money."[4] Having received several flowers from the priest, she returned home ; while her husband, Sāyana Baidya, being overjoyed "called some of the wild people who lived in the jungles and told them to bring to him four loads of young bamboo shoots and a load of lemons."[5] With this he hurried to the Ballāḷa's *būḍu*. Meanwhile the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe had sent for her,

1. *I.A.* XXIV, p. 141.
2. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 29.
3. Perhaps that under the charge of Ellūr Abbe. B. A. S.
4. *I A.* XXIV, p. 14.
5. *Ibid.* XXV, p. 307.

and requested her, since she had already bathed on the fortieth day, to take food in his palace.[1]

And then came the ceremony of christening the children. According to one version, it was at the suggestion of the Ballāḷa that the twins were called Kōṭi Baidya and Cennaya Baidya, although just above we saw that it was one Birmana (Brahman) who promisd to christen the children. The Ballāḷa, however, gave them names. " A short stool with three legs was placed for him (the Ballāḷa) to sit on. 'Do you, Dēyi, call your children as I want to see them', said the Ballāḷa. Then she went inside and brought out Kōṭi who was born first. 'O Dēyi, you had better give this child the name of Kōṭi that he may endure for ever, like the corner-stone of the temple of Kōṭeśvara, and to the second child the name Cennaya, that he may endure like the corner-stone of the temple at Caṭṭīśvara', said the Ballāḷa. 'Keep these children in a cradle and swing it'."[2]

Another version of the story has the following— "Then, first she brought forth a male child. From one womb she brought forth two children. On the ninth day after this, she and her children were purified, and it was desired that the ceremony of giving names to the children should be performed on that day. So that he might out-live the corner-stone of the temple

1. *I. A.* XXV, p. 308; XXIII, p. 29; XXIV, p. 141.
2. *Ibid*, XXIV, p. 141.

of the god at Kōṭēśvara in the south, the first was named Kōṭi, and so that he might live as long as there existed the corner-stone of the temple of the god at Badiriṅga (Badarināthа ?) in the north, the second was named Cennaya."[1]

And when the children grew into fine youths, there came another important ceremony. It was that of tonsure and a bath. Sāyana Baidya, in order to inform the Ballāḷa that the boys needed treatment under a razor, said—"The goddess Kālī who sits in the face of the children whom you have nourished, should be driven away, and the goddess of wealth should be invited to sit there instead." It was to drive out Kālī, therefore, that the Ballāḷa ordered his court-clerk to write a letter to the barber of the *būḍu*, who lived on the Ghats, to come at once, in whatever dress he was and even though he had half finished his dinner. Thus it was that Kaṇḍe Bollarasvāmi *alias* Īsara Kambḷi living in a place called Karmisāle in the city of Ijjyā on the Ghats, was made to come through the letter written by Nārāyaṇa Rangōji. The letter was delivered by Vaṇṇapa Bhaṇḍhāri. Īsara Kambḷi at once hurried to the low country taking with him all instruments, *viz*., "two pairs of razors, a pair of scissors, a small cup for holding water, tweezers and a glass in which the face could be reflected." On reaching the Ballāḷa's palace, he was asked to name all the things required for the ceremony. "Five bundles of betel leaves, five arecanuts,

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 29.

a cocoanut having three eyes, a *seer* of green rice, and cows' milk are wanted," replied to barber.

"He was supplied with all the things required for his part of the business. All the friends of Sāyana Baidya assembled; a small bower of plantain leaves was formed, festoons of cocoanut leaves were hung up, the inner part of the roof was ceiled, and the ground was covered with a carpet.

"The children of Sāyana Baidya together with the friends who were assembled, circumambulated the bower, the boys being seated within it. Then the pouring of rice on their heads began. First the barber poured it, next Sāyana Baidya, and last of all, Sāyana Baidyedi, mother of Kāntaṇṇa.

"Then the barber holding the left cheek by his hand, began his work on the right cheek of Kōṭi. The front part of his head he shaved and made figures of the sun and moon; and on the back of the head he made the figures of Bhīma and Arjuna. Thus the tonsure of Kōṭi Baidya was finished and he was lifted by the hand. Lamps were waved before his brother's face too in a plate filled with rubies. Coral was thrown on Cennaya's head, and his head too was shaved, and figures of the sun and moon formed on the front part, and figures of Bhīma and Arjuna on the back. The tonsure of both was thus over, and they were now to bathe themselves, and wash away the pollution of being shaved."[1]

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 31.

This ceremony of tonoure seems to have been common in ancient Tuḷuva. In the Pāḍadāna on the *Attāvara Doyyonguḷu*, the two boys were also shaved in precisely the same manner by a barber also from above the Ghats. The barber with his box of razors and looking glass was asked to do his duty to the boys in the palace of Nāgaloka. "An English chair with four legs was placed in the middle of the *cāvaḍi*, two *jagana jōti* lamps were placed at the left and right of him, and a *seer* of rice and a cocoanut were placed before him. A conch-shell was blown and fly brushes were waved on both sides of him. The two boys sat there in undress, while pearls were sprinkled over them and a light adorned with corals was turned towards their faces. So all the ceremony was performed.

"Then the barber came, and placing a cup of water ready, he stood on the left side, and shaved the right side, and then he went to the right side, and shaved the left side, and also cut off the ends of the moustaches. He made a line for the eyebrows and put the sign of the sun and the moon on their hearts, and of Bhīma Rākṣasa on their backs. He polished their toe-nails and cut their finger-nails. In this way did he shave them correctly from head to foot."[1]

Likewise when king Dharma of Kāñci Kaḍanga saw a beard appearing on his cheeks, he immediately sent for the court barber Binnaḍi Kāra. Then the barber on coming to the palace, at once fell to work. "A

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 191.

European chair with four legs was placed in the middle of the floor. Two *jagana* lamps were placed on the left and right of it. One *seer* of rice and a cocoanut were put on a plantain leaf. And then the ringing of the bell was heard and a conch-shell was blown and swishes were waved over the king, who sat on the chair in half-dress. Pearls were cast, and lamps were waved before his face. Then the barber came to the king Dharma and shaved his face and then shaved him from head to foot."[1]

And in all these instances the final question that remained to be answered was—How was one to atone for the sin of having touched a barber? The answer is given in the Pāḍadāna on Kōṭi and Cennaya, and on Doyyoṅguḷu. "For this purpose (*i.e.*, of washing away the pollution of having been shaved) Kōṭi and Cennaya got ready the juice of several kinds of leaves growing in dry and wet paddy fields; and *uddu* and pods of green gram, and several substances for washing away oil; also a thousand pots of hot water and a thousand pots of cold water. They warmed themselves by bathing in the hot water, and cooled themselves by bathing in the cold water. They then went to a room where there was sandal wood, and ground a great deal of the sandal wood, and fully besmeared their bodies down to the waist with it, and then sat down to take their food."[2]

In the case of the royal children mentioned in the *Doyyonguḷu*, oil was rubbed and the heroes took their

1. *I. A.* XXIII, pp. 97-98.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 31-52.

bath in a huge pan four hands in breadth. A *jaṭṭi* (lit. a wrestler, but here a person employed to rub oil) was sent for and oil was rubbed on them. A large pan, four hands in breadth, was placed under a white *kadika* tree near a tank built by one of the boys. A thousand pots of water were poured in and were warmed with twelve bundles of fire-wood, and a thousand pots of warm water were poured on their heads and then a thousand pots of cold water. Thus were they rubbed with oil and washed in water. Then their hair had to be rubbed with cloth made of silk, of the following kinds—*kaber*, black silk; *bober*, white silk; *sopu kambati*, *yir madure*; the silk which is so light that it flies off three hundred *gāvuḍas* at a breath; the silk that is soaked by a tear; and the silk which may be concealed between the finger and a nail."[1]

And when Kōṭi and Cennaya had played their part manfully, their turn came to quit the world. And in the great battle fought in the neighbourhood of Pañja and Eḍambūru, the heroic Kōṭi fell. Rukku Ballāḷa, son-in-law of the Eḍambūru Ballāḷa, on seeing the great soldier sitting down under a tree, galloped to the Ballāḷa's palace, and informed the Ballāḷa that the saviour of Eḍambūru was nearing his end. At once a palanquin was sent to fetch the hero. Kōṭi drank the tender cocoanuts given to him by the Ballāḷa, who, weeping, said—" 'O Kōṭi! You were a hero that was able to save my kingdom. Now the time of its downfall

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 191.

approaches!' But Kōṭi said—'Oh my lord! We shall continue to assist you as we did in our lifetime in the day of battle. Only plant our dagger in the battle-field, and we shall fight, on your behalf, as spirits in the same manner as we did as men. In life we never gave up your cause; therefore, after death, be assured, we shall not fail to assist you.' "[1]

In this parting speech of Kōṭi we have the essence of the Tuḷuva belief in spirits. Thus died the noble Kōṭi. But, the Pāḍadāna continues, Brahmā in heaven refused to admit the great soldier till he had brought his brother Cennaya along with him. "Hearing these words, Kōṭi came back to the world. The younger brother came to the side of a deep well and looked down in it and saw his face reflected in the water. "My brother fell in the battle. What is the use of my living?" said Cennaya to himself. So saying he struck his leg (head?) against a rock and thus committed suicide. The news reached the Ballāḷa that Cennaya had committed suicide in the house of the physician Barma of the village of Sañje Mañje.[2] Then the wailing Ballāḷa "caused a mango and a jack tree growing one on each side of a river, to be cut. He caused a funeral pile to be raised in a corner of the burial ground, and had the body burnt. Then the two brothers went in the form of spirits to the throne of Brahmā, who said—'Do not approach the *guḍi*. Do not

1 & 2. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 90.

come into the yard. You must purify yourselves before you come to me'.

"Hearing the order, they came in the shape of aerial beings, to the Ballāḷa's mansion, and threw the handle of their dagger on the ground, and asked the Ballāḷa to purify them. On the ninth day of their death, the Ballāḷa caused the ashes of their dead bodies to be collected, and on the tenth, had the ceremony of *sālya* performed. He planted three posts on the burial ground and covered them with clothes of different colours. Thus he caused all the funeral rites to be performed, in as grand a manner as would have been done for a royal Ballāḷa." Having thus purified themselves, they again approached the throne of Brahmā who, once again, refused to entertain them till they had washed themselves in the Ganges. When they had thus completely removed all stain of a bloody life, according to the story, "they came for the third time to the throne of Brahmā. Then they came into the yard and entered the *guḍi*. They stood on the right hand of Brahmā and became members of Brahmā's council, and were ever afterwards in the world as much honoured as Brahmā himself."[1]

A grander funeral had been given to their mother Dēyi Baidyedi by the Ballāḷa of Parimḷe. When she died at the hands of her rival Ḅirmaṇṇa Baidya, "she went to Kailāsa first and then went to Vaikuṇṭha. Wood for burning was placed at the burial ground, a

1. *I. A.* XXIII, pp. 90–91.

mango tree before and a jack tree behind, being cut down. Sixty bundles of sandal wood were put upon Dēyi and she was burnt with oil and *ghī*. Then her caste people were called and had to appoint a day for funeral ceremony. The day was appointed. On the third day after the burning, the ashes were gathered and on the fourteenth day the funeral ceremony was performed."[1]

Besides rice, palm juice and arrack, there were the various vegetables. Opium was not unknown to the people in early Tuḷuva. One of the epithets used by Kōṭi and Cennaya in the volley of abuse they poured upon the trembling Ballāḷa of Pañja was that he was "an opium-eating Ballāḷa and a *bhāng*-smoking Ballāḷa."[2]

Judged by the Pāḍadānas the Tuḷuvas seem to have been proficient in the art of cooking. The grand dinner given by the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe, to which we have to refer again, in honour of Dēyi Baidyedi, contained famous dishes. Even in the house of Sāyana Baidya there was no dearth of dishes. The two heroes Kōṭi and Cennaya sat down to take their dinner. "There were five hundred kinds of curries mixed with curds, and three hundred kinds of curries mixed with tamarind pickle, and green rice boiled in milk. They ate food mixed with *ghī*, washed their hands in whey, and chewed betel-leaves."[3]

While going on long journeys, the Tuḷuvas carried food with them to last the time of their travel. Sambu

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1. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 142. 2. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 45.
3. *Ibid*, p. 36.

Kalkuḍa's daughter determined to find out the whereabouts of her brother, and got ready food for the journey. She "prepared for her brother a meal with one and a half *seer* of *ghī* and three pieces of jaggery; a dish with milk, and another mixed with curds; cakes made of rice, sugar, and cocoanut and fried with oil; rice pudding, and rice flour in a leaf. She took the *ghī* in a pot and tied up the rest in a bundle for her brother. For herself she baked bread and made some curries of vegetables; one and one half *seer* of *ghī*, three pieces of jaggery. She tied them all together in a leaf and combed her hair, putting a chaplet of pearls on her head."[1] On reaching Kārkaḷa she heard of the sad plight of her brother, and then she ran to Yēṇūr (Venūṛu) where she threw her own and her brother's parcel into a river.[2]

On ordinary occasions the Tuḷuvas lived on a simpler diet. Even heroes like Kōṭi and Cennaya were content with plain food. The insulting words of the Ballāḷa of Pañja were read out to the twin heroes, and the poor messenger received as his reward a garland of the very palm-leaves upon which the message had been written but burnt at both the ends! Then Kōṭi and Cennaya took their bath. "They bathed and washed away the oil. They took a little rice-water and they made preparations for going out to battle with all the weapons of war.[3]

1. & 2. *I. A.* XXV, pp. 224-225.

3. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 88.

The Tuḷuvas had their own code of etiquette. Kōṭi and Cennaya, on reaching the house of Payya of Paḷḷi, were informed by his wife that he was away drawing toddy from the *kadamba* and date trees in the great forest called Sanka in the east. They asked her when he would return back. "He goes out in the morning," said she, " and returns at noon. If you are Brahmans wearing the thread, sit down on the round platform of the cocoanut tree bearing red fruit. If you belong to the tribe called the Vakketars, sit down in the shed, built by the poor man. If you belong to our caste, sit down on the swinging cot within the house, " said the woman. " Hearing this they approached the house and said—' We will not enter into a house in which there are no males.' They spread out their dirty blanket within the shed and sat on it."[1]

In another version of the story the same woman speaks thus—"He will return at noon; and if he goes again at midday, he will return back in the evening," said she. "If you are Brahmans, who wear the thread, there is a bench with three legs at the round seat under the red cocoanut. Sit down on the bench. If you are Vakketars and Bāragas, I have spread a mat over the seat at the *sampika* tree. You can sit down on that. If you are my caste-people, there is a small cottage. Come and sit down there," she said.[2]

It was improper for men to enter a house where there were no males. That was the reason why, on

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 42. 2. *Ibid,* XXIV, p. 21?.

receiving water at the hands of the fair-looking wife of Payya, Kōṭi and Cennaya said—" Before we drink the water given by you, you must first tell us in what place you were born, the tribe you belong to, the names of your mother and father and the *bhūta* you worship.[1]

We have already read about the headmen of the caste who made all the people sit in rows and those who had come uninvited in the rear at the marriage feast given by Sāma Āḷva. A dinner to the caste people was obligatory on wealthy persons. For if a Billavar failed to give it, he was punished with excommunication. That was the reason why Sāma Āḷva requested the Ballāḷa to help him.

How the heroes had to dress themselves with *kāyēri karpoḷi* clothes, and to carry *pañcōḷi* betel leaves from a vine growing on an arecanut tree and *mundoḷi* from a vine on a mango tree before going into the presence of the Ballāḷa, has been likewise described above.

In addition to these rules the Tuḷuvas observed other regulations. For example, Billavar women could not put the end of their cloth on the left side and could not wear jewels called *muḷḷukoppu* on the ears. It was a great privilege, indeed, which the Billavars as a whole received at the hands of the Ballāḷa of Perimaḷe when he permitted Dēyi Baidyedi "to put on the left side the end of the cloth tied round the middle, one pair of ear-rings and also *muḷḷukoppu* ear-rings," and a jewel for her nose, and bangles of gold joined by a golden cord for

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 43.

the hand, a *dvāria* for both hands, a *barapaṭṭe* cloth and a *bājībanda* for her hands. He bestowed the right of *sallabeja*, as the wearing of the cloth was called, and the *koraṇaseji* ear-rings together with the other presents on her when she had finished partaking of a dinner given by him on the eve of her departure from the royal *būḍu*.[1]

Social distinctions were also observed on the play-ground and in a *bhūta sthāna*. The racing buffaloes, according to rules which are still observed, could only be let into the field in the order we have elsewhere given in this treatise. If during a devil-dance the Pombada who personates the devil, "offends a rich Buṇṭ by omitting any of his numerous titles, he is made to suffer for it." [2] The Buṇṭs as well as the Billavars are very particular about their titles and the social rank they occupy in the village. The story of Kōṭi and Cennaya illustrates the intolerable attitude which the Buṇṭs bore towards the Billavars—the jealousy which the Buṇṭ Buddyanta felt at the rise to power of the two Billavar boys Kōṭi and Cennaya, and of the final victory of Billavar heroism over Buṇṭ aristocracy.

It was customary for landowners to treat their tenants with great consideration. This explains why Dēyi Baidyedi received so hospitably the coolies who got her a palanquin and a letter from the Ballāḷa. When Vaṇṇapa (Aṇṇapa ?) Bhaṇḍāri took the letter to

1. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 121, ns. (8) & (9).
2. *Ibid*, XXIII, p. 31.

the barber on the Ghats, "Sāyana Baidya paid him the expenses of the journey and of his family during his absence."[1]

12. A PICTURE OF A TUḶUVA VILLAGER'S HOUSEHOLD

A picture of a Tuḷuva house is given in the Pāḍa-dāna called *Kōṭi Cennaya*. It is that of the cowardly Payya Baidya of Paḷḷi. The Brahman who met the heroes on the way, described Payya's house thus :— "There is a gate of bamboos and a spacious cowpen. The house has an upper storey and the wall a pump. The *manōḷi* (coccina indica) creeper has been trained up a double pandal. The cocoanut tree bearing red fruit has a circular basin round it, and in front of the house there is a shed with a thick roof."[2]

In another context we have the following concerning a Tuḷuva house—"A large cowshed, a house with an upper storey, a well covered with copper plates ; a seat round a red cocoanut, another seat round which (there is) a *sarōli* tree on the northern side. These are the marks. If you want to go there, you had better pass the yard at the small opening made with two posts fastened together, and call the house people."[3]

In such a house which the two heroes had seen there was always a corner for preserving articles during the monsoon. The twin heroes were playing

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 31.
2. *Ibid*, p. 42.
3. *Ibid*, XXIV, p. 212.

the game of cashew nuts with the children of Buddyanta. And the children of Buddyanta suffered defeat at their hands. Then Buddyanta himself came and took by force all the cashew nuts away from the brothers. And he "took them home and tying them in a cloth, hung them up in the smoke!"[1]

How corn was preserved for the rainy season is described in another version of the same Pāḍadāna. Kōṭi and Cennaya were in the house of Buddyanta, who seeing them resolved himself immediately into a lump of flesh, and got himself covered with some torn pieces of matting behind a hollow post. "Buddyanta's wife! What is that in the torn pieces of matting?" asked they. "O children! They are seeds of the months *suggi* and *yeṇelu*," replied she. "Which are of *yeṇelu*?" asked Koti. "Which are of *suggi*?" asked Cennaya. "Let us see whether they are of *suggi* or of *yeṇelu*," (they said).[2]

As regards furniture in a Tuḷuva household, we have a few details. A swinging cot of pretty large dimensions was a prominent piece of furniture. When Ellūr Abbe, the priestess in charge of the temple that belonged to the *cāvaḍi* of Parimaḷe, had finished blessing the twin heroes, Sāyana Baidya "took them to Erajha and made them sit on a swinging cot hung from a rafter."[3]

In a Brahman's house, however, there was some more furniture. The good Brahman who prophesied

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 30. 2. *Ibid*, XXIV, p. 146.
3. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 142.

all about the career of the twin heroes, went in and "boiled the milk and reduced it to one *seer*. Then taking with him a stool made of the wood of the tree called *kaḍali*, ornamented with flowers of silver, and another of gold set with precious stones, he came to the two brothers."[1]

Some houses contained screens. The little child Koḍababbu lay crying in the hut. And the master of the Koḍange family hearing it came to the hut and called the child's mother. But on receiving no reply, "he came to the outer screen called *giḍke* and peered in." And then he saw the dead bodies of the child's parents.[2]

Hand-lamps were used by the Tuḷuvas. When the Ballāḷa of Mardāḷ heard from his sleeping apartment the dreadful coughing of his buffaloes, he woke up his wife saying—"Be quick and light a lamp!" At this his wife quickly got up and lighted a lamp and brought it to her husband. Then he took the hand-lamp and went to the cow-pen.[3] They were evidently the same type of brass hand-lamps used by the people today.

A picturesque detail relating to a Tuḷuva household is that which concerns cows coming home after grazing on the hills. Kinni Dāru, the sister of the heroes and the wife of Paḷḷi Baṇṇaya, on recognizing them as her brothers, "held Cennaya by her left hand and Kōṭi

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 41.
2. *Koḍadabbu,* op. cit.
3. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 51.

by her right and led them both into the house and seated them on the swinging cot. Then she held a little grass in her hand and called home the cow that had gone out to graze. She put the calf to suck and drew two *seers* of milk."[1]

Besides the cow there were, of course, the buffaloes about which we have seen something in the description of the *kambaḷa*, and the cocks, with which Aḍūru Baidya hurried to the cock-fight, and the dogs, without which the Tuḷuva Ballāḷas never went a-hunting. Two other domestic creatures may be noted—the swine which the Tuḷuvas have made famous in their *bhūta* Pañjurḷi; and the pigeons, the colour of which was taken to be the standard colour of palanquins and wallets.

What an intimate knowledge they possessed of the domestic animals, especially of cattle, can be inferred from the story of the *bhūta* Pañjurḷi. Kāntu Śeṭṭi, Kaḍmaṇa Śeṭṭi and Maṭṭu Marbala Śeṭṭi,—all children of a man called Guru Sarapoḷi and Gollaramma Dēyar, determined to trade by sea. They took to the ship for two years. But profit they could get none. So they began to trade in bullocks.

" 'Where do bullocks come from ? And whence do cocks come ?' asked they. 'Cocks come from Kokkaḍa, and elephants from Ānegundi (Vijayanagara) and bullocks from the Ghats,' they were told. So they went to buy bullocks. They kept three hundred

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 43.

rupees in a bag and tied up three hundred rupees in their upper garments. They went to the herd of cows. There were three thousand bullocks, but they found only two good ones amongst them. They asked the price. 'A thousand rupees for the front leg and a thousand rupees for the hind leg. Altogether two thousand rupees,' said the Ganda (Gauḍa ?). 'What is there important about them ?' asked they.

"There are certain points in the oxen, *viz.*, a white tail, a white spot on the forehead and points in the four legs, a white tongue, a bent horn and a certain colour in the belly. These are the points in these oxen," said the Ganda (Gauḍa).[1]

Although the Tuḷu people were given to the use of the rice gruel called *gañji*, yet they do not seem to have favoured much the custom of taking three meals a day. How demeaning it was to take three meals a day can be gathered from the shower of abuse which Kōṭi and Cennaya poured upon the quaking Ballāḷa of Pañjā. " O you flat-nosed Ballāḷa ! You crooked-eared Ballāḷa of Pañja !...You Ballāḷa that takes three meals a day !..."[2] Further, when they had been to the house of Buddyanta, after murdering him in his own field, they were met by his wife who invited them to come inside and taste their dishes. " O Rāma ! Rāma ! Brahmati ! Woman ! Hear

1. *I. A.* XXV, p. 273. The Ghats referred to here are the hill-stations of Subrahmaṇya and Śirāḍi which are even now great centres of cattle trade. B. A. S.

2. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 45.

us ! We came here having finished our meal of boiled rice-water. We take our meals twice a day, but not thrice."[1]

13. THE BŪḌU OR MANORIAL HOUSE OF A TUḶUVA CHIEFTAIN

That a Tuḷuva chieftain's house must have been considerably large can be made out from the descriptions given of many *būḍus* (Kannaḍa *bīḍu*) in the Pāḍadānas. Kōṭi and Cennaya had finished their toilet and were ready to proceed to the house of their master the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe. They got into a palanquin of the colour of parrots, and " each of them tied to his waist a dagger like that of Rāma. Thus did they go to the Ballāḷa's house. They approached the gate, and entered the enclosure, and, passing through the yard in front of the house, went into a room set apart for the use of bards, poets and such like people. They then went to a room on the western side of the house, and climbed into the upper storey by means of a rope."[2]

A *būḍu* had many rooms. When Dēyi Baidyedi arrived at the *būḍu* of the Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe, he said—" There are seven rooms in my *būḍu*. One of them do you set apart for her and let her bring forth her children in that room."[3]

Of the many apartments in the *būḍu* the audience hall, the music hall, the hall of the bards, and the kitchen hall were most prominent. Before Dēyi

1. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 149. 2. *Ibid,* XXIII, p. 32.
3. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 29.

Baidyedi departed from the Ballāḷa's *būḍu*, he said—"O Dēyi! Do you hear me! You have come to my palace; therefore, you must take your food of pearl-like rice." There were curries prepared with curds of five hundred sorts, with tamarind of three hundred sorts, with cocoanut of a thousand sorts. Pickles of limes known as *poṭṭikañci*, *nāringa*, and so on, together with tender bamboos and *kavaḍe* berries. *Yelluri* and *māpala* were prepared, and, moreover, cakes of five or six kinds and a cake of oil-colour too.

" 'Now, Dēyi, you had better take your food with *ghī*, and wash your hands with milk!' said the Ballāḷa, and ordered his servants to give Kāntaṇṇa and Sāyana water, and to make Dēyi sit down in the middle! And then Dēyi and others took their food with *ghī* and washed their hands with milk and chewed betel-nuts."[1]

The reply given by Cennaya of Eḍambūru to the heroes who had asked him to introduce them to the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru, enables us to find out something about the rules that governed a *būḍu* as regards the introduction of strangers and officials to the Tuḷuva lord.

" 'I can,' said Cennaya, and he took them to his own house. 'You must stay here today, and I will introduce you tomorrow. Today you must take your meals in my house; tomorrow I shall introduce you at the noon-day *levée*. In the morning I shall go and ask

1. *I. A.* XXIV, pp. 120–121.

his permission,' said Cennaya, and went off at once to the Ballāḷa's verandah."[1]

The Tuḷuva Ballāḷa was a chieftain of great authority. The uncle of Kōṭi and Cennaya advised them to go to the Eḍambūru (Parimḷe ?) *cāvaḍi* and " to get a present in addition to the former one, such as *sellabeja* and *sattaneja* ". So the heroes went to the Ballāḷa's *būḍu*, and, as we have seen, asked for a gift of paddy fields among which were those reserved for Government taxes.[2]

A Tuḷuva Ballāḷa knew how to be strict with his dependents. The Ballāḷa of Mardāḷ, who wished to build a *sthāna* for the *bhūta* Pañjurḷi, commanded his tenants thus—" Therefore, tomorrow all of you must come together ; one or two hundred of you must join together and bring the trees to my house. The man who does not come will be fined. And if he does not pay the fine, I will see that nobody gives him chunam or fire.'"[3]

There was another mode of punishment which the nephew of the Eḍambūru Ballāḷa used against the man who had stolen Kōṭi's dagger on the battlefield. While that great hero lay wearied on the memorable battlefield of Pañja, a man called Kāḷu Nāyaka ran away with the dagger belonging to Kōṭi. At once the Eḍambūru Ballāḷa sent Dēvaṇageri Ballāḷa, his nephew, after the

1. *I. A.* XXIII, p. 44.
2. *Ibid*, XXIV, p. 150.
3. *Ibid*, XXVI, p. 65, Chunam and fire refer to social excommunication ; See *supra* pp. 320, n. (1)

thief. "When Dēvaṇageri Ballāḷa arrived, Kāḷu Nāyaka was going away with the dagger but he caught Kāḷu Nāyaka and tied him to a horse's feet and made the horse run away. Then Kāḷu's face and nose was broken and he died."[1] The part played by the spies of the Ballāḷa of Eḍambūru has been already narrated in a previous page.

The most noteworthy sport of a Ballāḷa was his hunt. People judged, as we saw, the ability and prowess of a Ballāḷa by the hunting expeditions he arranged in the course of the year. The Ballāḷa of Parimaḷe, for example, was reckoned to be a famous hunter. When the day of the hunt approached, "the Ballāḷa called his clerk and told him to notify to all his tenants, his intention of going on a hunt, that they might be present at his *būḍu* on such and such a day. All were ordered to bring their weapons and come prepared for the hunt. So they came on the appointed day. The Ballāḷa saw them. They were about two hundred able-bodied men that assembled before the *būḍu*."[2] They were ordered to take their evening meal that day in the *būḍu*. "So, food was prepared for all of them, and they sat down in rows according to their caste......The next day the Ballāḷa called them and examined their weapons and instruments, their bows, arrows, and snares; and called Malla, the keeper of dogs, to bring the dogs."[3] The dogs were given "rice

1. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 271.
2 & 3. *Ibid*, XXV, p. 304.

mixed with milk." "Afterwards he called Golla, and examined the guns and bullets and ammunition, and saw that everything was in the best possible condition. Then he called Paḍḍyala, and told him to show the bows and arrows, because they were in a very efficient condition. And, in this manner, he examined everything himself; the snares, the darts, and many other instruments of hunting. The men, every one of them, praised the superiority of his own instrument, and boasted of his former exploits. In this manner time passed, and as it had become late, the hunt was postponed for the next day. The Ballāḷa said—'Tomorrow, very early in the morning, before the crows alight on the ground, we must start for the hunt. Today all of you must take your meals in my *būḍu*. In the mean time you must all sharpen year weapons. Your darts, arrows, and all sorts of weapons must be in the best condition possible.'

"At this all were very glad, and every man went to mind his own business. So, on the next day, very early in the morning, they all started for the hunt with bows and arrows, darts and guns and various other instruments of destruction, and took many dogs with them. Thus they went out to hunt. The Ballāḷa went along with them. When they reached the great forest of Parimaḷe, the day began to dawn. The Ballāḷa gave them orders. He stationed half of them with the dogs in the forest, telling them to make as much noise as possible and to frighten the wild beasts and drive them before them.

They took great sticks and struck at thickets and bushes, and made a great noise. Though they were quite tired they did not find any wild beasts. So they returned quite tired and without finding a single wild beast and said to the Baḷḷāḷa—'It seems that the moment of our starting was not auspicious. Otherwise in this great forest, where tigers, bears, and wolves, and such wild beasts abound, we must have found some wild beasts.' Then the Baḷḷāḷa made a vow and said—'If I get at least one wild beast, I will give a *tambila* to the *bhūta* in our house.' After the Baḷḷāḷa had said this, they again started and began to beat the thickets and bushes and halloed, and yelled and made as much noise as possible. Then a big boar came in sight, and the dogs at once gave chase and overtook it; and as it came to the place where the hunters were stationed, Golla the hunter fired at it and the bullet took effect and the boar fell down and rolled about, and writhed in agony. Then they speared it and killed it."[1]

The desire to preserve peace in his dominions and to maintain efficiency among hunters led the Baḷḷāḷa to proclaim prizes to those who shot the wild beasts in the forest. Kōṭi met Buddyanta and told him how had Cennaya been in their presence, Buddyanta would have been dealt with in a very severe manner by his younger brother. "You praise your brother. Has he conquered the land, hunting a tiger? Has he been

1. *I. A.* XXV, p. 305.

presented with a *seer* of gold rings for having killed a tiger? Has he been covered with peacock's feathers? Has he fought a battle, riding on a nooseless horse? Has he put the sky above the earth?" said Buddyanta.[1]

Opulence was a special feature of Ballāḷa's royal houseold. The *sallabeja* and *sattaneja* rights, the golden ear-rings and the jewels for the nose, the balls of gold and the *bājibanda*, the *dvāria* and the *barapaṭṭe* given by the Ballāḷa to Dēyi Baidyedi are a proof of the generous manner in which the Tuḷuva Ballāḷas rewarded persons who had done them some special service. It was not only distinguished visitors that tasted the opulence of the Ballāḷas. Even the servants and tenants of the *būḍu* were recipients of rewards. To the carpenters and other wage-earners who had helped him to construct the *sthāna* of the *bhūta* Pañjurḷi, the Ballāḷa of Mardāḷ "gave them their due" and "he also gave them presents and sent them away."[2]

How paternally a Ballāḷa, and especially the Ballāḷa's wife, looked after the material condition of all, including the servants and cattle, can be understood from the Pāḍadāna of the *bhūta* Pañjurḷi. *Bhūta* Pañjurḷi wanted somehow to make the Ballāḷa of Mardāḷ realize the necessity of building a *sthāna* for the new *bhūta*, and so waited "till sunset and afterwards entered into the cowpen and kept quiet in a corner, till the cowherds had collected all the cattle

1. *I. A.* XXIV, p. 148.
2. *Ibid*, XXVI, p. 309, 65.

into the cowpen. In the meantime the night came on, and it was time for the master of the house to take his meal. Then all the servants of the house, the bondmen, and those who had undertaken work on contract and day-labourers and rice men and rice watermen, all these came to take their meals. Then the bondmen went into the cowpen to give fodder to the cattle, and gave rice water to the buffaloes and oxen; and after they had drunk, they put the watering trough upside down ; and then put straw and green grass before them; and making everything comfortable for the cattle went their way. In the meantime, the mistress of the house having served food to her husband, called the bondmen. 'O bondmen, bring your vessels and take your food.'

"Then they called their wives from their huts and told them to bring the vessels. Then they took their children on their hips and the vessels on their heads, and each came to the *būḍu* and called the mistress of the house—'O mistress, mistress! Please bring me the rice. I have brought the vessel. I have no one in my hut. I have kept paddy on the fire to be boiled and there is nobody to look after the fire.' At this the mistress quickly brought the rice and gave it to the bondmen. She also brought a big spoon of cocoanut shell and put four spoonsful of rice and four spoonsful of *gañji* for each, and sent away the bondwomen to their huts. And after all had eaten and finished, all lay down to sleep."[1]

1. *I. A.* XXVI, p. 51.

Appendix A

THE GREEK FARCE WITH OLD KANNAḌA PASSAGES

Summary:—1. Introduction. 2. Summary of the Plot. 3. Criticism of the Kannaḍa passages. 4. Scene of action. 5. The Greek Farce with Old Kannaḍa passages.

1. INTRODUCTION

At the instance of the Biblical Archaeological Association at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, excavations were carried out in 1899 and a large find of papyri was made. In 1903 Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt with the assistance of other scholars published with translations the finds in the III. Volume called "The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Part III." The following is one of the classical fragments in which many words in an Indian language occur. This piece was forwarded to me by Dr. R. Shama Sastry in February 1926. And I sent him early in March a rendering of the words in the unknown language together with a note on the probable scene of action. A thorough re-examination of the farce while in the British Museum in 1929-1931, and fresh investigation in the neighbourhood of the scene of action made after my return from Europe, enable me to give the following interpretation of the Farce.[1] I should like in this connection to express my deep gratitude to my learned friend Pandit K. B. Rāmakṛṣṇayya of Uḍipi without whose help it

1. Since Dr. Shama Sastry's interpretation appeared in his *Annual Report of the Mys. Arch. Dept.* for 1926, two versions of the Greek-Kannaḍa Farce have been published: one by Mr. S Srikanthaya in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, and the other by Mr. Govind Pai in the *Prabuddha Karnāṭaka* for 1930. Mr. Pai is right when he says that the passages are in Kannaḍa. B. A. S.

would not have been possible for me to render this piece into Kannaḍa.

2. Summary of the Plot

A Greek lady had fallen into the hands of an Indian king. A party of Greeks arrived in a ship, and after making the Indian king and his followers fully drunk, managed to escape with the Greek lady. (For a fuller treatment of the plot and an account of the characters in the Farce, the reader is referred to Dr. Sastry's interpretation of the Farce as given in his *Mysore Archaeological Report for 1926*, pp. 11 seq.)

3. Criticism of thf Kannaḍa Passages in the Farce

Hultzsch was the first to declare that the passages in the unknown language were in Kannaḍa.[1] Dr. Sastry has given a tentative rendering of the Kannaḍa passages in the in the same Report for 1926. But Dr. Barnett rejected them completely.[2] Dr. Barnett's arguments may be summarized thus:—

We have no direct knowledge of Kannaḍa of such an early period, *viz.*, of the second century A. D. or possibly earlier. The earliest work in Haḷe Kannaḍa is Kavīśvara's *Kavirājamārga*. Dr. Barnett lays down three criteria by which we are to judge the value of the rendering of the alledged passages into Kannaḍa. These are the following:— Firstly, if the proposed reconstruction of the passage in the unknown language agrees with the oldest classical Kannaḍa texts, we may provisionally accept it; if it shows features of the mediaeval or modern dilects, we must reject it.

1. Hultzsch. *J. R. A. S.* for 1904, pp. 390 seq.

2. Barnett, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XII, P. I–II, pp. 13-15. See also Keith, *History of Skt. Literature*, p. x. (Oxford 1928) where Dr. Keith likewise does not believe that the passages are in Kannaḍa. B. A. S.

Secondly, the interpretation must make good sense, be natural and not forced. And, thirdly, the interpretation should not unduly alter the text. Judged by these standards, the interpretation given by Hultzsch is on all points unproven. While admitting that the language used in the Farce was Indian, Dr. Barnett concluded that "it has yet to be interpreted."

There cannot be any doubt that these unassailable and perfectly sound arguments can be substantiated by other evidence which goes to prove that Kannaḍa as a prominent language was non-existent in the Karnāṭaka, and in Tuḷuva as well perhaps, in the early centuries of the Christian era. It is well known that Prākṛt was used in the Aśokan inscriptions discovered in Mysore; that all the Edicts of that monarch were engraved in the Brahmi script; that Prākṛt was the language not only of the Śātavāhanas but also of the early Kadambas as well; and that the earliest epigraphs discovered in the Karnāṭaka, as for instance those relating to the migration of Bhadrabāhu, the Bāṇas, and the Kadambas, were all engraved in the Sanskrit language and not in the Kannaḍa language.[1]

Notwithstanding the above facts, it is permissible to bring forward a few considerations in regard to the antiquity of the Kannaḍa language. While it is no doubt true that Prākṛt was the official language of the earliest sovereigns of Karnāṭaka, it has yet to be proved that that was the language of the masses as well. If this is admitted, then one is led to assume that the people of the Karnāṭaka, and, therefore, of Tuḷuva, spoke a language which was other than Prākṛt. Indeed, there are good grounds to suppose that

1. *Mys. Archl. Rep. for 1929*, pp. 52, 56, 57; *My. Arch. Rep.* for 1928, pp. 10-11; *Mys. Insc.* p. 304; *E. C.* II. No. 1, p. 1; *ibid.* VII. Sk. 263, 264, pp. 142; *ibid*, XI. Intr. pp. 1-5, Mk. 14, 21, 31, pp. 91-96.

Karnāṭaka was known to the westerners, and that Kannaḍa as a dialect existed in the early centuries of the Christian era. While dealing with the question of the antiquity of Tuḷuva, it was shown that in the first and second centuries of the Christian era, Āḷvakheḍa was known to the Greeks under the name of Oloikhora. The ending of this as well as other names, *e. g.*, Basarūru, Punnāṭa,[1] etc. were certainly Kannaḍa endings.

The fact that Roman coins of Augustus Caesar have been found at Candravaḷḷi sufficiently proves that in the early centuries of the Christian era, there was commercial intercourse between the Karnāṭaka and the western world.[2]

The most convincing proof of the exsistence of the Kannaḍa language prior to the times of Kavīśvara is afforded in the Halmiḍi stone inscription which we have mentioned in connection with the foreign relations of the Ālupas. This stone inscription definitely carries the antiquity of the Kannaḍa language to the fifth century A. D. It is not too much to suppose that the Kannaḍa language may have existed at least one or two centuries earlier, *viz.*, in the fourth and third centuries A. D.

The Ālupa records themselves, as we have amply demonstrated, in the previous pages, prove that Kannaḍa was a spoken language in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., *i. e.*, two or three centuries earlier than the time of the author of *Kavirājamārga*. Indeed, a good many stone inscriptions in the Kannaḍa language ranging from about

1. As regards Punnāṭa, Cf. Saletore, *Indian Culture*, III, pp. 309-317 where the antiquity of this ancient kingdom has been described.

2. *My. & Coorg.*, p. 15, n. (1); Krishna, *Excavations at Chandravalli*, p. 25; *Q. J. M. S.* I. pp. 38-39; X p. 251; XV. p. 256; XVIII. p. 294; *Ep. Car.* Coorg Ins., p. 103 (1914).

the sixth century A. D. till the beginning of the eighth century A. D.,[1] conclusively show that the antiquity of the Kannaḍa language can be dated to, at least, four centuries earlier than the age of the Kavīśvara. Under these circumstances, it is extremely doubtful whether we can maintain that we " have no direct knowledge of Kanarese of a period earlier than that ascribed to the Haḷe Kannaḍa work *Kavirājamārga*."

Any reconstruction of the Kannaḍa passages in the Greek Farce must agree not only with the known classical Kannaḍa canons, but, we may venture to add, with a few known facts of the region the history of which we have outlined in this treatise. Here it is interesting to observe how one or two statements made in the Farce agree with the historical facts we have mentioned above.

The first point to be noted in this connection is that the Farce speaks of the Malpe Nāyaka. Epigraphical evidence amply proves the existence of Nāyakas for the cities of Udayāvara and Koḷalagiri. That Malpe had a Nāyaka is, therefore, not at all unlikely or unhistorical. Whether we have to assume that the term Malpe Nāyaka was one of the personal designations of the king mentioned in the Farce, is not certain ; but the Farce only confirms the evidence of epigraphs concerning the existence of a Nāyaka over a city. In other words, it adds to the testimony of the epigraphs in regard to the municipal character of some of the ancient towns of Tuḷuva.

The reason why Malpe had a Nāyaka is to be found in the fact that it was a harbour of first-rate importance. Indeed, undeveloped and uncared-for as it is to-day, Malpe is still one of the safest harbours for coastal vessels on the western coast today. The appearance of the Greeks on the

1. *Mys. Insc.* pp. 186, 305 ; *E. C.* II. Nos. 4-9, 12, 31, pp. 3-7.

shore of Malpe was because it was one of the trade centres of ancient Tuluva. As against this it might be objected that Ptolemy does not mention it, and that, therefore, it was unknown to the Greeks. But we may remember that Ptolemy's knowledge of the trade centres of Tuḷuva was not personal, and that he may have confounded Ālvakheḍa with Malpe itself.

Further, there are two other considerations which we may mention before passing on to the scene of action of the Farce. The Farce confirms the antiquity of the Ālupas as proved by the Halmiḍi stone inscription and the early stone records of the Western Cālukyas and the Gangas. A sculptured stone in one of the private houses at Udayāvara near the ancient Gaṇapati temple contains the figure of a king wearing the sacred thread and the crown, but fighting against an unknown enemy. This strikingly corroborates the evidence of the Farce that the ruler mentioned in it wore the sacred thread.

Moreover, the Farce confirms likewise the Śaivite religion of the Ālupas.

We may incidentally note here that the evil of drinking which is a noteworthy feature of the Farce, is particularly pointed out in the later inscription of Kundavarmarasa II in which, as we have seen, the *surā pāna* (*kṛto-*) *doṣo* is explicitly stated to have been removed by the king. Whether we are to suppose that the evil of drinking was common among the Ālupa kings, and whether it was finally removed by Kundavarmarasa II cannot be made out.[1]

1. It need not be imagined that since the king in the Farce is described to have worn the sacred, he was necessarily a Brahman. No doubt the names of the mediaeval Ālupas end in *varman*. But while we are certain of their having been Śaivites, it has yet to be proved that they were Brahmans. This is the reason why drinking seems to have been in vogue amongst them.

Finally, another trifling detail is the remarkable identity between the name of the rive Pscholicus given in the Farce and the name Śivāluka mentioned in the *Padma Purāṇa*. Thus in the *Padma Purāṇa*:—

Nadhyaḥ punya-jalāḥ tatra Gangā-ca bahudhā gatā ।
Sukumārī Kumārī-ca Sītā S'ivodakā (S'vālukā,
S'ivolukā) tathā ॥
Mahānadī-ca bho viprāḥ-tathā-maṇijalā-nadī ।
Ikśuvardhānikā-ca eva nadī munivarāḥ smṛtāḥ[1] ॥

In the above passage two rivers of Tuḷuva are mentioned before Śivāluka–the Kumārī and the Sītā. It is probable that Śivalukā was another and an earlier name of the Pāpanāsinī upon which Uḍipi may be said to lie. In that case, it may be that Śivālukā was the name given to the river because it passed through, or was associated with, Śivaḷḷi which comprised quite a considerable part of modern Uḍipi and Malpe.

4. The Scene of Action

This brings us to the scene of action of the Farce. We believe that it was laid in the neighbourhood of Malpe itself either at modern Bāhadurgaḍha or at Oḍabhāṇḍeśvara. Of these the former has lost all traces of its ancient Śaivite worship. For not only has it, like many a Śaivite centre in Tuḷuva, passed into the hands of the Vaiṣṇavites, but lost its Vaiṣṇavite traces as well, probably after it passed into the hands of the Mysore Sultans in

As regards Greek women coming to the western coast of India in the second century A.D., we may note that there is evidence of their presence in the neighbourhood of the caitya cave at Karle. (Vats, *E. I.*, XVIII, pp. 325–329). There is nothing improbable in the Greeks visiting the coast of Tuḷuva in the same century. B. A. S.

1. *Padma Purāṇa*, Adhyāya VIII. vv. 30–31, p. 12.

the eighteenth century A.D.[1] It is not unlikely that the scene mentioned in the Farce was laid at Oḍabhāṇḍeśvara itself.[2] The modern Vaiṣṇavite temple at Oḍabhāṇḍeśvara was certainly Śaivite in origin, as the images of Iśvara lying in the neighbourhood of the temple amply prove. The name *kānana* which is still applied to the entire region of Malpe round about the temple of Īśvara as far as Koḍavūru, unmistakably refers to the fact that it was covered by a forest in early days. Here around the temple of Iśvara at Oḍabhāṇḍeśvara the Greeks may have come, and here it was perhaps that the events mentioned in the Farce were enacted. As regards the image of the "Moon Goddess," all that we may venture to say is that the Greeks confounded the image of the Saviouress (*i. e.*, of the Buddhist goddess Tārā) with an image of the Moon Goddess of whom the Hindu religion knows nothing.[3]

With these few considerations before us, we may now proceed to give a reconstruction of the Kannaḍa passages

1. The image of Gaṇapati and the *linga* which had been at Oḍabhāṇḍeśvara are now in private houses at Malpe proper, and the image of Hanumanta of that same place has been taken to Oḍabhāṇḍeśvara. B. A. S.

2. The etymology of the word Oḍabhāṇḍeśvara is doubtful. Popular tradition derives it thus—*ōḍa-bhāṇḍa-Īśvara*-ship-vessel-Īśvara, and people say that the incident of the ship-wreck mentioned in the *Madhva-vijaya* took place here. B. A. S.

3. Mr. Govinda Pai's assumption that Udayāvara itself was the scene of action is inadmissible. (*Prabuddha Karnāṭaka*, XI. No. pp. 37–40). We cannot conceive of an Ālupa king falling into the hands of a party of foreigners in Udayāvara itself or in a temple near that city. The ruins of the palace of the Ālupas lie so close to the seashore that it is improbable that the drinking bout and its consequences could have happened there without the people of the city knowing it. Further, the explicit reference to the forest from which the women emerged after a hunting expedition, precludes any idea of our associating Udayāvara with the scene of action. B. A. S.

in the Farce, admitting that is only provisional in character.

5. A TENTATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GREEK FARCE WITH OLD KANNAḌA PASSAGES

B. Lady Charition, rejoice with me at my escape!

A. Great are the gods.

B. What gods, fool (?).

A. Cease, fellow.

D. Wait for me here and I will go and bring the ship to anchor.

A. Go? For see, here come their women from the chase.

B. Oh! What huge bows they have!

A woman. Kraunou.[1]

Another. Lalle.[2]

Another. Laitalianta Lalle.[3]

Another. Kotakos anab, Iosara.[4]

B. Hail!

All. Laspathia.[5]

B. Ah! Lady help!

A. Alemaka![6]

All. Alemaka.[7]

B. By Athena, there is no (harm) from us.

A. Wretch, they took you for an enemy and nearly shot you.

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1. *Karevā nāv.* Shall we shoot?
2. *Lalle.* (Warning her).
3. *Elē tāḷi antāḷ lalle.* Lalle asks you to wait? (Is it not so?)
4. *Akō tako* (*tago*) *saṇab īyo sara.* Lo! Take the string of hemp. Give the arrow!
5. *I* (*vi*) *lāsapati ā.* The Buffoon! Ah!
6. *Āḷēm akkā.* Is he (the proper) person (to be shot), Sister?
7. *Alla emmakkā.* No, our sister!

B. I am always in misfortune. Will you them......to the river Psolichus?[1]

A. As you like (Drums) (B. ....porade[2])

All. Minei.[3]

F. Lady Charition, I see the wind is rising, so that we may cross the Indian Ocean and escape. So enter and fetch your property, and if you can, carry off one of the offerings to the Goddess.

A. Prudence, fellow! Those in need of salvation must not accompany their petitions to the gods with sacrilege. For how will the gods listen to men who try to win mercy with wickedness?

B. Don't you touch? I will fetch it.

D. Fetch your own things then.

A. I do not need them either, but only to see my father's face.

D. Enter, then; and do you serve them..........and give them their wine strong, for here they come.

B. I think they are the daughters of swine: these too I will get rid of (Drums......)

All. Ai Arminthi[4] (Drums.)

B. They also have run away to the Psolichus.

C. Yes; but let us get ready, if we are to escape.

B. Lady Charition, get ready, if you can take under your arm one of the offerings to the goddess.

A. Hush! Those in need of salvation must not accompany their petitions to the gods with

1. This may have been the river Pāpanāsini (ancient Śivāluka ?).

2. Against the name of A. is the letter B. and the word *porade* (*horate*, *horude*). If it is meant as a word spoken by B., then, the me ning seems to be "start, then". But if applied to A., the meaning probably is "I am starting, ready!".

3. *Miyōnē*. Shall we take our ba h?

4. *Ey ār mindi*(r). Have all of you taken your bath?

sacrilege. For how will they listen to the prayers of those who are about to gain mercy by wickedness ? The property of the goddess must remain sacred.

B. Don't you touch ; I will carry it.

A. Don't be silly, but if they come, serve them the wine neat.

B. But if they will not drink it so ?

C. Fool, in these regions wine is not for sale. Consequently if they get hold of this kind of thing, they will drink it neat against their will (?)

B. I'll serve them lees and all.

C. Here they come, having bathed...........(Drums)

King. Brathis.[1]

All. Brathis.[1]

B. What do they say ?

C. Let us draw lots for the shares, he says.

B. Yes, let us.

King. Stoukepairomellokoroke.[2]

B. Back, accursed wretch.

King. Brathis[3] (Drums). Bere konzei damun[4] petrekio paktei kortames[5] bere ialer ode pomenzi petrekiodam[6] ut kinze paxei zebes lolo bia bradis

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1. *Bharti īsu.* Cause to be served in plenty.

2. *Iṣṭu avage poyre mella karake.* Pour a little into his hand slowly.

3. *Bharti ī(su).* Give me the precious drink.

4. & 5. *Bēre koñca īyada munna bētir ēkeyo bhāga tekoḷ tammā īsu.* Why did you put down your cup before some more was served ? Take a portion ! Serve a little, Brother !

6. *Bēre īyal irade pōgum eṇ (i) si betirēke (bētirak ī) adam.* Thinking there will be no more to be served must you have put down your cups.

kottos.[1]

All. Kottos.[2]

B. May you be kicked by 'Kottos.'

King. Zopit[3] (Drums).

B. What do they say ?

C. Give them a drink, quick.

B. Are you afraid to speak then ? Hail, thou whose days prosper ! (Drums)

King. Zeisoukormosede[4] (Drums)

B. Ah ! Not if I know it.

C. It is watery ; put in some wine (Much Drumming).

G. Skalmakata[5] bapteiragoumi.[6]

H. Tougoummi[7] nekelekethro[8]

G. Eitou belle trachoupterugoumi.[9]

B. Ah ! None of your disgusting ways ! Stop ! (Drums) Ah ! What are you doing ?

H. Trachountermana.[10]

G. Boullitikaloumbai platagoulda bi...[11]

B. Apuleukasar[12] (Drums)

1. *Ūṭa kenise apēkṣe sēvisa lolla bhaya birdu īsiko tusa.* Is your desire for dinner so little ? Would you not eat or drink ? Fear ! Take a little !

2. *Koḍu tusa.* Give a little !

3. *(Hē) Oppit.* Ah ! Excellent !

4. *(Hē) Īsi koḷ mōsade.* Ah ! Take by deceit !

5 & 6. *Īsu kāla māgada pāpa tīra gommi.* The sin (of drinking) which you have not committed till now, may be ended this day only ! (In other words, empty the cup).

7. *Tegō ommi.* Take once (again).

8. *Nīgaḷ ēke edro.* Why did you get up ?

9. *Eyṭu beḷḷe drācca vappa tīra gomme.* How pure (white) is the wine ! Let it be finished once for all !

10. *Drācca uṇḍare māna.* It is honour to partake of the (juice of) grapes !

11. *Bavu oḷḷittu ī kāla umbay pāla tago oldu.* You will be very happy this year. Take a share lovingly.

12. *Ā puḷiyakku sāra.* Ah ! It will be sour ! (Get away !)

King. Chorbonorbothorba[1]
toumionaxiz[2] despit platagoulda bi...[3] Seso srachis[4] (Drums) oradosatur[5] ouamesare[6] sumpsaradara ei ia da...[7]

B. Martha marithouma edmaimai maitho[8] thamouna martha marithouma (Drums)..............tun[9]

King. Malpinaik ouroukoukoub (n ?) i karako...ra[10]

All. Aba[11]

King. Zebede[12] za biligidoumba[13]

All. Aba oun[14]

King. Pan oum bretikateman ouman brethououeni[15]

All. Panoumbretikate manouam brethou oueni[16] parakoum bretikatema noum bret ououeni[17] olusadi-

1–7. *Ceruva nōrva tōrvatā umiya nakṣisi dēśa biṭṭa pāla teko oldu śeṣa rakṣisoldose tōru ō umeśvarā saṁsāra dāra ērya adā.* One shows boiled rice, another who sees the husk in it, runs away out of the country. Take a share lovingly. Śesa! Protect! Show your love lovingly! Oh! Umeśvara! Is this the door of *saṁsāra ?*

8 & 9. *Mardam aridev māyada maiyme māydatta mauna aridevemma.* We have found out a medicine! Wherever the greatness of this magic spreads strongly, silence is produced. Lady! We have found out a medicine!

10. *Malpī nāykavara* (referring to himself) *kō...kōṇi karakō.* Take Malpe Nāyaka into the house!

11. *Aba* (Exclamatory) Aba!

12 & 13. *Hā bēḍa billigiḍu amba.* Ha! Do not do so! He will order you to be shot!

14. *Aba ōvan.* Oh! (Truly!) He will protcet you. (if you act according to his wishes!)

15. *Pāna umba rettikkade māna umba rettā avvenī.* Oh! Lady, how will you aspire for honour unless the drinking people (ourselves) hold you (in) high (esteem ?)

16. Same as 15.

17. *Para kombarettikkade māna umbarettā avvenī.* Oh! Lady, how will you get honour unless those (who take the other world ?) hold you (in) high (esteem)?

zaparda piskou piskate man arei man ridaou oupatei...a[1] (Five drummings)

King. A boundless barbaric dance. I lead, O goddess moon. With wild measure and barbaric step; Ye Indian chiefs, bring the drum of mystic sound.[2] The frenzied Seric step. (Much drumming and beating)

All. Orkis.[3]

B. What do they say again ?

C. He says, dance.

B. Just like living men. (Drums).

C. Throw him down and bind him with the sacred girdles. (Much drumming. Finale).

B. They are now heavy with drink.

C. Good ; Charition, come out here.

A. Come, brother, quickly ; is all already ?

C. Yes, all ; the boat is at anchor close by ; why do you linger ? Helmsman, I bid you bring the ship alongside here at once.

D. Wait till I give him the word.

B. Are you talking again, you bungler ? Let us leave him outside to kiss the ship's bottom.

C. Are you all aboard ?

All. Aboard.

A. O Unhappy me ! A great trembling seizes my wretched body. Be propitious, Lady goddess ! Save thy hand-maiden !

1. *Olisadiha paradappi iko oppisi kodemmanārai emmanaridu oppade.* You will forfeit the happiness of this and the other world without yielding to the will of the king (*i. e.*, if you do not yield to the will of the king.) Submit ! Protect us (by becoming our queen). Did (do) you understand us ? Do you not approve ? (Or is not to your liking ?)

2. Perhaps the drum that is used by the people of Tuḷuva. B. A. S.

3. *Oragisu.* Make him lie down ! (lest he should fall and hurt himself.)

Appendix B

1. HOUSEHOLDS IN THE THIRTY-TWO GRĀMAS OF TUḶUVA

Western Grāmas

Abbreviations :—M = Mangalore version.
B = Bhaṭṭācārya's version, pp. 27, seq.
P = Puttige version.
Numerals refer to the households.

M	B	P
1. *Karevūru grāma* Talepāḍitāya, Pārūrutāya, Karevūrutāya, Īciltāya, Anantōḍitāya, Meyyūrutāya, Poyyatāya and Poyyatāya's son (8)	1. *Karevūru grāma* Pāturāya, Pakurāya, Kuduretāya, Poyyatāya (4)	1. *Karevūru grāma* As in B except for Pāturāya who is given as Pārurāya (4)
2. *Varkāḍi grāma* Maḍalūrutāya, Mayūrākhyane Tāḷetāya, Nāraḷatāya, Aryappināya, Nētratāya Kidekidelāya, Saṇṇaḍkatāya, and Mañjugōḍitāya (8)	2. *Varkāḍi grāma* Tāḷetāya, Ayapināya, Nāraḷatāya, Nētratāya, Arināya, Kidekidenāya, Suṇṇōṇḍitāya, and Kuñjitturāya (8)	2. *Varkāḍi grāma* As in B except for Ayapinaya which is given as Āryapattāya, and Nētratāya given as Nētretāya, Kidekidenāya given as Kidenāya (8)

3. *Maraṇi grāma* Bakkutāya, Innentāya (2)	3. *Maraṇe grāma* Baḍekeḍenāya, Śuḷyaṇṇāya (2)	3. *Maraṇe grāma* As in B except for the first given as Pīdekaḍenāya (2)
4. *Kaḷavināḍu grāma* Suḷyaṇṇāya, Padakaṇṇāya (2)	4. *Koḷavī grāma* Talepāḍitāya, Mañjanōḍitāya (2)	4. *Omitted in* P (But see below No. 17)
5. *Pāḍi grāma* Amettōḍitāya, Kakkilāya, Iḍuvaḷitāya, Kamōṭitāya (4)	5. *Pāḍimogara grāma* Ametāya, Śambaratāya, Induvaḷitāya, Koyakuḍalāya (4)	5. *Pāḍi grāma* As in B
6. *Kūḍilu grāma* Pijetāya, Piḷḷikaratāya, Kōṭikuñjatāya, Kudukuḷḷāya (4)	6. *Kūḍalu grāma* Kaṇṇuraṇṇāya, Śambaraṇṇāya, Irvattūrāya, Mittaḍkattāya (4)	6. *Kūḍila grāma* As in B but for the second given as Kambaranāya.
7. *Mogebailu grāma* Taḷyantōḍitāya, Irnūrāya, Kidelurāya, Kuṇikuḍalāya (4)	7. *Mogebaila grāma* Pijitāya, Piḷikaritāya, Kabbukoḍitāya, Muḍetāya (4)	7. *Mogebailu grāma* As in B but read for the third Tamlantōḍitāya (4)
8. *Mittanāḍu grāma* Kadambaḷatāya, Gaṅgetāya, Depuñjatāya, Baḷkulāya (4)	8. *Mittanāḍu grāma* Kuṇḍagōḷatāya, Nūjitāya, Gangetāya, Śaraḷatāya (4)	8. *Mittanāḍu grāma* As in B but read for the last Paraḷatāya (4)

M	B	P
9. *Nīrmārga grāma* Aṁbaratāya, Śaṁbaratāya, Indravaḷḷitāya, Kaṇṇāraṇa, Kambaraṇa, Irvanturāya, Koyakōḍitāya, Mittanaḍukatāya (8)	9. *Nīrumārga grāma* Īcalutāya, Anaṅtōḍitāya, Thālaṁpāditāya, Taraḷāya, Māvarāya, Kumāraṅtāya (6)	9. *Nīrumārga grāma* Ucalatāya, Anaṅtōḍatāya, Alampāḍitāya, Kaṇṇāraṇṇāya, Kumāraṅtāya, Māvaratāya (6)
10. *S'rīmaṅtūru grāma* Śrīmaṅtūrāya, Śibarurāya, Munnūrāya, Mucchantāya, Maḍikuḷāya, Seḍikuḷāya, Āsurapeṇṇāya (7)	10. *Sīmaṅtūru grāma* Sīmantūrāya, Śibarāya, Maṇnurāya, Ipprantāya, Mukyaṅtāya, Muḍikuḍalāya, Siḍikaḷatāya, Aḍarāya, Barvanāya (9)	10. *Sīmantūru grāma* As in B except for 3rd, 5th & 7th for which read Munnurāya, Maccantāya, and Maḍikaḷatāya respectively (only 8)
11. *Tenakaḷa grāma* Monenāya, Mittaṅtāya, Maḍumannāya, Vailāya, Kācantāya, Bakkuṇṇāya, Barkaṇṇāḍitāya, Uḷkurāya (8)	11. *Tenakaḷa grāma* Mogerāya, Mittatāya, Maḍumaṇṇāya Vailāya, (idakke pratināma [*contra*] Kañcitāya), Vokuḍināya, Uḷirāya, Malliñjināya, Kabekoḍināya (8)	11. *Tenakaḷa grāma* As in B but read for 1st, 2nd, 4th *contra*, 6th, 7th Mōnenāya, Mittōṅtāya, Kōpōntāya, Ulyarāya, Mallyabañjināya (8)
12. *S'ivabeḷḷi grāma* (120) See below	12. *S'ivabeḷḷi grāma* (120) See below	12. *S'ivabeḷḷi grāma* (120) See below

13. *Ajapura grāma* Ōrambuḷitāya, Ugrambaḷitāya, Uḷḷurāya, Kaírambaḷitāya, Aḷḷya, Aṣṭamūrtitāya, Hebbāra, Sabojetāya (8)	13. *Brahmapura grāma* Uḷuru, Uṅgarapaḷḷi, Ōrambaḷḷi, Kairamhaḷḷi, Āḷapāyi, Aṣṭamūrti, Hebbāra, Samblāja (8)	13. *Brahmapura grāma* Ōrambaḷḷi, Kairambaḷḷi, Uṅgurapaḷḷi, Uḷḷūra, Āḷapa, Aṣṭamūrti, Hebbāra, and the last omitted (8)
14. *Nīlāvara grāma* Nāritāya, Kallurāya, Eḍavaṭṭināya, Annitāya, Tumbekallāya, Hebbāra; Maddhyastha, Nuñciṅgāya (8)	14. *Nirvāra grāma* Nāritāya, Yaḍabeṭṭanāya, Kallūrāya, Tumbikalāya, Hebbāra, Nūjiṇṇāya, Makkitāya, Pāḍitāya (8)	14. *Nirāvara grāma* Leaf in the Ms. torn...ya... Eḍebeṭṭināya, Kallūrāya, Makkitāya, Tumbillāya, Hebbāra, Nūjitāya, Pāde (8)
15. *Kōṭa grāma* Haṅde, Bāśiri, Tunga, Nāvaḍa, Hoḷḷa, Mayya, Hebbāra, Kāraṅta, Kāraṅta's represen-tative Aṇṇa Kāraṅta, Maiyya's rapresentative Aṇṇa Hēraḷa (8+2)	15. *Kūṭa grāma* Haṅde, Bāsari, Tuṅga, Nāvaḍa, Hoḷḷa, Mayya, Hebbāra, Kārvavanta (8)	16. *Kūṭa grāma* Tuṅga, Kāraṅta, Hēraḷa Haṅde, Bāsiri, Nāvuḍa, idakke pratināmavādā Nāvuḍa Hoḷḷa (Total ?)
16. *Kaṅdāvara grāma* Uḍupa, Hebbāra (2)	16. *Skandapura grāma* Same as in M	16. *Skandapura grāma* Same as in M See above No. 4. 17. *(O)mañjūru grāma* Māḍaṅtillāya (1)

Eastern Grāmas

M	B	P
1. *S'rīpāḍi grāma* Kuñjamaṇṇāya, Kauḍambaḍitāya, Pāṅgaṇṇāya, Atrāḍitāya, Baipāḍitāya (5)	1. *S'rīpāḍi grāma* Kuñjamaṇṇāya, Vaipāḍitāya, Putraṇṇāya (4)	1. *S'rīpāḍi grāma* Kuñjamaṇṇāya, Koṇḍapāḍitāya, Baipāḍitāya, Atrāḍitāya, Pāṅgaṇṇāya (5)
2. *Vaḍilu grāma* Aḷavaṇṇāya, Puḷiṅtāya (2)	2. *Oḍila grāma* Āḷumaṇṇāya, Uḷipoḍitāya (2)	2. *Koḍila grāma* Aṁbuḷḷamaṇṇāya, Pulikoditāya (2)
3. *Nāḷa grāma* Paḍuvaṅtāya, Malepāḍitāya (2)	3. *Nāḷe grāma* Maḍipāḍitāya, Parvantāya (2)	3. *Nāḷa grāma* Same as in B but read for the second Maḍuvaṅtāya (2)
4. *Karandūru grāma* Capagetāya, Pannetāya (2)	4. *Kārandūru grāma* Sampagenāya, Edakelatāya (2)	4. *Kārandūru grāma* Same as in B
5. *Ujjari grāma* Vappaṅtāya, Arimanitāya, Kukkōḍitāya, Mundatāḍitāya, Muḍapāḍitāya, Aripāḍitāya, Cillaṇṇāya, Arbitāya (8)	5. *Ujjire grāma* Armanetāya, Vappaṅtāya, Kōkarāḷitāya, Aripāḍitāya, Muṇḍapāḍitāya, Kemmuṇḍāya, Arbatāya, Ballaṇṇāya, (8)	5. *Ujjirya grāma* Same as in B

6. *Kuñjamārga grāma* Puratāya, Kuñjamārgatāya, (*gṛha eraḍu oṅ ıē*) Perāḍitāya, Muccintāya, Aḷkitāya, Maḍuvināya, Kuṅdaṇṇāya, Koraṅgināya, Kakkaraṇṇāya (8)	6. *Kunyamārga grāma* Peraḷatāya, Kunnimārgentāya (*ivu iraḍu sandeha*) Peraḍitāya, Upparaṇṇāya Īcaltāya, Ītaṅtāya, Maḍavināya, Kuduṇṇāya, Putayatāya, Koḍañcināya, Karakaṇṇāya (9)	6. *Kuñjamārga grāma* Peraḷātāya, Kuñjamārgatāya (*eraḍu sandeha*) Peraḍetāya, Muccaṇṇāya, Yaccantāya, Maḍavināya, Kudyaṇāya, Putrāya, Kōrjināya, Kakkaraṇe (8)
7. *Kokkaḍa grāma* Iḍepāḍitāya, Śabarāya, Upparaṅa, Koḍitillāya (4)	7. *Kokkaḍa grāma* Toḍilāya, Śabarāya, Yaḍapāḍitāya, Upparaṇṇāya (4)	7. *Kekkaḍa grāma* Same as in B but read for the 1st Tēḍilāya, and add Nūḍitāya (5)
8. *Rāmiñja grāma* Nōritāya, Maṭṭināya, *avana pratinidhi* Teñjitāya, Parḷatāya (4)	8. *Rāmañja grāma* Nūjitāya, Maṭatāya, Munnūrāya (3)	8. *Rāmiñja grāma* Same as in B but for the 1st read Nūratāya (3).* The word Bhaṭṭa is added here.
9. *Pude grāma* Pudināya, Ametōḍitāya, Paraḷatāya, Illaḍitāya (4)	9. *Pude grāma* Pudināya (*ubhaya gṛha* 1) (1)	9. *Pude grāma* Pudenāya (1)
10. *Baḷpa grāma* Bāritāya, Ummāṇitāya, Ammāṇitāya (3)	10. *Beḷapāḍi grāma* Bāritāya, Ummaraṇṇāya, Ammaṇi (*gṛha* 1 *saṁśaya*) (3)	10. *Baḷḷā grāma* Same as in B but read for the 2nd Uccaraṇṇāya

M	B	P
11. *Ernāḍu grāma* Muḍampāḍitāya, Yeḍekillāya, Ibbāḍitāya, Musepāsitāya (4)	11. *Irnāḍu grāma* Takaraṇḍāya, Muṇḍapāḍitāya, Śabarāya, Ulapāḍitāya, (*ubhaya gṛha* 4)	11. *Ernāḍu grāma* Same as in B but read for the 1st Kakkaraṇṇāya
12. *Iḍekedu grāma* Maṇikaḷtāya, Keḷtāya, Śaḍaṅga, Abilitāya, Maṇṇaṅgaḷtāya, Arumbaḍtāya (6)	12. *Iḍakedu grāma* Maṇikaḷatāya, Saḍaṅgatāya (2)	12. *Idakeḷu grāma* Same as in B
13. *Kemmiñja grāma* Bijetāya (1)	13. *Kemmiñja grāma* Bajatāya (1)	13. *Kemmiñje grāma* Bajetāya (1)
14. *Pāviñja grāma* Iḍebeṭṭināya, Aniñjetāya (2)	14. *Pāliñja grāma* Edabeṭṭunāya (1)	14. *Pāliñja grāma* Same as in B
15. *S'rīyāḍi grāma* Siriyāḍitāya, Kuṇṭārantāya, Kuṅkōḍitāya, Bajitillāya, Kemmuṇḍetāya (5)	15. *S'iriyāḍi grāma* Kaṅṇūrāya (1)	15. *Siriyāḍi grāma* Kuṇṭarāya (1)
16. *Kōḍipāḍi grāma* Irakaṭṭatāya, Ponnetāya, Arkantāya, Seretāya, Kajakantāya (5)	16. *Koḍipāḍi grāma* Pānatāya, Irekaḷatāya (2)	16. *Koḍipāḍi grāma* Same as in B

2. ŚIVAḶḶI GRĀMA (CALLED IN ALL VERSIONS ŚIVABEḶḶI)

The main regulation the Śivaḷḷi grāma is thus given in P:—*modalu hattu naḍu nalvattu kaḍe eppattu hattarakūḍe hadimūru nalvattaralli nālku yeppattaralli ondu antu śreṣṭha gṛha hadineṇṭu.*

In B the same is given thus:—

modalu hattu naḍu nalvattu kaḍe ippattu hattaralli hadinaidu nalvattaralli nālku·ippattaralli ondu antu śreṣṭha gṛha ippattu.

In P it means thus in English:—" The first ten–middle forty–the last seventy–with three added to the first ten, four out of forty, and one out of seventy, these eighteen households are the best ".

In B the same reads thus in English:—" The first ten–middle forty–the last twenty. With five added to the first ten, and four out of forty, and one out of twenty–these twenty households are the best ".

The following regulation is common to both the versions P & B:—

nalvattaralli mūvattāru madhyama bhōjana pratibhōjana mātra eppattaraḷḷi arvattombattu tantu mātra ardha brāhmaru. (Out of forty thirty-six are middling Brahmans, while sixty out of seventy are Brahmans only in name, *i. e.*, *tantu mātra brāhmaru.*)

N. B. Neither the main regulation nor its subsdiary can be seen in M. And in both P & M *ippattu* is sometimes written by the scribe for *eppattu*.

The first ten households

M	B	P
1. *Alevūru grāma*	1. *Alevūru grāma*	1. *Alevūru grāma*
Alevūrāya, Koḍañcatāya, Maḍipuḷitāya, Mañjatāya, Śaraḷāya, Kuttubuḷitāya (6)	Alevūrāya, Koḍeñca, Mañjitāya, Śaraḷāya, Kaḍaṁbaḷitāya (6)	Same as in B
2. *Sagari grāma*	2. *Sagari grāma*	2. *Saguri grāma*
Sagaritāya, Tenkillāya, Naḍvaṅtillāya, Kuñjitāya (4)	Same as in M but read for the first Śagurirāya	Same as in M but read for the last Kuñjatāya
3. Putturāya, Bāyiri, Kēkoḍe (3) Their representatives: Alevurāya's brother Kedilāya, Kaṭṭukaṭṭatāya, Koḍañca's brother Koḷatāya (3) (These are the additions)		

All the three versions are agreed on the following four households being the best (*śreṣṭha*):—

Baṇṇiñjetāya, Korenāya or Kornāya, Maraḍitāya, and Śivatāya. (But M however adds two households in the Muñjūru grāma-Mañjurāya and one household in the Kuñjūru grāma-Kuñjurāya, to the above list).

We give here only the account as found in P, since it is the clearest of all the three.

The 4 best households as given in P are the following:—

Baṇṇiñjetāya, Korenāya, Maraḍitāya, and Śivatāya. From M we know that Baṇṇiñjetāya belonged to the Baṇṇiñje grāma, Korenāya to Indravaḷḷi, Maraḍitāya to Ciṭṭupādi, and Śivatāya to Śivaḷḷi grāma.

The rest of the 36 households as given thus in P & B:—

Kramadhāretāya, Kekoḍināya (Teṅkoḍināya in B), Kāṅtāraṅtāya, Śittilāya, Aruḷitāya, Karambaḷitāya Paḍilāya, Nīḍilāya, Kaṇṇappināya, Makkittāya (Maṅkitāya in B), Kaḍoḍināya (Koṭṭilaḍināya in B), Koḍalāya, Parkaḷatāya, Arimetāya, Koḷaṁbetāya (Koḷeketāya in B), Kokkoḍināya (Kakkāḍināya in B), (Kallyaṭṭināya Kalaṭināya in B), Maṇikalatāya, 'Antillāya (Aṅkilāya in B), Mūḍetāya (Mūḍitāya in B), Pādetāya, Tōṭaṅtillāya (Kōṭaṅtillāya in B), Kunyamārgaṅtāya, Kaṇṇarāya (Kaṇṇūraya in B), Keḷaturāya, Maṇpannitāya, (Maṇṇinnitāya in B), Nēyampḷḷitāya, Baḍikillāya, Kalyāṇantāya, Nūjitāys, Koḍapaḷitāya, Nekkāraṅtāya, Vakkināya (Vatināya in B), Simburattāya, Iḷanturāya (Politāya in B), (B adds Pudināya to the above list.). P. gives them as *ṣaṭ-karmi niyataru*. But B. gives them as *trikarmis*.

M. also styles them as *tri-karmis* but supplies the following additional information:—

Baṇṇiñje grāma:—the best household is that of Baṇṇiñjetāya. Its disciples (*śiṣyaru*) are the following:–Krama-

dhāntāya, Teṅkōḍitāya, Kāṅtaraṅtāya, Śittilāya, Kamboḷitāya Nūjitāya, Kalyāṇaṅtāya, Kaḍillāya.

Iñdravaḷḷi grāma:–Korenāya is the best household.

Its disciples are the following:–Koḍepoḷitāya, Poḷinnāya, Nekkaraṅtāya, Śiṁbaraṅtāya, Paḍillāya, Neḍillāya, Kaṇṇapitāya, Makkināya, Pakkimanāya.

Ciṭṭupāḍi grāma:–Maraḍitāya is the best household.

Its disciples are the following:–Kōṭōpitāya, Koḍalāya, Pārkaḷaṅtāya, Arimetāya, Kallyaṭṭitāya, Māṇilaṭāya, Kuttiguḷināya, Kukkōḍitāya, Yellyaṅtitāya.

Śivaḷḷi grāma :–Śivatāya is the best household. Its disciples are the following : Mūḍetāya, Pāḍitāya, Kōṭantilāya, Kuditamārgaṅtāya, Kaṇṇāraya, Kalatratāya, Monōḷitāya, Nēpāḍitāya, Maḍirāya.

3. 70 HOUSEHOLDS IN THE THREE VERSIONS

Version M gives the following :—

Mañjūru grāma :–Mañjurāya and Māḍaṅtiḷḷāya are the best households. Kuñjuru grāma :–Kuñjurāya is the best household. Its disciples :–Kaṅgināya, Mittilāya, Baḍkilāya. Kukkilāya, Pānejetāya, Kalambināya, Suṇṇaṅtāya, Oḷtāya, Niñjurāya, Nellitāya, Māllyaṅtāya, Baḷaṭāya. These 12 households can inter-dine.

Hebbāra, Beḷḷyatāya, Tōṇitāya, Karkaṭetāya, Manōḷitāya, Nurgetāya, Vadvapāḍitāya, Elikuḍātāya, Ubōḷitāya, Cchakerāya, Gaṅgalaṅtāya, Bōritāya, Mūḍacaḍutāya, Tōḍināya, Bōḷiyāya, Arcitāya, Kuvallāya, Gaḍairāya, Tōḍāḍitāya, Kuddurāya, Koḍaṅtāya, Deyyaṅgināya, Survatāya, Arkitāya, Nūjināya, Kaḍañcitāya, Kaṇṇatāya, Kaḷitāya, Māḍāḍitāya, Dōṇitāya, Putyetāya, Mudematāya, Ujjiriyatāya, Akōṭihebbāra, Ānetāya, Nakkaṅtāya, Kallōḷitāya, Nijagōpitāya, Kāyeritāya, Appuccitāya, Maipāḍitāya, Kōṭirāya, Bōḷillāya, Naḍinnāya, Mēlāḍitāya, Permudetāya, Kōḷavetāya, Macillāya, Iretāya, Perlāya. These are Brahmans only in name

(*tantu mātra Brāhmaṇaru*). They are king's servants (*rāja kiṅkararu*). They are entitled to the privilege of dining in the same line with other (*paṅkti bhōjana mātra prati bhōjana villa*). They are not entitled to the privilege of *pūjā samparka*, etc., for having intermarried with the Brahmans who had been condemned by Paraśurāma.

Version P and B give the following :—

Version P says that Kuñjurāya is the best household. It enumerates the 70 households in the following order :—

Kaṅgināya (Taggināya in B), Mittilāya, Kuñjalāya (Kuṭṭilāya in B), Penambe (Panañji in B), Śuṇṇaṅtāya, Kalambi. (Uḷitāya is given here in B.), Niṅjurāya, Nellitāya, Mallyatāya (Mallyaṅtāya in B), Hebbapa, Beḷḷavatti (Beḷapati in B), Beḷḷyarāya (Beḷayarāya in B), Tōṇitāya, Karkatatāya, Nāṇilatāya, Durge, Vāḍpe (Vaḍetāya in B), Pāḍi, Ubbali, Cakkerāya, Mangalaṅtāya (Maṅgalatāya in B), (Vōritāya is added here in B), Maṇḍaca (Maṇḍabettāya in B), Aḍukatāya, Tōḍi (Koḍilāya in B), Yelikoḍi, Gōḷi (Kulitāya in B), Ruvallāya (not found in B), Aṇṇappi, Guḍḍe (Gūḍe in B), Deṅge (Deyigināya in B), (Koḍilāya is given here in B), Kuṇḍaṅtāya, Kudurāya, Areya, Kuḍitāya, Sūrya, Nūji, Koḍambe, (Koḍanji in B), Kaṇṇapaḷḷi, Muṇḍāḍi, Dōṇi, Pudumale (Mudumale in B), Puttya (Putiye in B), Ujare, Akkuti (Kokkoḍi in B), Hebbāra, Nakkatte, Āne, Kalyāḷi, Agaḷi, Mukke, Nijamkōpi (Nijikośi), Irvatturāya, Āpucce, (Āpiye in B), Maipāḍibeṭṭināya (Maipāḍi and Bevināya in B), Koṭṭināya (Kovināya in B), Kudurāya, Koḷambe (Kolañji in B), (Kalāya is added here in B), Jōgimajalāya (Majalāya in B), Tōḍināya, Iretāya, Perḷāya, Kabekoḍi (Kabetoḍi in B) Majjatāya (Mañjitāya in B), and Piye (Beye in B).

B gives the following verse in connection with the above Brahmans.

pātitya anugatāḥ kecit kecit prācīna Tauḷavāḥ ।
Rāma saptā dvijā kecit Brāhmaṇāḥ tantumātrakāḥ ॥

(Some were fallen : some were the ancient Tauḷavas; and some others were those who had been condemned by Rāma [Jāmadagnya]. These were Brahmans only in name).

4. THE BRAHMANS OF ŚIVAḶḶI GRĀMA AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD (?)

Only version P gives the following interesting details about the Brahmans of the Śivaḷḷi grāma :—

Śivabeḷḷi grāma 300 (*S'ivabeḷḷi grāmada Brāhmara 300 idakke vīvara*).

Alevūru emba beṭṭinalli vivara 400 (?) (This passage unfortunately has been left out while transcribing from the original).

Tenkanūra vivara (100 in the southern locality) Kallamañja, Mañjatabeṭṭu, Kaḍambuḷabeṭṭu, Kōḍangaḷa, Mandarāḍi—*idu tenka nūra vivara.*

Parambaḷḷi Kakkuñje Nūjitabeṭṭu-*antu ainūrara vivara.*

Naḍu munnūrara virara Banniñja, Kaḍapāḍi, Paḍuvu, Pāḍigāra.

Uḍupi nūrara vivara Śaguri Manki Buṇḍnāru *antu nūru.*

Paḍumunnūrara vivara Koḍavūru, Arkaḷabeṭtu. Behugaḷe *idu munnūru.*

Muḍamunnūrara vivara Heraga, Pārkaḷa, Kuḍigrāma. Perṇankilu *antu munnūru.*

Muḍanānnūrara vivara Ciṭṭupāḍi, Kemmuttūru, Māyarpāḍi, Bailūru *antu nānūru.*

Paḍunānnūrara vivara Niḍumbūru, Kaṇṇarapāḍi, Kēdūru, Niṭṭūru, Puttūru, Nēyambaḷḷi *antu mūru sāvira.*

Thus from the above it appears that in and around Śivaḷḷi there were three thousand Brahman households, thereby justifying to some extent the remarkable popularity of Uḍipi as a centre of pious and learned men in early days.

5. HOUSEHOLDS DIVIDED ACCORDING TO PROFESSION

(M styles them as *Ekādaśi viniyogadavaru*)

Agnihotri Jana

M	B	P
Alevūrāya, Śimantūrāya, Mucchaṅtāya, Munnūrāya, Kudañca, (Madipaḷitāya), Mañjatāya, Kuñjitāyā, Naḍvantilāya, Śagaritāya, Teṅkilāya, Kaḍambaḷitāya, Kekoḍe, Korenāya, Baṇṇiñjetāya, Maraḍitāya, Śivatāya, Iḍepāḍitāya, Pāṅgaṇṇāya, Uḍupa, Iritāya, Kuñjūrāya, Mittaṅtāya, Śaraḷāya (24)	Śimaṅtūrāya, Mucaṅtūrāya, Munnūrāya, Alevūrāya, Koḍañca, Mañjetāya, Śaraḷāya, Madipaḷitāya, Kaḍambaḷitāya, Kuñjitāya, Naḍvantilāya, Śaguritāya, Teṅkilāya, Putrāya. Tekuḍenāya, Bāyiritāya, Kallurāya, Baipāḍitāya, Vappaṅtāya, Iḍepāḍitāya, Koranāya, Maraḍitāya, Uḍupa, Brahmakāraṅta, Banniñjetāya, Śivetāya (26, the additions being Brahmakāranta and Uḍupa).	Same as in B but without Śaralaya, Uḍupa, and Brahmakāranta.

Smārthas

M	B	P
Tāḷetāya, Nāraḷatāya, Aryappināya, Kikidenāya, Nūritāya, Cchaṁpagetāya, Malepāḍitāya, Kallurāya, Uḍupa, Baipāḍitāya, Alevūrāya, Muḍapāḍitāya, Kōriṅgināya, Brahmakāranta (14)	Nūjitāya, Kidenāya, Nāraḷatāya, Tāḷaṅtrāya, Ayyapināya, Maṇṇakaḷatāya, Alevūrāya, Brahmakāranta, Kallūrāya, Uḍupa, Baipāḍitāya, Korṅgināya, Muṇḍapāḍitāya, Koḍañ-ca (14)	Same as in B but read for the 2nd, 4th, and 13th Kidekināya, Tāḷatāya and Muḍampāḍitāya (13)

Bhaṭṭas

M	B	P
Munnurāya, Alevūrāya, Peraṇṇāya, Mañjatāya, Baipāḍitāya, Pijetāya, Pārurāya, Indravaḷitāya, Mucchantāya, Sirimaṅturāya, Koḍenāya, Baḍikoḷatāyā, Kuñjatāya, Maḍuvināya, Kuḍañca, Kallurāya, Mogerāya, Brahmakāranta, Uḍupa, Vappantāya, Nūritāya, Arimanetāya, Iḍepāḍitāya, Śaraḷāya, Śabarāya, Upāraṇa, Irvatturāya, Mūḍampāḍitāya, Bajetāya, Paraḷatāya, Kenkilāya, Bāyiritāya, Kēkoḍe, Korinnāya, Banniñjetāya, Maraḍitāya, Śivatāya, Naḍvantilāya, Kambōḷitāya (40)	Munnurāya, Arināya, Kōvināya, Peraṇṇāya, Koyamegetāya, Kudurāya, Majjitāya, Tāḷetāya, Pijitāya, Pāturāya, Iṅduvaḷitāya, Koyakoḍanāya, Sīmaṅtūrāya, Puñcanāya, Mucaṅtūrāya, Mogerāya, Mitraṅtāya, Alevūrāya, Tuṅga, Brahmakāranta, Kallurāya, Uḍupa, Baipāḍitāya, Atrāḷitāya, Appaṅtāḍitāya, Beḷannāya, Aremanetāya, Iḍapāḍitāya, Śabarāya, Uparaṇṇāya, Korgināya, Ametāḍitāya, Śambarāya, Koḷatāya, Muḍampāḍitāya, Bajitāya, Kornāya, Saguritāya, Maḍantilāya, Pāturāya (40)	Same as in B but read for the 3rd, 7th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 16th, 33rd, 37th, 38th, 39th and 40th Koṭṭināya, Mañjatāya, Tātrāḷatāya, Iṅdravaḷitāya, Muccaṅtāya, Mittontāya, Śabarāya, Putrāya, Bayiritāya and Kēkuḍenāya respectively (40)

Tantris

M	B	P
Icalatâya, Nêtratâya, Pâṅgaṇṇâya, Putturāya (4)	Nêtratâya, Icalatâya, Putrāya, Pâṅgaṇṇâya, Uḍupa, Brahmakâranta (6)	Same as in B but without the last two. And the 1st is called Nêtratâya

Paṇḍitas

Vappantāya, **Pijetāya**, (2)	Kallurāya, Upparaṇṇāya (2)	Same as in B

Pakṣanāthas

Mūḍilāya, Niḍumbūrāya (2)	Nūḍilāya, Niḍubūrāya (2)	Omitted in P

Ballāḷas

Talepāḍitāya, Mañjunōḍitāya, Kuñjimaṇṇāya, Kōḍambāḍitāya (4)	Talepāḍi, Mañjanōḍi, Niḍumbūru, Mūḍila (4)	Same as in B but all are styled *tāyas*.

Grāmaṇis

Kidekidenāya, Śuḷyaṇṇāya, Kōṭikuñjetāya, Kamōṭi, Śrimaṁtūrāya, Ambaraṁtāya, Maduṇṇāya, Naḍvaṁtilāya, Nārimaṇṇāya, Naḍvaṁtilāya, Nāritāya, Uḍupa, Atrāḍitāya, Caṁpagetāya, Kuḍavannāya, Iḍepiḍātāya, Arimanetāya, Pudinnāya, **Maṇikaḷatāya**, Nūritāya, Eḍevaṭṭināya, Mittantāya, Mūḍampāḍitāya, Parlatāya (22)	Pāturāya, **Poyyatāya**, Śuḷḷaṇṇāya, Kikidenāya, Kōṭañjitāya, Tennarāya, Kaṇṇaraṇṇāya, Māḍaṁtilāya, Naḍvantilāyā, Kuñjitāya, Hēraḷa, Kāranta, Nāritāya, Iḍabeṭṭināya, Hebbāra, Sampigetāya, (in Nirāvara), Aṁbaraṇṇāya, Aramanetāya, Māḍappināya, Puṭṭaṇṇāya, Kakaraṇṇāya, Kinakaḷatāya, Uḍupa, Uraṁbaḷḷi 24))	Pārurāya, Poyyatāya, Guḷḷyoṇṇāya, Kikidenāya, Koṭṭināya, Innirāya, Kaṇṇāraṇṇa, Mūḍantilāya, Naḍvantilāya, Kuñjatāya, Hēraḷa, Kāraṁta, Nāritāya, Iḍebeṭṭināya, Hebbāra, Ssmpagetāya (in Nilāvara), Ambaraṇṇāya Armanetāya, Maḍappināya, Putranāya, Kakkaraṇṇa, Okaḷatāya, Uḍupa, Ōrambaḷḷi (24)

Adhivāsis

M	B	P
Aripāḍitāya, Maḍuvinnāya, Kaṇṇāraḍitāya, Arbitāya, Kodvaṭṭirāya, Aggitāya, Depujetāya, Kabekottāya, Kidelūrāya, Baḷḷuḷḷāya, Gañjitāya, Bāritāya, Poyyatāya, Tōḍillāya, Cilaṇṇāya, Mittaḍkatāya (16)	Alevūrāya, Pāgaṅpināya, Tāretāya, Aṇṇakuñjitāya, Bāśakaṇṇāya, Kedaṭirāya, Arbirāya, Pelāḍitāya, Kannarāḍitāya, Kambaraṇṇāya, Uḷiyārāya Kabekoḍināya, Malāṁpāḍitāya, Eriṅkatāya, Bartoḍitāya, Puñjukaṇṇāya, Kudurāya, Niñjurāya, Iravattūrāya, Nambunittāya, Jātōḍitāya (21)	Alevūrāya, Pāṅgappināya, Kāretāya, Kaṇṇakuñjatāya, Bārikuṇṇāya, Kedaṭerāya, Kapek.ḍināya, Parikatāya, Tōḍitāya, Pañjikaṇṇāya, Kudurāya, Kuñjurāya (12)

Jannis

M	B	P
Śeḍikuḷḷāya, Maḍikuḷḷāya, Mittaṅtāya, Vailāya, Kuñjatāya, Mañjatāya, Kemuṇḍetāya, Maḍampāḍitāya, Malepāḍitāya, Hebbāra, Ugrabaḷḷitāya, Iḍeveṭṭināya, Iḍekallāya, Koyakoḍitāya, Uḷḷirāya, Mūḍillāya, Maṭṭināya, Śaṇṇaḍkatāya, Kuṇikuḍalāya, Anaṅtoḍitāya, Kaṇṇārāya, Kambāraṇa, Pudenāya, Puḷiṅtāya, Śaḍaṅga,	Maḍikuḍilāya, Śiḍikuḍilāya, Tinakaḷatāya, Maḍumaṇṇāya, Kāpuñjāya, Vailāya, Mañjitāya, Kemmuṇḍenāya, Voḍambāḍitāya, Kabetoḍināya, Hebbāra, Uṅgurapaḷḷi, Eḍabeṭṭināya, Kakoḍenāya, Raipatāya, Koḍitillāya, Bābetilāya, Maḍilāya, Urāḷa, Kuduretāya, Teñjitāya, Kuntarāya, Maratāya, Amaṇṇāya, Bāyatāya, Pudenāya,	......Kuḍulāya, Sesikaḷatāya, Māḍumaṇṇāya, Kācukuñja, Vailāya, Mañjatāya, Kemmuṇḍanāya, Oḍampāḍitāya, Kabekoḍināya, Hebbāra, Uṅgu...la, Eḍebeṭṭināya, Edekallāya, Kokkoḍatāya, Aripatāya, Toḍitillāya, Bābetillāya, Mūḍillāya, Uraḷa, Kuduretāya, Tengyāyitāya, Māṭhaṅtāya, Amarṇatāya, Bāryetāya, Pudenāya,

Irekaṭṭutāya, Pāḍitāya, Hoḷḷa, Mayya, Paḍatāya, Okuṇṇāya, Ammaṇitāya, Kambaḷitoḍi-tāya, Arimaṇitāya, Peḷḷikari-tāya, Ponnetāya, Māḍintilāya, Mūsevāsitāya (38)	Mulatāya, Arduṇḍāya, Amba-raṇṇāya, Uḷitāya, Paḍḍilāya, Eḍepuḷitāya, Urāya, Paḍilāya, Irekaḍitāya, Poṇetāya, Uḍupa, Heraḷa (38)	Mūlatāya, Aduṇḍatāya, Amba-raṇṇāya, Huḷitāya, Eḍepuyya-tāya, Puḷa, Paḍpillāya, Irakaṭa-tāya, Poṇetāya (38)

B gives the following as the *maryāde* or usage of the Jannis:—*aṭṭa murida akki 1, aidu mole dana 1. tappi banda gōvu 1, keggoḍa 1, jōḍu mara 1, kūpa 1, kulā-śrunkhala, manakāle S'ranga vādya 1, naḍa muḍi 1, pakṣākvāṭa 1, makara tōraṇa 1, dīpa mālā-sthambha 1, doḷamañji 1, keṭṭu eddu banda heṇṇu 1, ratna kambaḷi 1, cchatra 1*,–these sixteen *kaṭṭaḷes* or regulations are said to have been established by Lokāditya Rāya.

M mentions these regulations for all, *i. e.*, those who made up the 10 *vinīyogas*, but not for the *adhivāsis*. We have described these in an earlier connection. (See *supra* Ch. IV. Sec. 1.)

P also mentions these regualtions which we have likewise described in Ch. IV.

Dhoregaḷu (Nobles)

This list is given only in B :—

Kunda Heggaḍe, Muda Heggaḍe Māraṁba Heggaḍe, Bidireśva Vōmañjuru, Rāmanātha, Bōḷada Déśingatāya, *nūrāru maṅdi* Heggaḍe, Ballāḷaru. These *dhores* were only nine in number.

Sāvantūru (*i. e.*, Sāvantas)

Given only by B. Iravattūru Basava Sāvanta, Mulki Kinnika Sāvanta (2)

M	B	P
	Nāḍus	
Kela-nāḍu, Nalvatta-nāḍu (2)	Same as in M	Kola-nāḍu, Nalvatta-nāḍu (2)
	Kōḍus	
Kāṅgōḍu, Kāsara-gōḍu (2)	Omitted in B	Kañjinōḍu, Kāsara-gōḍu (2)
	Bīḍus	
Baindūru, Bhaṭṭa-kaḷa (2)	Same as in B	Baidūru, Bhaṭṭakaḷa (2)
	Divāna	
Kadari, Kārkaḷa (2)	Same as in M	Same as in M
	Dharmasthāna	
Cauṭaru, Baṅgaru(2)	Omitted in B	Same as in M
	Simhāsanas	
Bārakūru, Maṅga-ḷūru (2)	Same as in M	Bārakuru, Maṅga-kaḍaṁba (?) (2)

Hoṇesthāna

Only M gives the two names—Kadare and Kāntāvara (2)

Gaḍi

Only M gives the *gaḍis* thus :—Śukti and Mukti (2)

Kare (boundary)

Only M gives the following :—Simhādri, Śarādhi (2)

Kūḍuva-kūṭa (Assembly centres)

Only M gives the following :—Kōṭa, Anantesvara (2)

Vāda Kūṭa (Centres of Disputation)

Only M gives the following :—Śankaranārāyaṇa.

S'aiva-Vaiṣṇava meeting place

Only M gives the following :—Krōḍamaṇḍala (op. cit. in Ch. IV.)

Smṛtikāraru of the 32 *Grāmas*

Only M gives the following :—Munnūrāya, Alevurāya, Uppāraṇa, Kallurāya, Tāḷetāya, Uḍupa (7)

Rājasthāna

Only B gives the following :—Bārakūru, Mangaḷūru, Kaḍaba, Honnāvūru.

Cāvaḍi

Ibid gives the following :—Kadari, Kārkaḷa.

The same version B gives the following :—*mannegaru Bhairava Bhārata maryādegalu Bārakūru hallarige modalu nōṭavembu maryāde hiḍihaccaḍa maryāde Kōṭeśvarakke bandalli Kandāvaru māḍuva sanmāna :Kelanāḍavaru hiḍiva siddhāyada suttige.* (Some of these obsolete terms do not form intelligent matter. B. A. S.)

Appendix C

ĀḶUPA GENEALOGICAL TABLE

1. Āḷuv(k)a *circa* A.D. 450
2. Śrī Māramma Āḷvarasar *circa* A.D. 575
3. Sakala Śrīmat Āḷuvarasar *circa* A.D. 600
4. Kundavarmarasar (I) *circa* A.D. 625
5. Āḷuvarasar Guṇasāgara *circa* A.D. 650
6. Citravāhana (I) A.D 675–700
7. Raṇasāgara *circa* A.D. 710–720
8. Śvetavāhana *circa* A.D. 720–730
9. Pṛthvīsāgara Ālupendra *circa* A.D. 730–750
10. Vijayāditya Māramma *circa* A.D. 750–770
11. Citravāhana (II) A.D. 800
12. Kavi Vimalāditya (?) (Nṛpamallarāja)
13. Āḷva Raṇañjaya A.D. 920–930

14. Dattāḷpendra Śrimāra
A D. 959 — Eñjala Devī *m.* Cāgi Śāntara

15. Kundavarmarasar (II) A.D. 967

16. Bankideva Āḷupendradeva (I)
A.D. 1050–1058 (1070)
m. Bīrabbarasi — Mankabbarasi *m.* Tailapa Deva

17. Udayāditya Pāṇḍya Paṭṭigadeva
Paṭṭodeya A.D.
1070–1088 (1132 ?) — Acala (Bucala) Devī *m.* Biruga Vīra Śāntara

18. Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Bhujabala Kavi
Āḷpuendradeva A.D. 1113–1155
m. Pāṇḍya Mahādevī

19. Jagadevarasa A.D. 1156–1170

20. Pāṇḍya Cakravartin Vīra Kulaśekhara Āḷupendra (I)
A D. 1170–1275
m. Jākala Mahādevī

21. Nūrmmaḍi Cakravartin A.D. 1216–1236

22. Vibudhavasu A.D. 1244–1254

23. Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Āḷupendradeva (I) A.D. 1254–1267(1277)
m. Balla Mahādevī A.D. 1277

|

24. Nāgadevarasa A.D. 1292–1299
m. Mocala Devī

|

25. Bankideva Āḷupendradeva (II) A.D. 1302–1315

|

26. Soyideva Āḷupendradeva A.D. 1315 1335...

|

27. Vīra Kulaśekharadeva (II) A.D. 1335 (?) 1345

|

28. Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva (II) A.D. 1346 1366

|

29. Kulaśekhara Āḷupendradeva (III) A.D. 1366 1384 (1397)

|

30. Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva (IV) A.D. 1397 1436 (1441)

|

31. Vīra Kulaśekharadeva (IV) A.D. 1441 1444

Unidentified Āḷupa Kings

1. Kulaśekhara Ālupendra
2. Ālupa Kumāra Jayasingarasa

Minor Chieftains

1. Kāntaṇṇa Mārāḷuva *alias* Komṇa A.D. 1405
2. Dēvaṇṇarasa *alias* Komṇa A.D. 1524–1530
3. Mañjaṇṇa Komṇa Bhūpa (?)

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